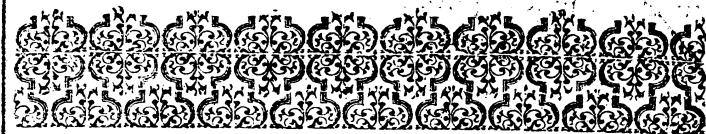


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# TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, SIR

WILLIAM CAVENDYSSE, Knight  
of the BATH, Baron of HARDVICKE,  
and Earle of DEVONSHIRE.

*Right Honourable,*



Take confidence from your Lordships goodnesse, in the very entrance of this Epistle, to professe, with Simplicite, and according to the faith I owe my Master now in Heauen, That it is not vnto your selfe, but to your Lordships Father, that I Dedicate this my Labour, such as it is. For neither am I at liberty to make choice of one, to whom I may present it as a voluntary Oblation, being bound in duty to bring it in as an Account, to him, by whose Indulgence, I had both the time, and Ammunition to performe it: Nor if such Obligation were removed, know I any to whom I ought to Dedicate it rather. For by the experience of many yeeres I had the honour to serue him, I know this, There was not any, who more really, and lesse for Glories sake, fauoured those that studied the *Liberall Arts* liberally, then My Lord,

A

your



*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

your Father did ; nor in whole house a man should lesse need the Vniuersity, then in his. For his own studie, it was bestowed, for the most part, in that kind of Learning, which best deserueth the paines and houres of Great Persons, *History*, and *Ciwill knowledge*, and directed not to the Ostentation of his reading, but to the Gouvernment of his Life, and the Publike good. For he so read, that the Learning he tooke in by study, by iudgement he digested, and conuerted into *Wisdom*e, and ability to benefit his Countrey ; to which also hee applied himselfe with Zeale, but such as tooke no fire, either from *Faction* or *Ambition*. And as he was a most able man, for soundnesse of aduice, and cleere expression of himselfe, in matters of difficulty and consequence, both in publike and priuate ; so also was he one whom no man was able either to draw, or iustle out of the straight path of Iustice: Of which vertue I know not whether hee deserued more, by his seuerity, in imposing it (as he did, to his last breath) on himselfe, or by his Magnanimity in not exacting it to himselfe from others. No man better discerned of *Men* ; and therefore was he constant in his Friendships, because he regarded not the *Fortune*, nor *Adbarence*, but the *Men* ; with whom also he conuersed with an opennesse of heart, that had no other guard then his owne Integrity, and that *Nil Conscire*. To his *Equalles* hee carried himselfe equally ; and to his inferiours familiarly ; but maintaining his Respect fully, and onely, with the natue splendour of his worth. In summe, hee was one in whom might plainly bee perceiued, that *Honour* and *Honesty* are but the same thing, in the

*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

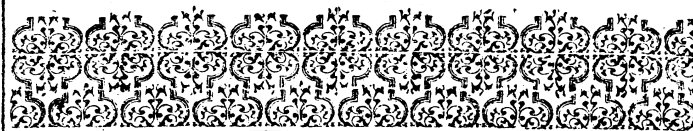
the different degrees of persons. To *him* therefore, and to the memory of *his* worth, be consecrated this, though vnworthy Offering.

And now, imitating in this *Ciwill Worship*, the *Religious worship* of the Gentiles, who when they Dedicated any thing to their Gods, brought and presented the same to their Images ; I bring & present this Guift of mine, *the History of THUCYDIDES* translated into English, with much more diligence then elegance, to your Lordship, who are the Image of your Father, (for neuer was a man more exactly coppied out, then he in you,) and who haue in you the seeds of his vertues already springing vp. Humbly intreating your Lordship to esteeme it amongst the Goods that descend vpon you, and in your due time to read it. I could recommend the Author vnto you, not impertinently, for that he had in his veynes the blood of Kings ; but I chuse rather to recommend him for his writings, as hauing in them profitable instruction for Noblemen, and such as may come to haue the mannaging of great and waighty actions. For I may confidently say, that notwithstanding the excellent both Examples and Precepts of Heroique Vertue you haue at home, this Booke will conferre not a little to your institution ; especially, when you come to the yeeres, to frame your life by your owne Observation. For in *History*, actions of *honour* and *dis-honour* doe appeare plainly and distinctly, which are which ; but in the present Age they are so disguised, that few there bee, and those very carefull, that bee not grossely mistaken in them. But this, I doubt not, is superfluously spoken by mee to your Lordship: Therefore I end with

*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

this prayer, That it will please God to giue you Vertues futable to the faire dwelling he hath prepared for them, and the happinesse that such Vertues leade vnto, both in, and after this world.

*Your Lordships most  
humble Seruant,  
THO. HOBBS.*



TO THE READERS.

**T**Hough this Translation haue already past the Censure of some, whose Iudgements I very much esteeme; yet, because there is something, I know not what, in the censure of a Multitude, more terrible then any single Iudgement, how seuerer or exact soeuer, I haue thought it discretion in all men, that haue to doe with so many, and to me, in my want of perfection, necessary, to bespeake your Candor. Which that I may vpon the better reason hope for, I am willing to acquaint you briefly, vpon what grounds I undertooke this Worke at first; and haue since, by publishing it, put my selfe vpon the hazard of your censure, with so small hope of glory, as from a thing of this nature can be expected. For I know, that meere Translations, haue in them this property, that they may much disgrace, if not well done; but if well, not much commend the doer.

It hath beene noted by diuers, that Homer in Poesie, Aristotle in Philosophy, Demosthenes in Eloquence, and others of the Ancients, in other knowledge, doe still maintaine their Primacy, none of them exceeded, some not approached, by any, in these later Ages. And in the number of these, is iustly ranked also our Thucydides; a Workeman no lesse perfect in his worke, then any of the former; and in whom (I beleue with many others) the Faculty of writing History is at the highest. For the principall and proper worke of History, being to instruct, and enable men, by the knowledge of Actions past, to beare themselves prudently in the present, and providently towards the Future, there is not extant any other (meerely humane) that doth more fully, and naturally performe it, then this of my Author. It is true, that there be many excellent and profitable Histories written since; and in some of them, there be inserted very wise discourses, both of Manners and Policie. But being discourses inserted, and not of the contexture of the Narration, they indeed commend the knowledge of the Writer, but not the History it selfe, the nature whereof, is meerely narratiue. In others, there bee subtile coniectures, at the secret ayms, and inward cogitations of such as fall vnder their Penne; which is also none of the least vertues in a History, where

## To the Readers.

where the coniecture is thoroughly grounded, not forced to serue the purpose of the Writer, in adorning his stile, or manifesting his subtilty in coniecturing. But these coniectures cannot often be certaine, vnlesse withall so euident, that the narration it selfe may be sufficient to suggest the same also to the Reader. But Thucydides is one, who, though he neuer digresse to reade a Lecture, Morall or Politicall, vpon his owne Text; nor enter into mens hearts, further then the actions themselves euidently guide him, is yet accounted the most Politique Historiographer that euer writ. The reason whereof I take to bee this: He fillet his Narrations with that choice of matter, and ordereth them with that Iudgement, and with such perspicuity and efficacy expresseth himselfe, that, as Plutarch saith, he maketh his Auditor a Spectator. For he setteth his Reader in the Assemblies of the People, and in the Senates, at their debating; in the Streets, at their Seditions; and in the Field at their Battels. So that looke how much a man of understanding, might haue added to his experience, if he had then liued, a beholder of their proceedings, and familiar with the men, and businesse of the time; so much almost may he profit now, by attentive reading of the same here written. He may from the narrations draw out lessons to himselfe, and of himselfe be able, to trace the drifts and counsailes of the Actors to their seate.

These Vertues of my Author did so take my affection, that they begat in me a desire to communicate him further; which was the first occasion that moued mee to translate him. For it is an error we easily fall into, to beleue, that whatsoeuer pleaseth vs, will be, in like manner and degree, acceptable to all; and to esteeme of one anothers Iudgement, as we agree in the liking, or dislike of the same things. And in this error peraduenture was I, when I thought, that as many of the more iudicious, as I should communicate him to, would affect him as much as I my selfe did. I considered also, that he was exceedingly esteemed of the Italians and French in their owne Tongues; notwithstanding that he bee not very much beholding for it to his Interpreters. Of whom (to speake no more then becomes a Candidate of your good opinion in the same kinde) I may say this, That whereas the Author himselfe, so carrieth with him his owne light throughout, that the Reader may continually see his way before him, and by that which goeth before, expect what is to follow, I found it not so in them. The cause whereof, and their excuse may bee this: They followed the Latine of Laurentius Valla, which was not without some errors, and he a Greeke Copie, not so correct as now is extant. Out of French hee was done into English, (for I neede not dissemble to haue seene him in English) in the time of King Edward the sixth; but so, as by multiplication of error, hee became at length traduced,

## To the Readers.

traduced, rather then translated into our Language. Hereupon I resolved to take him immediately from the Greeke, according to the Edition of Æmilius Porta; not refusing, or neglecting any version, Comment, or other helpe I could come by. Knowing that when with Diligence and Lealure I should haue done it, though some error might remaine, yet they would be errors but of one descent; of which neuerthelesse I can discouer none, and hope they bee not many. After I had finished it, it lay long by mee, and oiber reasons taking place, my desire to communicate it ceased.

For I saw, that, for the greatest part, men came to the reading of History, with an affection much like that of the People, in Rome, who came to the spectacle of the Gladiators, with more delight to behold their blood, then their Skill in Fencing. For they be farre more in number, that loue to read of great Armies, bloody Battels, and many thousands slaine at once, then that minde the Art, by which, the Affaires, both of Armies, and Cities, be conducted to their ends. I obserued likewise, that there were not many, whose eares were well accustomed to the names of the places they shall meet with in this Histroy; without the knowledge whereof, it can neither patiently be read ouer, perfectly understood, nor easily remembred; Especially being many, as heere it falleth out; because in that Age, almost euery City, both in Greece and Sicily, the two maine scenes of this Warre, was a distinct Common wealth by it selfe, and a party in the Quarrell.

Neuerthelesse I haue thought since, that the former of these considerations ought not to be of any weight at all, to him that can content himselfe with the Few and better sort of Readers; who, as they onley iudge, so is their approbation onley considerable. And for the difficulty arising from the ignorance of places, I thought it not so insuperable, but that with conuenient pictures of the Countries it might be remoed. To which purpose, I saw there would be necessary, especially two; a General Mappe of Greece, and a Generall Mappe of Sicily. The latter of these, I found already extant, exactly done, by Philip Clauerius; which I haue caused to be cut, and you haue it at the beginning of the Sixth Booke. But for Mappes of Greece, sufficient for this purpose, I could light on none. For neither are the Tables of Ptolomie, and descriptions of those that follow him, accommodate to the time of Thucydides; and therefore few of the Places by him mentioned therein described: nor are those that bee, agreeing alwayes with the truth of History. Wherefore I was constrained to draw one (as well as I could) my selfe. Which to doe, I was to rely, for the maine Figure of the Countrey, on the moderne description now in reputation; and in that to set downe those Places especially (as many as the Volume was capable of) which occurre in the reading.

reading of this Author, and to assigne them that situation, which, by travell in Strabo, Pausanias, Herodotus, and some other good Authors, I saw belonged unto them. And to shew you that I have not played the Mountibanke in it, putting downe exactly some few of the Principall, and the rest at adventure, without care, and without reason, I have toyed with the Mappe an Index, that pointeth to the Authors which will iustifie me, where I differ from others. With these Mappes, and these few brieve notes in the Margine, vpon such passages, as I thought most required them, I supposed the History might be read with very much benefit, by all men of good Iudgement and Education, (for whom also it was intended from the beginning by Thucydides) and have therefore at length made my Labour publike, not without hope to haue it accepted. Which if I obtaine, though no otherwise then in vertue of the Authors excellent matter, it is sufficient.

T. H.

These errors of the Presse, I desire the Reader to correct with his Penne, thus.

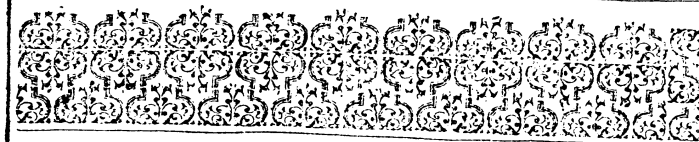
Error.	Correct.	Error.	Correct.
Pag. 32. l. 5. <i>Maydonia</i> ,	<i>Mydonia</i> .	P. 314. l. 4 which,	with.
39. l. 5. their,	other.	334. l. 5. but,	yet.
54. l. 33. 34. <i>Cyrus</i> ,	<i>Cyprus</i> .	416. l. 14. in,	into.
71. l. 28. from,	to.	457. l. 4. whole,	the whole.
85. l. 41. assailed,	assailed.	488. l. 40. <i>Tissaphepnas</i> ,	<i>Theramenas</i> .
129. l. 36. of <i>Cyllene</i> ,	to <i>Cyllene</i> .		
131. l. 19. ad,	art.		
133. l. 9. amazed.	amused.		
142. l. 21. <i>Oenia</i> ,	<i>Oenias</i> .		
151. l. 36. liknesse,	sicknesse.		
205. l. 31. encounter,	encounter them.		
245. l. 12. necessities,	necessaries.		
250. l. 35. first	forth.		
254. l. 14. <i>Phanotis</i> ,	<i>Phanotis</i> .		
256. l. 1. <i>The Salenians</i> ,	<i>The Salenians</i> .		
268. l. 40. this,	his.		
278. l. 12. <i>Gevastim</i> ,	the month <i>Gevastis</i> .		
282. l. 1. <i>Arribicans</i> ,	<i>Arribicans</i> .		
l. 6. this for power.	this power.		
l. 27. and as these.	and as for these.		

In the Margine.

P. 14. Now the Gulfe of *So called from Ili*  
*Venice*, called so an *Ilyrian*. Now  
 from *Ili* an *Ily-* the Gulfe of *Ve-*  
*vian*, *nicia*.  
 117. went, sent.  
 364. desire, deterre.

In the Life of the Author.

5. l. 34. affection, affection.



# OF THE LIFE AND HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.



Be read of diuers men that beare the name of *Thucydides*. There is *Thucydides* a *Pharalian*, mentioned in the eighth Booke of this History; who was publike Hoste of the *Athenians*, in *Pharalus*, and chancing to be at *Athens*, at the time that the government of the 400 began to goe downe, by his interpolation, and perswasion, kept asunder the *Factions* then arming themselves, that they fought not in the City to the ruine of the Common-wealth. There is *Thucydides* the son of *Milesias*, an *Athenian*, of the towne of *Alape*, of whom *Plutarch* speaketh in the Life of *Pericles*; and the same in all probabilitie, that in the first Booke of this History, is said to haue had the charge of 40 Gallies, sent against *Samos*, about 24 yeeres before the beginning of this Warre. Another *Thucydides* the sonne of *Ariston*, an *Athenian* also, of the Towne of *Acherdus*, was a Poet, though of his verses there be nothing extant. But *Thucydides* the writer of this History, an *Athenian*, of the Towne of *Halmus*, was the sonne of *Olorus*, (or *Orolus*) and *Hegessipyle*. His Fathers name is commonly written *Olorus* though in the Inscription on his Tombe, it was *Orolus*. How soeuer it be written, it is the same that was borne by diuers of the Kings of *Thrace*, and imposed on him, with respect vnto his descent from them. So that though our Author (as *Cicero* saith of him *Lib. 2. De Oratore*) had neuer written an History, yet had not his name not bin extant, in regard of his Honour and Nobility. And not onely *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Simon*, but also almost all others that haue touched this point, affirme directly that he was descended from the *Thracian Kings*. Adducing this for prooffe, that he was of the house of *Miltiades*, that famous Generall of the *Athenians*, against the *Persians* at *Marathon*; which they also proue by this, that his Tombe was a long time extant amongst the Monuments of that Family. For nere vnto the Gates of *Athens*, called *Melirides*, there was a place named *Coela*, and in it the Monuments called *Cimoniana*, belonging to the Family of *Miltiades*, in which, none but such as were of that Family, might be buried. And amongst those was the Monument of *Thucydides*, with this inscription, *Thucydides Orolus Halimusius*. Now *Miltiades* is confessed by all, to haue descended from *Olorus*, King of *Thrace*, whose daughter another *Miltiades*, Grandfather to this, married, and had children by. And *Miltiades*, that wonne the memorable victory at *Marathon*, was heire to goodly possessions, and Cities in the *Chersonnesus* of *Thrace*, ouer which also hee raigne. In *Thrace* lay also the possessions of *Thucydides* and his wealthy Mines of Gold, as he him selfe professeth in his fourth Booke. And although those riches might come to him by a Wife (as is also by some affirmed) which he married in *Scapte-Hyle*, a City of *Thrace*, yet euen by that marriage, it appeareth, that his affaires had a relation to that Countrey, and that his Nobility was not there vknowne. But in what degree of kindred *Miltiades*, and he, approached each other, is not any where made manifest. Some also haue coniectured that hee was of the house of the *Pisistratides*; the ground of whose coniecture hath bene onely this, that he maketh honourable mention of the government of *Pisistratus*, and his sonnes, and extenuate the glory of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*; prouing that the freeing of the State of *Athens* from the tyranny of the *Pisistratides*, was falsly ascribed to their fact (which proceeded from priuate reuenge, in a quarrel of Loue) by which the tyranny ceased not, but grew heauier to the State, till it was at last put downe.

## Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

downe by the *Lacedaemonians*. But this opinion, as it is not so well grounded, so neither is it so well received as the former.

Agreable to his Nobility, was his institution in the study of Eloquence, and Philosophy. For in Philosophy, he was the Scholler (as also was *Pericles* and *Socrates*) of *Anaxagoras*, whose opinions, being of a strain about the apprehension of the vulgar, procured him the estimation of an *Atheist*, which name they bestowed vpon all men that thought not as they did, of their ridiculous Religion, and in the end, cost him his life. And *Socrates* after him for the like causes, vnderwent the like fortune. It is not therefore much to be regarded, if this other disciple of his, were by some reputed an *Atheist* to. For though he were none, yet it is not improbable, but by the light of naturall reason, he might see enough in the Religion of these Heathen, to make him thinke it vaine, and superstitious; which was enough to make him an *Atheist*, in the opinion of the people. In some places of his History, hee noteth the equiuocation of the Oracles; and yet hee confirmeth an assertion of his owne, touching the time this Warre lasted, by the Oracles prediction. He taxeth *Nicias* for being too punctuall in the obseruation of the Ceremonies of their Religion, when he ouerthrew himselfe and his Army, and indeed the whole Dominion and liberty of his Countrey by it. Yet he commendeth him in another place for his worshipping of the Gods, and faith in that respect, hee least of all men referred to come to so great a degree of Calamity as hee did. So that in his writings our Authour appeareth to be, on the one side not superstitious, on the other side not an *Atheist*.

In Rhetorique, he was the Disciple of *Antiphon*, one (by his description in the eighth Booke of this History) for power of speech almost a miracle, and feared by the People, for his eloquence. Inasmuch as in his latter dayes he liued retired, but so as he gaue counsell to, and writ Orations for other men that resorted vnto him, to that purpose. It was he that contriued the deposing of the People, and the setting vp of the government of the 400. For which also he was put to death, when the People againe recovered their authority; notwithstanding that he pleaded his owne cause, the best of any man to that day.

It need not be doubted, but from such a Master, *Thucydides* was sufficiently qualified, to haue become a great Demagogue, and of great authority with the People. But it seemeth he had no desire at all to meddle in the government, because in those times it was impossible for any man to giue good and profitable counsell for the Common-wealth and not incur the displeasure of the People. For their opinion was such of their owne power, and of the facility of achieuing whatsoeuer action they vnderooke, that such men onely swayed the Assemblies, and were esteemed wise and good Common-wealths men as did put them vpon the most dangerous and desperate enterprizes. Whereas he that gaue them temperate, and discrete aduise, was thought a Coward, or not to vnderstand, or else to maligne their power. And no maruell; for much prosperity (to which they had now for many yeeres been accustomed) maketh men in loue with themselves; and it is hard for any man to loue that counsell which maketh him loue himselfe the lesse. And it holdeth much more in a Multitude, then in one Man; For a man that reasoneth with himselfe, will not be ashamed to admit of timorous suggestions in his business, that he may the stronger prouide; but in publique deliberations before a Multitude, Feare, (which for the most part aduiceth well, though it execute not so) seldom or neuer sheweth it selfe, or is admitted. By this meanes it came to passe amongst the *Athenians*, who thought they were able to doe any thing, that wicked men and flatterers draue them headlong into those actions that were to ruine them; and the good men either durst not oppose, or if they did, vndid themselves. *Thucydides* therefore, that he might not be either of them that committed, or of them that suffered euill, forbore to come into the Assemblies, and propounded to himselfe a priuate life as farre as the eminency of so wealthy a person, and the writing of the History he had vnderaken, would permit.

For his opinion touching the government of the State, it is manifest that hee least of all liked the Democracy. And vpon diuers occasions, hee noteth the emulation and contention of the Demagogues, for reputation, and glory of wit; with their crossing of each others counsels to the damage of the Publique; the inconstancy

of

## Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

of Resolutions, caused by the diuersity of ends, and power of Rhetorique in the Orators; and the desperate actions vnderaken vpon the flattering aduice of such as desired to attaine, or to hold what they had attained of authority and sway amongst the common people. Nor doth it appeare, that he magnifieth any where the authority of the Few amongst whom he saith euery one desired to be chiefe, and they that are vnderualued, beare it with lesse patience then in a Democracy; whereupon sedition followeth, and dissolution of the government. Hee prayleth the government of *Athen*, when it was mixt of the Few and the Many; but more he commendeth it, both when *Pisistratus* reigned (sauiug that it was an vsurped power) and when in the beginning of this Warre, it was Democraticall in name, but in effect Monarchicall vnder *Pericles*. So that it seemeth that as he was of Regall descent, so hee best approued of the Regall Government. It is therefore no maruell, if he meddled as little as he could in the business of the Common-wealth, but gaue himselfe rather to the obseruation and recording of what was done by those that had the manning thereof. Which also he was no lesse prompt diligent and faithfull by the disposition of his mind, then by his fortune, dignity, and wisdom, able to accomplish. How he was disposed to a worke of this nature, may be vnderstood by this, that when being a young man he heard *Herodotus* the Historiographer reciting his History in Publique, (for such was the fashion both of that, and many Ages after) he felt so great a sting of emulation, that it drew teares from him, inasmuch as *Herodotus* himselfe tooke notice how violently his mind was set on letters, and told his Father *Olorus*. When the Peloponnesian Warre began to breake out, hee coniectured truly, that it would proue an Argument worthy his labour; and no sooner it began, then he began his History; pursuing the same, not in that perfect manner, in which we see it now, but by way of Commentary, or plaine Register of the Actions and passages thereof, as from time to time they fell out, and came to his knowledge. But such a Commentary it was, as might perhaps deserue to be preferred before a History written by another. For it is very probable that the eighth Booke is left the same it was when he first writ it, neither beautified with Orations, nor so well Cemented at the Transitions, as the former seuen Bookes are. And though he began to write as soone as euer the Warre was on foot, yet began he not to perfect and polish his History, till after hee was banished.

For notwithstanding his retired life vpon the Coast of *Thrace*, where his owne possessions lay, he could not auoyd a seruice of the State, which proued to him afterwards very vnfortunate. For whilst he resided in the Ile *Thasus*, it fell out that *Brasidas* the *Lacedaemonian*, besieged *Amphipolis*, a Citie belonging to the *Athenians*, on the Confinnes of *Thrace*, and *Macedony*, distant from *Thasus*, about halfe a dayes sayle. To relieue which, the Captaine thereof for the *Athenians*, sent to *Thucydides*, to leuy a power and make halfe vnto him, (for *Thucydides* was one of the *Strategi*, that is, had authority to raise forces in those parts, for the seruice of the Common-wealth.) And hee did accordingly. But he came thither one night too late, and found the City already yeelded vp. And for this hee was afterwards banished, as if he had let slip his time through negligence, or purposely put it off, vpon feare of the Enemy. Neuertheless hee put himselfe into the Citie of *Eion*, and preferred it to the *Athenians*, with the repulse of *Brasidas*, which came downe from *Amphipolis*, the next morning, and assaulted it. The author of his banishment is supposed to haue been *Cleon*, a most violent Sycophant in those times, and thereby also a most acceptable Speaker amongst the people. For where affaires succeed amisse, though there want neither prouidence, nor courage in the Conduccion, yet with those that iudge onely vpon euents, the way to calumny is alwayes open, and Envy, in the likenesse of Zeale to the Publique good, easily findeth credit for an accusation.

After his Banishment he liued in *Scapte-Hyle*, a Citie of *Thrace*, before mentioned, as *Plutarch* writeth; but yet so, as he went abroad, and was present at the Actions of the rest of the Warre as appeareth by his owne words in his fifth Booke. Where he saith, that he was present at the Actions of both parts, and no lesse at those of the *Peloponnesians*, by reason of his exile, then those of the *Athenians*. During this time also, he perfected his History, so far as is now to be seene; nor doth

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it appeare that after his exile, he euer againe enioyed his Countrey. It is not cleere in any Author, where, or when, or in what yeere of his owne Age, he dyed. Most agree that he dyed in Banishment; yet there be that haue written, that after the defeat in Sicily, the Athenians decreed a generall reuocation of all banished persons, except those of the Family of *Pisistratus*; and that he then returned, and was afterwards put to death at Athens. But this is very vnlikely to be true, vnlesse by after the defeat in Sicily, he meant so long after, that it was also after the end of the Peloponnesian Warre, because *Thucydides* himselfe maketh no mention of such returne, though he out-liued the whole War, as is manifest by his words in the fift Booke. For he saith he liued in banishment twenty yeeres after his charge at *Amphipolis*; which happened in the eighth yeere of this Warre, which in the whole, lasted but 27 yeeres compleat. And in another place he maketh mention of the razing of the Long-walles betwene *Peiræus*, and the Citie; which was the last stroke of this Warre. They that say he dyed at Athens, take their coniecture from his Monument which was there. But this is not a sufficient Argument; for he might be buried there secretly, (as some haue written he was) though he dyed abroad; or his Monument might be there, and (as others haue affirmed) he not buried in it. In this variety of coniecture there is nothing more probable then that which is written by *Pausanias*, where he describeth the Monuments of the Athenian Citie, and saith thus, *The worthy Ait of Oenobius, in the behalfe of Thucydides, is not without honour* (meaning that he had a Statue,) *For Oenobius obtained to haue a Decree passed for his returne; who returning was slaine by treachery, and his Sepulchre is neere the Gates called Melirides.* He dyed, as saith *Marcellinus*, after the seven and fiftieth yeere of his Age. And if it be true that is written by *A. Gellius*, of the Ages of *Hellanicus*, *Herodotus*, and *Thucydides*, then died he not before the sixty eighth yeere. For if he were forty when the Warre began, and liued (as he did, certainly) to see it ended he might be more when he dyed, but not lesse then sixty eight yeeres of Age. What children he left, is not manifest. *Plato in Alcione*, maketh mention of *Milestias* and *Stephanus*, sonnes of a *Thucydides*, of a very Noble Family; but it is cleere that they were of *Thucydides*, the Riual of *Pericles*, both by the name *Milestias*, and because this *Thucydides* also, was of the Family of *Milestias*, as *Plutarch* testifieth in the Life of *Simon*. That he had a sonne, is affirmed by *Marcellinus*, out of the authority of *Polémon*, but of his name there is no mention, saue that a learned man readeth there, in the place of *θεοφραν* (which is in the imperfect Copie) *Timotheus*. Thus much of the person of *Thucydides*.

Now for his writings, two things are to be considered in them, *Truth*, and *Eloquution*. For in *Truth* consisteth the Soule, and in *Eloquution* the Body of History. The latter without the former, is but a picture of History; and the former without the latter, vnapt to instruct. But let vs see how our Author hath acquitted himselfe in both. For the Faith of this History, I shall haue the lesse to say, in respect that no man hath euer yet called it into question. Nor indeed could any man iustly doubt of the truth of that Writer, in whom they had nothing at all to suspect of those things that could haue caused him either voluntarily to lye, or ignorantly to deliuer an vntruth. He ouertasked not himselfe by vndertaking an History of things done long before his time, and of which he was not able to informe himselfe. He was a man that had as much meanes, in regard both of his dignity and wealth, to find the truth of what he relateth, as was needfull for a man to haue. He vsed as much diligence in search of the truth, (noting euery thing whilest it was fresh in memory, and laying out his wealth vpon intelligence,) as was possible for a man to vse. He affected least of any man the acclamations of Popular Auditories, and wrote not his History to win present applause, as was the vse of that Age, but for a Monument to instruct the Ages to come. Which he professeth himselfe, and Entitleth his Booke *ΚΤΗΜΑ ΕΣ ΑΒΙ*, *A Possession for euerlasting*. He was farre from the necessity of seruile Writers; either to feare or flatter. And whereas he may peraduenture be thought to haue bene maleuolent towards his Countrey, because they deferred to haue himso, yet hath he not written any thing that discouereth any such passion. Nor is there any thing written of them that tendeth to their dishonour, as *Athenians*, but onely as *People*; and that by the necessity of the narration, not by any sought digression. So that no word of his, but

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but their own actions do sometimes reprobate them. In summe, if the truth of a History did euer appeare by the manner of relating, it doth so in this History; So coherent, peripetuous and perswasive is the whole Narration, and euery part thereof.

In the *Eloquution* also; Two things are considerable, *Disposition* or *Method*, and *Stile*. Of the *Disposition* here vsed by *Thucydides*, it will be sufficient in this place, briefly to obserue only this. That in his first Booke, first he hath by way of *Exordium*, deriued the State of Greece from the Cradle, to the vigorous stature it then was at, when he began to write; and next, declared the causes, both *reall* and *pretended* of the Warre hee was to write of. In the rest, in which hee handleth the Warre it selfe, he followeth distinctly and purely the order of time throughout; relating what came to passe from yeere to yeere, and subdiuiding each yeere into a Summer and Winter. The grounds and motives of euery action, he setteth down before the action it selfe, either Narratiuely, or else contriueth them into the forme of *Deliberatiue Orations*, in the persons of such as from time to time bare sway in the Common-wealth. After the actions, when there is iust occasion, he giueth his iudgement of them, shewing by what meanes the successe came either to be furthered or hindered. Digressions for instructions cause, and other such open conueyanances of Precepts (which is the Philosophers part) he neuer vseth, as hauing so cleerly set before mens eyes, the wayes and euents, of good and euill counsels, that the Narration it selfe doth secretly instruct the Reader, and more effectually then possibly can be done by Precept.

For his *Stile*, I referre it to the iudgement of diuers antient and competent Judges. *Plutarch* in his Booke, *De gloria Atheniensium*, saith of him thus. *Thucydides* *symeth* alwayes at this, to make his Auditor a Spectator, and to cast his Reader into the same passions that they were in, that were beholders. The manner how Demosthenes auanged the Athenians on the rugged shore before Pylus. How Brasidas urged the Secretman to rime his Gally a ground; how he went to the Ladder, or place in the Gally for descent, how he was hurt, and swoyned, and fell downe on the ledges of the Gally; how the Spartans fought after the manner of a Land-fight vpon the Sea, and the Athenians of a Sea-fight vpon Land. Againe, in the Sicilian Warre, how a battell was fought by Sea and Land, with equall fortune. These things, I say, are so described, and so evidently set before our eyes, that the mind of the Reader is no lesse affected therewith, then if hee had bene present in the Actions. There is for his perspicuity. *Cicero* in his Booke entituled *Orator*, speaking of the affection of diuers Greeke Rhetoricians, saith thus. And before *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are the more admirable. For though they liued in the same Age with those I haue before named, (meaning *Thrasymachus*, *Gorgias*, and *Theodorus*) yet were they farre from this kind of delicacy, or rather indeed of olery. For the one without rubbe, gently glideth like a Still River, and the other (meaning *Thucydides*) runnes stronglier, and in matter of Warre, as it were, bloweth a trumpet of Warre. And in these two (as saith *Theophrastus*) History hath rowed her selfe, and aduentured to speake both more copiously, and with more ornament then in those that were before them. This commends the grauity, and the dignity of his language. Againe in his second Booke, *De Oratore*, thus. *Thucydides* in the *Art of speaking*, hath in my opinion far exceeded them all. For he is so full of matter, that the number of his sentences, doth almost reach to the number of his Words; and in his Words he is so apt, and so close, that it is hard to say, whether his words do more illustrate his sentences, or his sentences his words. There is for the pithinesse and strength of his Stile. Lastly, for the purity, and propriety, I cite, *Dionysius Halicarnassius*, whose testimony is the stronger in this point, because he was a Greeke Rhetorician for his faculty, and for his affection, one that would no further commend him, then of necessity he must. His words are these. There is one vertue in Eloquence, the chiefe of all the rest, and without which there is no other goodnesse in speech. What is that? That the Language be pure and retaine the propriety of the Greeke tongue. This they both obserue diligently. For *Herodotus* is the best rule of the Ionique, and *Thucydides* of the Attique Dialect. These testimonies are not needfull to him that hath read the History it selfe, nor at all, but that this same *Dionysius* hath taken so much paines, and applyed so much of his faculty in Rhetorique to the extenuating of the worth thereof; Moreover, I haue thought it necessary to take out the principall objections he maketh against him, and without many words of mine owne, to leaue them to the consideration



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deration of the Reader. And first *Dionysius* saith thus. The principall, and most necessary office of any man that intendeth to write a History, is to chuse a Noble Argument, and gratefull to such as shall read it. And this, *Herodotus*, in my opinion, hath done better then *Thucydides*. For *Herodotus* hath written the *ixix* History, both of the *Greekes* and *Barbarians*, to save from oblivion, &c. But *Thucydides* writeth one only Warre, and that neither honourable, nor fortunate; which principally were to bee wished upon to have bene; and next, neuer to have been remembered, nor knowne to posterity. And that he took an euill Argument in hand, he maketh it manifest in his proeme, saying, That many Cities were in that Warre made desolate, and utterly destroyed, partly by *Barbarians*, partly by the *Greekes* themselves: so many banishments; and so much slaughter of men as neuer was the like before, &c. So that the hearers will abhorre it, at the first propounding. Now by how much it is better to write of the wonderfull Acts both of the *Barbarians*, and *Grecians*; then of the pittifull and horrible calamities of the *Grecians*, so much wiser is *Herodotus* in the choyce of his Argument, then *Thucydides*.

Now let any man consider whether it be not more reasonable to say. That the principall, & most necessary office of him that will write a History, is to take such an Argument, as is both within his power well to handle, and profitable to posterity that shall read it. Which *Thucydides*, in the opinion of all men, hath done better then *Herodotus*. For *Herodotus* undertooke to write of those things, of which it was impossible for him to know the truth; and which delight more the eare with fabulous Narrations, then satisfie the mind with truth. But *Thucydides* writeth one Warre, which, how it was carried from the beginning to the end, he was able certainly to informe himselfe. And by propounding in his Proeme, the miseries that happened in the same, he sheweth that it was a great Warre, and worthy to be knowne, and not to be concealed from posterity, for the calamities that then fell upon the *Grecians*; but the rather to be truly deliuered unto them for that men profit more by looking on aduerser events, then on prosperity. Therefore by how much mens miseries doe better instruct, then their good success, by so much was *Thucydides* more happy in taking his Argument, then *Herodotus* was wise in chusing his.

*Dionysius*, againe, saith thus. The next office of him that will write a History, is to know where to begin, and where to end. And in this point *Herodotus* seemeth to be farre more discreet then *Thucydides*. For in the first place he layeth downe the cause, for which the *Barbarians* began to inuade the *Grecians*; and going on, maketh an end at the punishment, and the reuenge taken on the *Barbarians*. But *Thucydides* begins at the good estate of the *Grecians*, which being a *Grecian*, and an *Athenian*, he ought not to haue done; nor ought he being of that dignity amongst the *Athenians*, so evidently to haue laid the fault of the Warre upon his owne City, when there were other occasions enough to which he might haue imputed it. Nor ought he to haue begun with the businesse of the *Corcyraens*, but at the more Noble Acts of his Countrey, which they did immediately after the *Persian Warre*, (which afterward in conuenient place he mentioneth, but it is but curiosity, and not as he ought.) And when he had declared those, with much affection, as a lover of his Countrey, then he should haue brought in, how that the *Lacedaemonians*, through enuy and feare, but pretending other causes, began the Warre, and so haue descended to the *Corcyraean* businesse, and the Decree against the *Megaraens*, or whatsoeuer else he had to put in. Then in the ending of his History, there be many errors committed. For though he professeth he was present in the whole warre, and that he would write it all, yet he ends with the Nauall battell at *Cynossema*, which was fought in the 21 yeere of the warre; whereas it had bene better to haue gone through with it, and ended his History with that admirable, and gratefull returne of the banished *Athenians* from *Phile*, at which time the City recovered her liberty.

To this I say. That it was the duty of him that had undertaken to write the History of the *Peloponnesian Warre*, to begin his Narration no further off, then at the causes of the same, whether the *Grecians* were then in good, or in euill estate. And if the inuery, upon which the Warre arose, proceeded from the *Athenians*, then the writer, though an *Athenian*, and honoured in his Countrey, ought to declare the same, and not to seeke, nor take, though at hand, any other occasion to transerre the fault. And that the Acts done before the time comprehended in the Warre he writ of, ought to haue been touched but cursorily, and no more then may serue for the enlightning of the History to follow, how

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sooner those Acts haue bene. Which when he had thus touched, without affection to either side, and not as a lover of his Countrey, but of truth, then to haue proceeded to the rest, with the like indifferency. And to haue made an end of writing, where the Warre ended, which he undertooke to write; not producing his History beyond that period, though that which followed were neuer so admirable and acceptable. All this *Thucydides* hath obserued.

These two criminations, I haue therefore set downe at large, translated almost verbatim, that the iudgement of *Dionysius Halicarnassius*, may the better appeare, concerning the mayne and principall vertues of a History. I thinke there was neuer written so much absurdity in so few lines. He is contrary to the opinion of all men that euer spake of this subiect besides himselfe, and to common sense. For he makes the scope of History not profit by writing truth, but delight of the hearer, as if it were a Song. And the Argument of History, he would not by any means haue to containe the calamities and misery of his Countrey, (these he would haue buried in silence) but only their glorious and splendid actions. Amongst the vertues of an Historiographer, he reckons affection to his Countrey; study to please the hearer; to write of more then his Argument leads him to; and to conceale all actions that were not to the honour of his Countrey. Most manifest vices. He was a Rhetorician, and it seemeth he would haue nothing written, but that which was most capable of Rhetoricall ornament. Yet *Lucian*, a Rhetorician also, in a Treatise, entituled, *How a History ought to be written*, saith thus. That a writer of History, ought in his writings, to be a stranger, without Countrey, living under his owne Law only, subiect to no King, nor caring what any man will like, or dislike, but laying out the matter as it is.

The third fault he finds, is this. That the method of his History is gouerned by the time rather then the periods of seuerall actions. For he declares in order what came to passe each Summer, and Winter, and is thereby forced sometimes, to leaue the Narration of a siege, or sedition, or a Warre, or other action, in the midst, and enter into a Relation of somewhat else, done at the same time, in another place, and to come to the former againe when the time requires it. This, saith hee, causeth confusion in the mind of his hearer, so that he cannot comprehend distinctly the seuerall parts of the History.

*Dionysius* sayeth still at the delight of the present hearer; though *Thucydides* himselfe professeth that his scope is not that, but to leave his worke for a perpetuall possession to posterity. And then haue men leasure enough to comprehend him thoroughly. But indeed, whosoever shall read him once attentively, shall more distinctly conceiue of euery action in this way, then the other; and the method is more naturall; for as much as his purpose being to write of one *Peloponnesian Warre*, this way he hath incorporated all the parts thereof into one body, so that there is vniety in the whole, and the seuerall Narrations are conceiued onely as parts of that; Whereas the other way, he had but sowed together many little Histories, and left the *Peloponnesian Warre* (which he tooke for his subiect) in a manner vnwritten; for neither any part, nor the whole, could iustly haue carryed such a Title.

Fourthly, he accuseth him for the method of his first Booke, in that he deriueth *Greece*, from the infancy thereof to his owne time; and in that he setteth downe the Narration of the quarrels about *Corcyra*, and *Potidea*, before he entreateth of the true cause of the Warre, which was the greatnesse of the *Athenian* dominion, feared and enuyed by the *Lacedaemonians*.

For answer to this, I say thus. For the mentioning of the ancient State of *Greece*, he doth it briefly, insinuating no longer vpon it then is necessary for the well vnderstanding of the following History. For without some generall notions of these first times, many places of the History are the lesse easie to be vnderstood, as depending vpon the knowledge of the originall of seuerall Cities and Customes, which could not be at all inserted into the History it selfe, but must be either supposed to be foreknowne by the reader, or else be deliuered to him in the beginning, as a necessary Preface. And for his putting first the Narration of the Publique, and auowed cause of this Warre, and after that the true and inward motive of the same, the reprehension is absurd. For it is plaine that a cause of Warre, divulged and auowed, how slight soeuer it be, comes within the taske of the Historiographer, no lesse then

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the Warre it selfe, for without a pretext, no Warre followes. This pretext is alwayes an injury received, or pretended to be received. Whereas the inward motive to hostility is but coniecturall, and not of that evidence, that a Historiographer should be alwayes bound to take notice of it; as enuy to the greatnesse of another State, or feare of an injury to come. Now let any man iudge, whether a good writer of History, ought to handle, as the principall cause of Warre, proclaimed injury, or concealed enuy. In a word the Image of the Method vied by Thucydides in this point, is this. The Quarrell about Corcyra, passed on this manner; and the Quarrell about Potidæa, on this manner; (relating both at large) and in both, the Athenians were accused to haue done the injury. Neuertheless the Lacedæmonians had not upon this injury entred into a Warre against them, but that they enuyed the greatnesse of their power, and feared the consequence of their ambition. I thinke a more cleare, and naturall order cannot possibly be deuised.

Againe he sayes, that he maketh a Funerall Oration (which was solemnly done on all occasions through the Warre) for 15 Horsemen onely, that were slaine at the Brookes called Rheis; and that for this reason onely, that he might make it in the person of Pericles, who was then lining, but before another the like occasion happened, was dead.

The manner of the Athenians was, that they that were slaine the first, in any Warre, should haue a solempne Funerall, in the suburbs of the Citie. During this Warre, they had many occasions to put this custome in practise. Seeing therefore it was fit to haue that custome, & the forme of it knowne, and that once for all, the manner being euer the same, it was fittest to relate it on the first occasion, what number soeuer they were that were then buried; which neuertheless is not likely to haue been so few as Dionysius saith. For the Funerall was not celebrated till the Winter after they were slaine, so that many more were slaine before this solemnity, and may all be accounted amongst the first. And that Pericles performed the office of making their Funerall Oration, there is no reason alledged by him, why it should be doubted.

Another fault hee finds, is this; That he introduceth the Athenian Generals in a Dialogue, with the Inhabitants of the Ile of Melos, pretending openly, for the cause of their inuasion of that Ile, the power and will of the State of Athens, and reiecing vnto them, to enter into any disputation with them, concerning the equity of their cause; which he saith, was contrary to the dignity of the State.

To this may be answered; That the Proceeding of these Generals was not vnlike to diuers other Actions, that the people of Athens openly tooke vpon them; and therefore it is very likely they were allowed so to proceed. Howsoeuer, if the Athenian People gaue in charge to these their Captaines, to take in the Iland, by all meanes whatsoeuer, without power to report backe vnto them first, the equity of the Ilanders cause, as is most likely to be true, I see then no reason the Generals had to enter into disputation with them, whether they should performe their charge, or not, but onely whether they should doe it by faire, or foule meanes; which is the point treated of in this Dialogue. Other Cauils he hath, touching the matter, and order of this History, but not needfull to be answered.

Then for his phrase, he carpeth at it in infinite places, both for obscure and licentious. He that will see the particular places, he reprehendeth, let him read Dionysius himselfe, if he will; for the matter is too tedious for this place. It is true, that there be some Sentences in him, somewhat long, not obscure to one that is attentive; and besides that, they are but few. Yet is this the most important fault he findeth. For the rest, the obscurity that is, proceedeth from the profoundnesse of the Sentences, containing contemplations of those humane passions, which either dissembled, or not commonly discoursed of, doe yet carry the greatest sway with men, in their publique conuersation. If then one cannot penetrate into them without much meditation, we are not to expect a man should vnderstand them at the first speaking. Marcellinus saith, he was obscure on purpose, that the Common people might not vnderstand him. And not vnlikely; for a wise man should so write (though in words vnderstood by all men) that wise men only should be able to commend him. But this obscurity is not to be in the Narrations of things done, nor in the descriptions of places, or of battels; in all which, Thucydides is most perspicuous,

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as Plutarch in the words before cited, hath testified of him. But in the Characters of mens humors and manners, and applying them to affaires of consequence, it is impossible not to be obscure to ordinary capacities, in what words soeuer a man deliuer his mind; If therefore Thucydides in his Orations, or in the Description of a Sedition, or other thing of that kind, be not easily vnderstood, it is of those onely that cannot penetrate into the nature of such things, and proceedeth not from any intricacy of expression. Dionysius further findeth fault with his vsing to set word against word, which the Rhetoricians call Antitheta. Which, as it is in some kind of speech, a very great vice, so is it not vnproper in Characters; and of comparatiue discourses, it is almost the onely stile.

And whereas he further taxeth him for licentiousnesse: in turning *Nownes* into *Verbes*, and *Verbes* into *Nownes*, and altering of *Genders*, *Cases*, and *Numbers*, as hee doth sometimes for the more efficacy of his stile, & without *Solacisme*, I leaue him to the answer of Marcellinus; who sayes, That Dionysius findeth fault with this, as being ignorant (yet he was a professed Rhetorician) that this was the most excellent, and perfect kind of speaking.

Some man may peraduenture desire to know, what motiue Dionysius might haue, to extenuate the worth of him, whom he himselfe acknowledgeth to haue beene esteemed by all men, for the best by farre of all Historians that euer writ, and to haue been taken by all the Antient Orators, and Philosophers, for the measure and rule of writing History. What motiue he had to it, I know not; but what glory he might expect by it, is easily knowne. For hauing first preferred Herodotus, his Countreyman, a *Halicarnassian*, before Thucydides, who was accounted the best, and then conceiuing that his owne History might perhaps be thought not inferior to that of Herodotus, by this computation he saw the honour of the best Historiographer falling on himselfe; Wherein (in the opinion of all men) he hath misreckoned. And thus much for the objections of Denis of Halicarnasse.

It is written of Demosthenes, the famous Orator, that he wrote ouer the History of Thucydides with his owne hand, eight times. So much was this Worke esteemed, euen for the eloquence. But yet was this his eloquence not at all fit for the barre, but proper for History, and rather to be read, then heard. For words that passe away (as in publike Orations they must) without pause, ought to be vnderstood with ease, and are lost else; though words that remaine in writing, for the Reader to meditate on, ought rather to be pithy, and full. Cicero therefore doth iustly set him a part, from the ranke of Pleadars, but withall, he continually giueth him his due for History, *Lib. 2. De Oratore*. What great Rhetorician euer borrowed any thing of Thucydides? yet all men praise him, I confesse it, as a wise, seuer, graue Relator of things done. Nor for a Pleadar of Causes at the Barre, but a Reporter of Warre in History. So that he was neuer reckoned an Orator, nor if he had neuer written a History, had his name therefore not been extant, being a man of Honour and Nobility. Yet, none of them imitate the grauity of his Words and Sentences; but when they haue vntured a kinde of lame and disoynted stiffe, they presently thinke themselves brothers of Thucydides. Againe, in his Booke, *De optimo Oratore*, he saith thus. But here will stand up Thucydides; For his eloquence is by some admired; and iustly. But this is nothing to the Orator wee seeke; for it is one thing to unfold a matter by way of Narration; another thing to accuse a man, or cleere him by Arguments. And in Narrations, one thing to stay the hearer; another to stirre him. Lucian, in his Booke entituled, *How a History ought to be written*, doth continually exemplifie the vertues which he requires in an Historiographer, by Thucydides. And if a man consider well that whole Discourse of his, he shall plainly perceiue, that the Image of this present History, praconceined in Lucians minde, suggested vnto him all the Precepts he there deliuereth. Lastly, heare the most true and proper commendation of him, from Iustus Lipsius, in his Notes to his Booke, *De Doctrina Civilis*, in these words. Thucydides, who hath written, not many, nor very great matters, hath perhaps yet won the Garland from all that haue written of matters, both many and great. Euery where for Eloquution graue; short and thicke with sense; found in his iudgements; euery where secretly instructing, and directing a mans life and actions. In his Orations and Excursions, almost Divine. Whom the oftner you read, the more you shall carry away, yet neuer be dismissed without appetite. Next to him is Polybius, &c. And thus much concerning the Life and History of Thucydides.

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The names of the places of Greece occurring in *Thucydides*, or in the *Mappe of Greece*, briefly noted out of diuers Authors, for the better manifesting of their scituation, and enlightning of the History.



**A**  
**Bas**, a City of the Locrians of Opus, confining on *Himantia*, which is a City of Phocis. *Pausanias* in *Phocis*.  
**Abdera**, a City situate next beyond the River *Nessus*, towards the East. *Strab. Epitome* lib. 7. *Nessus* a River of the territory of *Abdera*. *Herodotus*, lib. 7.  
**Abydos**, a City on the entrance of Hellespont, between *Lampsacus* and *Ilion*, equally distant from both. In sight of *Ilion*, and is distant from the mouth of the River *Aesepus* by Sea 700 furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 13.  
**Acanthus**, a City neere to the *Isthmus* of Mount *Athos*, and (as in the Epitome of *Strabones* seventh Booke) in the Bay of *Singus*. But it appeareth by *Herodotus* in his seventh Booke, that it lyeth on the other side, in the Bay of *Strymon*; where he saith, that the *Isthmus* of Mount *Athos* is of twelve furlongs length, and reacheth from *Acanthus* to the Sea that lyeth before *Torone*. And in another place of the same Booke he saith, that the Fleet of *Xerxes* layed through the Ditch (which *Xerxes* had caused to be made through the said *Isthmus*) from *Acanthus*, into the Bay, in which are these Cities, *Singus*, &c.  
**Acarnania**, a region in Greece, diuided from *Epirus* by the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Pol.* lib. 4. it reacheth from *Ambracia* to the River *Achelous*; and is diuided from the *Aetolians* by *Achelous*. *Strab.* lib. 10.  
**Acheum**, a City of *Troas*, opposite to the Ile *Tenedos*. *Strab.* lib. 13.  
**Achaia**, a Region of *Peloponnesus*, confining on *Elis*, *Arcadia*, and *Sicyonia*, bounded on one side with *Elis*, at the Promontory of *Araxus*, and on the other side with the Territory of *Sicyon*. *Strab.* lib. 8. It hath in it 12 Cities in this order, beginning at that part which confineth on *Sicyonia*. *Pellene*, *Egina*, *Ege*, *Bura*, *Helice*, *Egium*, *Rhyper*, *Patre*, *Phare*, *Olenus*, *Dyme*, *Tritea*. *Herodotus* lib. 1. *Strab.* lib. 9. It is also a part of *Thessaly*, in which are the *Phthiote*. *Herod.* lib. 7. *Strab.* lib. 9.  
**Acharne**, a Towne of *Attica*, distant from *Athens* about 60. Furlongs; *Thucyd.* lib. 2. and lyeth toward the North of it, as may be collected out of the narration of the journey of *Archidamus* with his Armie, in the same Booke.

**Achelous**, a river that riseth in the Mountaine *Pindus*, and running through the Territories of *Agre*, and *Amphilocheia*, and by the City of *Stratus*, deuideth the maritime parts of *Acarnania* from *Aetolia*. *Strabo* lib. 10. *Achelous* riseth in *Pindus*, and runneth through *Dolopia*, *Agre*, *Amphilocheia*, by the City of *Stratus*, and by the City *Oenias* into the Sea. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. in the later end.

**Acheron**, — *Acherusia* is a Lake which *Acherusia*, 3 furlongs into the Sea, neere unto *Cheimerium*, a Promontory of *Thesprotis*, and into this Lake falleth the River *Acheron*. *Thuc.* lib. 1. *Acheron* commeth out of the Lake *Acherusia*, into the Hauen *Glycys*. *Strab.* lib. 7. *Acheron* commeth out of *Molossi*, and falleth into the Lake *Acherusia*, which *Livy* calleth the Bay of *Thesprotis*: *Livy*, lib. 8.

**Aerie**, a Citie of *Lacopia*; betweene it and *Gythium* the river *Euratus* goeth out into the Sea. *Strabo* lib. 8. From *Helos*, which is at the mouth of *Euratus*, it is 30 furlongs distant, and from the Promontory of *Tenarus* 230 furlongs. *Pausan.* in *Laconia*.

**Aeritas**, a Promontory loyning to the Territory of *Meithone*, and is the beginning of the Bay of *Messenia*. *Strabo*, lib. 8.

**Acrothoi**, — *Acrothoi* are the People *Acrothos* prom. — of a City in the Territory of *Aste*, in which *Aste* is the Mountaine *Athos*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4. *Acrothos* is a Promontory of Mount *Athos*, towards the Bay of *Strymon*. And *Acrothoon* a City in the same. *Herodotus* lib. 7. In stead of this *Acrothos* and *Acrothoon*, *Ptolemy* hath *Athosa*, a Citie and Promontory. *Acrotom*, a Towne on the top of Mount *Athos*. *Pliny*, lib. 4.

**Aste** is that Territory wherein standeth the Mountaine *Athos*, disioyned from the Continent by a Ditch made by the King of *Persea*, and hath in it these Cities, *Sancdion*, *Thysus*, *Cleone*, *Acrothoi*, *Olophysus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

**Astium**, a Temple of *Apollo*, vpon the shore. It is situate where the Bay of *Ambracia* is narrowest. *Polybius*, lib. 4. In the mouth of the Bay of *Ambracia*, not farre from *Anaflorum*. *Strab.* lib. 10.

**Adramyctium** — The Bay of *Adramyctium* & sinus *A-* (taken in the greatest extent) beginneth at the

Promontory of *Lessus*, and endeth at the Promontory of *Lene*, which is opposite to *Malea* of *Lechos*. And the Bay of *Adramyctium* (properly so called) beginneth at the Promontory of *Gargara*, and endeth at the Promontory of *Pyrria*. And the Cune of *Adramyctium* is within the Promontory of *Pyrria*. *Strabo* lib. 13.

**Edipia**, a City of *Euboea*, over against *Opus*, a City of the *Locrians*. *Strabo*, lib. 9. **Adissa**, a City of *Macedonia*, in the way called by *Strabo*, *Ignatia*, from *Apollonia* and *Dyrachium* (or *Epidamnus*) to *Thessalonica* (or *Therma*), and lyeth betweene *Thessalonica* and the *Eordians*. *Strab.* lib. 7.

**Ege**, a City of *Euboea*, opposite to the mouth of the River *Cephissus*. *Strab.* lib. 9. It is also the name of a Citie of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, betweene *Helice* and *Bura*. *Herodotus*, lib. 1. *Pausan.* in *Achaia*. It is the name also of another City in *Achaia*, lying vp from the Sea behinde the Territory of *Cyme*. *Strab.* lib. 13.

**Egina**, an Island over against *Epidaureus*, in the *Saronian* Bay. *Strab.* lib. 8. *Pausan.* in *Cor.*

**Egina**, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Pellene* and *Ege*. *Herod.* lib. 1. *Strab.* lib. 9. Opposite to *Carnaeus*. *Polyb.* lib. 4. Also a City of *Lechos*, where the Island is narrowest betweene the Bay of *Pyrria*, and the other Sea. *Strab.* lib. 13.

**Egium**, a Towne in *Aetolia*, amongst the Hills, 80 furlongs distant from the Sea. *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

**Egium**, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Helice* and *Rhyper*. *Herodot.* lib. 1. *Strab.* lib. 9. distant from *Patre* 160 Furlongs. *Pausan.* in *Achaia*.

**Egos potamos**, a River in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, distant from *Sestos* 15 furlongs. *Xenophon*, *Græcorum* 2.

**Emathia**, a Region of *Macedonia*, placed by *Ptolemy* betweene *Thessaly* and the River *Axius*.

**Emus**, a Mountaine of *Thrace*, which diuideth it almost in the middle, and reacheth from the *Pannonian* Mountaines, to *Pontus Euxinus*. *Strab.* lib. 7.

**Enia**, a City in the Bay of *Therma*, last in order from *Patideia* towards *Therma*. *Herodotus* lib. 7. It is distant from *Thessalonica*, (which is the same with *Therma*) 120 Furlongs, and opposite to *Pydna*. *Livy* lib. 44 in the beginning.

*Alexis*, a City between the River *Hebrus* and the Bay of *Melas*. (i. the *Black Bay*.) *Herod. lib. 7. Appian. lib. 9. C. Giulian.*

*Amazones*, a *Greke* Nation, inhabiting in Mount *Oeta*, part of them about the *Ætolians*, (that is, to as the *Ætolians* are between them and the Sea.) They border on the *Laevi Epionemides*, in such manner, as the *Ætolians* doe on the *Laevi Olympos*. *Strabo. lib. 9. 10.*

*Æolis*, a *Greke* Nation inhabiting by the Sea side in *Asia* from the Promontory of *Lesbos* to the River *Hermus*. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

*Ægeus*, a River in *Troas*, rising out of Mount *Ida*, falling into *Propontis*, in that part which is nearest to *Zelcia*, about seven hundred furlongs from *Alydus* by Sea. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

*Aethes*, a City of *Laconia*, not farre from *Thurium*, as may be gathered out of *Thucydides*. *lib. 1.*

*Æolia*, a Region divided from the *Acarnanians*, on the parts toward the Sea, by the River *Æchelus*, confining on the East, with the *Tærians* called *Ogle*. On the North hath the *Ætolians*, and part of the *Amazones*. *Strabo. lib. 10. Æolia*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, and *Boeotia* are divided from each other by parallel lines, drawn from the West Northwards. *Idem. lib. 9.*

*Ægea*, a City neere to the *Thracian Cherfonticus*. They that goe to it from *Selas*, leave *Carda* on the left hand. *Herod. lib. 7.* where he describeth the way of the *Persian Army*.

*Ægeia*, a Region North of *Acarnania*. The river *Æchelus* rising out of the Mountain *Pindus*, passeth first through *Dolopia*, then through *Ægeia*, and lastly, through *Acarnania*, by the City of *Stratus*, and the City of *Oentis*, into the Sea. *Strabo. lib. 10. Thucyd. lib. 3.* in the latter end.

*Ælones*, a Nation dwelling at the head of the River *Stymon*, in the Mountain *Ægion*. *Strabo. lib. 10.* in the Epitome of the end of a *century* next. *Thucydides* in his second booke, seemeth to place them also thereabouts.

*Æloneus*, a City of *Macedonia* by the River *Enipeus*. *Strabo. lib. 7.* Also a City of *Bœotia*, neere the Lake *Coplis*.

*Ælonea*, a River of *Macedonia*. It riseth out of the Mountains called *Canabius*, according to *Ptolemy*: *Livy* hath *Flyma*, a City by the River *Æloneus*, neere the Mountains which hee calleth *Canabius*, which are likely to be the same. *Livy. lib. 42.* It mixeth waters with *Lydius*, the confluent of which two Rivers divide *Æolia* from *Macedonia*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Æloneia*, a Region of *Macedonia*, of whose situation I finde nothing, but in *Thiomas* Tables, who putteth it betweene 46 and 47 Degrees of Longitude, and betweene 41 and 42 of Latitude. *Ptolemy* in his tenth Table of Europe.

*Æloneus*, a little Island lying before *Magna* of *Thessaly*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* Also a City in the *Cherfonticus* of *Phrygia*, betweene *Canabius* and the Promontory *Argæum*. *Strabo. lib. 14.*

*Alope*, a City of the *Laevi Epionemides*, distant from *Elæia* of *Phocis* 120 furlongs, from *Cynus* the Haven of the *Opuntians*, 90 furlongs. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

*Alpheus*, a River of *Polyponticus*, rising in the Territory of *Megalopolis*, neere unto the Springs of *Limotas*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* deuideth *Laconia* from *Megalopolis*, and from *Laevi*, *Panania* in *Arcadia*. It runnes by *Hevea*. *Idem. ibidem.* and *Polybius*, *lib. 4.* It goeth out into the Sea neere *Olympia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* *Panania* saith it goeth out about *Cyllene*, the Haven of the *Eleans*; but it is contrary to all other, both ancient and moderne Geographers.

*Alycea*, a City on the Sea-coast of *Acarnania*, betweene the City *Patre*, and the Promontory *Critiora*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

*Ambracia*, a City in the *Ætolians*, bottom of the *Ambracian* Bay, upon the River *Arachthos*, a little remote from the Sea. *Strabo. lib. 7.* The *Ambracian* Bay deuideth *Epirus* from *Acarnania*. *Polyb. lib. 4.*

*Ambracia*, an Island, one of the *Sporades*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

*Ampeles*, a Promontory of *Torone*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Amphilobus*, a Region lying North of *Acarnania*, South of *Dolopia*, through it runneth the River *Æchelus*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

*Amphipolis*, Called formerly the *Nine-symphis*. A City situate on the River *Stymon*, the River running on both sides it: 25 furlongs from *Eion*. *Herod. lib. 7. Thuc. lib. 4.*

*Amphissa*, a City of the *Locrians* called *Ogle*, confining on the Territory of *Crissa*. *Herodotus. lib. 8. Strabo. lib. 9.* Distant from *Delphi* one hundred and twenty furlongs. *Paus. in Phocia.*

*Angeia*, a City of *Laconia*, twenty furlongs from *Sparta* towards the Sea. *Pol. lib. 4.*

*Anaclovium*, a City of *Acarnania*, within the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, forty furlongs from *Ælimum*. *Strabo. lib. 10.* in the mouth of the *Ambracian* Bay. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

*Anæa*, a City in *Asia*, by the Sea-side over against the Ile *Samus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Anapus* a River of *Acarnania*, mentioned by *Thucydides*. *lib. 2.* it should seeme by the History (that it runneth betweene *Stratus* and *Oentis*. *Livy* mentioneth a River there about also called *Peletarius*. *lib. 43.* it may be it is the same.

*Anaphe*, an Island not farre from *Tbera*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

*Andania*, a City of *Messenia*, on the confines of *Arcadia*. *Tauf. in Messin.*

*Andros*, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Strabo. lib. 10. vide Cyclades.*

*Antandrus*, a City of *Troas*. *Herod. lib. 5.* in the Bay of *Adramyttium*, (properly so called.) *Strabo. lib. 13.* under Mount *Jda*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

*Antedon*, a City of *Boeotia*, on the shore opposite to *Euboea*, the utmost on that shore towards *Locris*. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

*Anthemus*, a territory in *Macedonia*, not farre from *Cyrrhenia*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Anthena*, a City of the Territory of *Cy-*

*nus*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* at the foot of the Hill *Parnethus*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

*Anticyra*, a City of *Phocis* upon the Sea-side, next after *Crissa* towards *Boeotia*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* Also a City of the *Ætolians*, upon the River *Spercheus*. *Idem.*

*Antivrium*, Which is called also *Rhium* *Molydriacis*, is that Promontory which with the opposite Promontory of *Achaia*, called *Rhium*, comprehendeth the stright of the *Crissæ* (or *Corinthian*) Bay, of 5 furlongs breadth. *Strabo. lib. 8.* It is neere to the City *Dolyeria*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* and to the East of it. *Idem. lib. 10.*

*Antissa*, a City of *Lesbos*, betweene the Promontory of *Sigrium*, and the City *Mythyma*. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

*Antimene*, a Nation whom *Strabo* calleth *Antinens*, and placeth in the Mountains of *Epirus*. *Strabo. lib. 7.* *Appianus* hath also *Antinens*: and *Livy*, *lib. 45.* maketh them as an addition to the fourth part of *Macedonia*, in the division of that Kingdome by *Paulus Æmilius*. So that it may be gathered that the *Antinens*, whom *Thucydides* calleth *Antinians*, and numbred amongst *Epiroticall* Nations, are situate on the confines of *Epirus* and *Macedonia*.

*Aous*, a River of *Illyris*. After *Epidamnus* (saith *Strabo*), describing the Sea-coast towards *Epirus*) are the Rivers *Aplis*, and *Aous*. *Strabo. lib. 7.* Neere to it standeth *Apollonia*. *Idem.* *Plutarch* hath *Antinus* instead of it, in the life of *Cæsar*. In this River it was that he tooke Boat to crosse the *Ionian* Sea yknowne, and was forced backe by *Tempest*.

*Aphredissa*, a Towne of *Laconia*, neere the Sea side. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Aphytis*, a City in *Pallene*. *Herodot. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 1.* betweene *Porydaea* and *Macedonia*. *Strabo* in the Epitome of the end of his seventh booke.

*Apidanus*, a River of *Achaia* in *Thessalia*. *Herodotus. lib. 7.* It falleth into *Peneus*. *Idem.* It runneth by *Pharsalus*. *Strabo. lib. 8.*

*Apodoti*, a Nation, part of the *Ætolians*, neere to the Sea. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

*Apollonia*, a City of *Illyris*, in the *Ionian* Gulfe. *Herodot. lib. 9.* upon the River *Aous*, three-score furlongs from the Sea. *Strabo. lib. 7.* Also a City betweene *Therme* and *Amphipolis*. *Itinerar. Peutinger. Itiner. Antonini.* A *Chalcidique* City *Athen. 8.*

*Aplis*, a River of *Illyris*, betweene *Epidamnus* and *Apollonia*. *Strabo. lib. 7.*

*Arachthos*, a River of *Epirus*, rising out of the Hill *Symphis*, in the Territory of the *Pavorei*, (peradventure the same with *Pavariæ*) and running by the City of *Ambracia* into the *Ambracian* Bay. *Strabo. lib. 7.*

*Araxus*, a Promontory in the confines of *Elis* and *Arcadia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.*

*Arcadia*, a Region of *Peloponnesus*, in the middle of it; bounded with *Elis*, *Achaia*, *Argolis*, *Laconia* and *Messenia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.*

*Argæum*, a Promontory of *Erythræa* in *Asia*, lying out betweene *Almonius* and the City *Erythræ*, opposite to, and distant 60 furlongs from *Posidium* a Promontory of *Chios*. *Strabo. lib. 14.*

*Arginuse*, are three Islands lying neere to the Promontory of *Cane* in *Æolis*, opposite to *Malea*, a Promontory of *Lebos*. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

*Argilus*, a City by the Sea-side, West of the River *Stymon*. *Herod. lib. 7.* not farre from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Argos*, 2 *Argos* is a City of *Argia*, much celebrated in History; it standeth from the Sea forty furlongs. *Pausan. in Corinthiacis.* In all Mapes that I have yett seene, it is placed unreasonable farre from the Sea; but it appears by the beginning of the first Booke of *Herodotus*, where hee speaketh of the women of *Argos*, that came downe to the Sea-side, to the Ships of the *Phœnicians*: and by *Thucydides*, *lib. 5.* where hee relateth, that the *Argives* were building Walles to reach unto the Sea from their City, that it cannot be farther from it then is by *Panjanias* set downe. *Argolica* confecth on *Laconia*, *Arcadia*, *Illymus*. *Strabo. lib. 8.*

*Argos Amphibolichum*, a City of *Amphibolia*, upon the side of the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Thuc. lib. 2.* 22 miles from *Ambracia*. *Livy. lib. 48.*

*Arne*, a City of the *Chalcidians* neere *Acanthus*, as it seemeth by *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Arne*, a City of *Thessaly*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* in that part of *Thessaly* which is called *Æstiois*. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

*Arvianæ*, a place in the *Thracian Cherfonticus*, opposite to *Abydus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

*Arvidis*, a City of *Macedonia*, on the confines of *Lyncus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Artemisium*, a Temple of *Diana* by the Sea-side, in *Euboea*, at the streights of it, not farre from *Thermopis*. *Herodot. lib. 7.* Famous for a Battell by Sea, fought there betweene the *Grecian* and *Persian* Fleet.

*Asine*, a maritime City in *Argolis*, (or *Argia*) the first in the Bay of *Hermione*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* Also a maritime City of *Messinia*, and the first in the Bay of *Messinia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* betweene the Promontory *Acritas*, and the City *Colonides*, forty furlongs from each. *Pausan. in Messenicis.* Also a City of *Laconia*, by the Sea-side, betweene *Tenarus* the Promontory, and *Gythium*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* Also a City of *Laconia*, neere *Cardamyle*. *Herod. lib. 8.*

*Alopus*, a River running betweene *Plataea* and *Thebes*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* It divideth the Territory of the *Plataeans* from that of the *Thebans*, and runneth within tenne furlongs of *Thebes*. *Pausan. in Boeotiacis.* According to *Strabo*, it runneth into the Sea by *Tanagra*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* But according to *Ptolemy*, *Cephissus*, and *Alopus*, and *Iffonius* meete all in *Boeotia*, and *Alopus* passing through *Attica*, entrench into the Sea by the Promontory *Cynofura*. *Ptolemy. Tab. 10.*

It is also the name of a River rising about *Phlius* in *Peloponnesus*, and entering into the Sea neere *Corinth*. *Pausanias* in *Corinthiacis*. It is also the name of a City in *Laconia*, by the Sea-side, distant from the Promontory *Ougnathos* two hundred furlongs, and from the City *Arise*, three-score furlongs. *Pausanias* in *Laconia*.

*Aplacius*, a maritime City of *Acarnania*, betweene the Promontory *Critiora*, and mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

*Asteria*, an Island betweene *Ithaca* and *Cephallenia*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

*Astypalea*, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, lying farre within the maine Sea. *Strabo. libro 10.* Also a Promontory of the Territory of *Mindus*, in *Asia*. *Strabo. lib. 14.*

*Atalante*, a little Island in the Bay of *Opus*, betweene *Euboea* and *Boeotia*, over against the City of *Opus*. *Strabo. lib. 9. Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Atarnus*, a City of *Æolis*, over against *Lesbos*. *Herodot. lib. 1.* betweene *Ettane* and *Adramyttium*. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

*Atamanes*, a Nation inhabiting on the North of the *Ætolians*, the last of the *Epirotas*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* about the *Ætolians* (that is, more remote from the Sea then the *Ætolians*) *Idem. lib. 10.*

*Athens*, *Hellados Hellas*, the most renowned City of *Greece*, situate in *Attica*, about 40 furlongs from *Piræus*, and the Sea. *Strabo. lib. 9. Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Atos*, a famous Mountain in the *Cherfonticus* called *Atie*, abutting on the *Ægean* Sea. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* and beginning at the Ditch made by *Xerxes*, of twelve furlongs length, betweene *Acanthus*, and the Sea opposite to *Torone*. *Herodotus. lib. 7.*

*Atax*, a City of *Thessaly*, by which *Peneus* runneth, before it come to *Larissa*. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

*Attica*, a famous Region of *Greece*, bounding on the Territory of *Megara*, on the shore, over against *Salamina*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* and on the Territory of the *Boeotians* by Sea at *Oropus*. *Idem.* by Land at *Panacium*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* at *Oenoe*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.* at *Hysie*. *Idem. lib. 2.*

*Atus*, a Village in *Boeotia*, of the Territory of *Tanagra*, by the Sea side, thirty furlongs from *Delium*. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

*Auton*, a place neere the Sea side, in the Bay of *Stymon*, neere which the Lake *Bolbe* issueth into the Sea, and is some where betweene *Arne* of *Chalcidea*, and *Argilus*, as may be gathered out of *Thucydides*. *lib. 4.*

*Axius*, a River of *Macedonia*, rising in the Mountain *Sardus*. *Ptolemy*. It divideth *Boetia* from *Myzdonia*. *Herodot. lib. 7.* it falleth into the Bay of *Therme*, betweene *Therme* and *Pella*. *Strabo. Epit. lib. 7.*

*Æcorus* a City of *Perthabia*. *Livy. lib. 44.*

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*Bermius*, a Mountain of *Macedonia*. *Herodot. libro 8.* at the foot whereof standeth the City *Berboea*. *Strabo. Epitome. lib. 7.*

*Berthoca*, a City of *Macedonia*, betweene *Pydna*, from which it is distant seuentene miles, and *Thessalonica* (or *Therme*), from which it is distant one and fifty miles. *Itiner. Antonini. Pg. 3.*

*Bifalia*, a Region of *Macedonia*, neere the River *Stymon*, containing the City of *Argilus*, and the Countrey about it. *Herodot. lib. 7.*

*Biflonea*, a Lake in *Thracia*, close by the City *Dicea*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Bœea*, a City of *Laconia*, betweene the Promontories of *Ougnathos* and *Malea*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* directly opposite to *Cythera*, which begins at *Ougnathos*, and ends at *Malea*. The Territory of *Bœea* joyntly to that of *Epidaurus Limera*. *Pausanias. in Laconicis.*

*Boeotia*, a Region of *Greece*, betweene *Attica* and *Phocis*, reaching from Sea to Sea. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

*Boium*, a City of *Doria*. *Thuc. lib. 1. Strabo. lib. 9.*

*Bolbe*, a Lake in *Myzdonia*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* A Lake not far from *Olynthus*. *Herodotus. lib. 8.* It is called *Bolice* by *Athenians*. *lib. 8.* It goeth out into the Sea by *Atina* and *Bromisus*, which are two places betweene *Arne* in *Chalcidea*, and *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Bolytus*, a place in *Chios*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

*Bome*, a Towne of the *Ætolians*, towards the *Æolian* Bay. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

*Bottia*, or a Region of *Macedonia*, lying betweene coming to the Sea, deuided *Bottien*, from *Myzdonia* by the River *Axius*, and from *Macedonia* by the confluent of the Rivers, *Alacmus* and *Lydius*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Brancheide*, a Towne where there was a Temple of *Apollo*, on the *Mithian* shore. *Herodot. lib. 7.* betweene the Promontory of *Posidium*, and the City *Miletus*. *Strabo. lib. 14.*

*Brayon*, a Towne of *Attica*, betweene *Praie* and *Marathon*, on the Sea-side towards *Euboea*. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

*Briestis*, a Mountain in *Attica*, betweene *Elofus* and *Achæne*. *Thuc. lib. 2.*

*Bromisus*, a Towne neere the Sea, betweene *Acantius* and *Argilus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Budorus*, a Promontory of the Island *Salamis*, lying out towards *Megara*. *Scholiastes ad Thuc. lib. 2.*

*Buphras*, a Mountain of *Messinia*, about *Pylus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Bura*, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Helice* and *Ægira*, distant from *Helice* thirty furlongs, and from *Ægira*, seauenty two furlongs. *Paus. in Achaicis.*

*Byzantium*, called now *Constantinople*, situate at the entrance of the *Bosphorus*. *Strabo. lib. 12.*

## C

*Cæcus*, a River of *Asia*, which passing by *Pergamus*, falleth into the Bay of *Elaea*, in *Æolis*, betweene *Elaea* and *Pisane*. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

*Calauria*, an Island in the Bay of *Hermione*, lying iust before *Tæzen*. *Strabo. lib. 8.*

*Callia*, a Towne of the *Ætolians*, towards the *Æolian* Bay. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

*Calydon*, a City of the *Ætolians*, neere the Sea, upon the River *Euenus*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

*Cambury*, Mountaines of *Macedonia*, betweene it and *Perthabia*. *Livy. lib. 42. 44.*

*Cameiros*, a City of the *Dorians* in *Asia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* It standeth in the Island *Euboea*. *Strabo. lib. 14. Thucyd. lib. 8.*

*Cane*, a City and Promontory of *Æolis*, distant from *Elaea* towards *Jenia* 100 furlongs.

longs, and as much from *Malea*, a Promontory of *Laconia*, to which it is opposite. *Strab. lib. 15.*  
*Cangara*, a Promontory of *Pellene*. *Herod. lib. 7. Strab. Epit. lib. 7. Livy, lib. 44.*  
*Capaneus*, a Haven of *Euboea*, on the north side, not farre from *Gerebus*. *Herodot. lib. 7.*  
*Caphys*, a City of *Acadia*, not farre from *Archonius*. *Polib. lib. 4.* the River *Lado* runneth betwene it and *Pipha*. *Tacit. in Arcadia.*  
*Cardania*, a City of *Laconia*, betwene *Porte* and *Leada*, by the Sea side, in the *Argolis* Bay. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant from the Promontory of *Tenarus* 400 furlongs. *Pauf. in Laconia.* It is also a City in the *Isthmus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*  
*Cadya*, a City in the *Isthmus* of the *Ionian* *Chersonesus*, vpon the Sea-side in the Black Bay [or Bay of *Mela*]. *Herod. lib. 6.*  
*Carys*, an Island in that Sea, which called from it *Mare Carys*, hath to the North the Sea called *Ionium*, to the South, the *Argolis* Bay, to the West, the *Cretic* and *Arctis* Seas. *Strab. in the end of the tenth Booke.*  
*Carys*, a Towne in *Acadia*, betwene *Archonius* and *Pellene*, in the confines of both, distant from *Pellene* threecore furlongs. *Pauf. in Arcadia.*  
*Carys*, a City of *Euboea*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Ida*. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Maratho* a City of *Attica* is equally distant from it and *Ida*. *Pauf. in Attica.*  
*Carys*, an Island in the *Carpathian* Sea, from *Carys* 80 furlongs, and from *Samothrace* a Promontory of *Cyete*, 250 in quantity. So furlongs about. *Strab. lib. 10.*  
*Carys*, a Haven in the *Chersonesus* of *Europe*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Carnia*. *Strab. lib. 14.*  
*Carys*, a maritime City of *Lydia*, situate to the *Arctis*, by the River *Calis*. *Strab. lib. 14.*  
*Carys*, a River of *Asia*, falling into the Sea at *Ida*, so as the mouth of it is the Haven of the *Epheus*. *Strab. lib. 14.* When the *Ionians* made a journey against *Sardis*, they left their Fleet at *Carys*, and then went up by the River *Calis*, and then over the Mountaine *Taurus*, and so to *Sardis*. *Strab. lib. 14.*  
*Carys*, a Region of *Attica*, betwene the Hills *Parnis* and *Boeotia*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*  
*Carys*, a place mentioned in the first Booke of *Iouel*. *Id. lib. 1.* hath the Island *Carys*, opposite to *Epheus*, and distant from it 6 miles. *The Scythians*, and *Syr*, put it in the West parts of *Thelponne*. *Id. lib. 1.*  
*Carys*, a Promontory of *Euboea*, opposite to the Promontory of *Cnemides* of the *Laconians*, and to *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*  
*Cenchrus*, a Haven of the *Corinthians*, on the side of the Isthmus that lyeth towards *Atene*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* *Cenchrus* on one side, and *Lechaon* on the other, containe the *Isthmus*. *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.*  
*Cey*, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, the nearest to the Island *Helene*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

*Cephallenia*, an Island ouer against *Acarnania*, distant from *Leucadia* tenne furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Thucyd. lib. 2.* and hath in it 4 Cities, *Pale*, *Same*, *Prone*, *Cranj*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*  
*Cephissus*, a River, which rising about *Elaea*, a City of *Phocis*, and going by *Elatea*, *Daulia* and *Phanotis*, Cities of *Phocis*, and *Cheronia* and *Coronea*, Cities of *Boeotia*, falleth into, at *Coronea*, and filleth the Lake called *Copais*. Afterwards, an Earthquake opening the way, it went on to the Sea, and entered it at *Larymna*, a Towne of *Boeotia*, opposite to *Elaea* of *Euboea*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a River of *Attica*, rising in the Territory of *Eleusis*, and falling into the Sea by *Pireus*. *Pauf. in Attica.*  
*Ceramus*, Mountaines of *Epirus*, on the Sea-side, in the entrance of the *Ionian* Gulfe. *Strab. lib. 7.*  
*Ceramus*, a Towne betwene *Cnidus* and *Halicarnessus*, from whence also the Bay there is called the *Ceranian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 14.*  
*Cerisyam*, a Hill of the *Argilians*, beyond *Strymon*, neere *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*  
*Cerine*, a Mountaine betwene *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, the same deuidenth the *Paeonian* from the *Sintians*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*  
*Cestrine*, a Region of *Epirus*, deuidenth from *Thesprotia* by the River *Thymus*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* The *Chaeonians* and *Thesprotians* haue all the Sea coast from the mountaines called *Cenchrus*, to the *Ambracian* Bay, (therefore *Cestrine* seemeth part of the *Chaeonians*). *Strab. lib. 7.* called *Cestrine* from *Cestrinus*, the sonne of *Heleneus*. *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.*  
*Cheronia*, a City of *Boeotia*, confining on *Phocis*, twenty furlongs distant from *Parnis* or *Phanotis*, and situate vpon the River *Cephissus*. *Pauf. in Phocis.* *Strab. lib. 9.*  
*Chale*, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, distant from *Telos* 80 furlongs, and from *Carpathus* 400 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*  
*Chaledon*, a City of *Bithynia*, ouer against *Byzantium*. *Strab. lib. 12.* in the mouth of *Pontus Euxinus*. *Ibid. Thucyd. lib. 4.*  
*Chalcis*, a City of *Euboea*, at the *Euphrus*. *Herodot. lib. 7.* *Strab. lib. 10.* Also a City of *Attica*, vpon the River *Euenus*, on the East side of it. *Strab. lib. 10.* beneath *Calydon*. *Idem lib. 9.*  
*Chalcidea*, a Region ioyning to *Thrace*, containing most of the Townes vpon or neere the Sea, from the mouth of the River *Strymon*, to *Polidea* in *Palene*. This may bee gathered out of *Thucydides*. It was so named, for that they were Colonies of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, either immediate or deuienth.  
*Chalcidians*, the people of a City of the *Loeri* *Ozole*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*  
*Chaoia*, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, beginning at the Mountaines called *Ceramus*, and together with *Thesprotia* reaching as farre as the *Ambracian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 7.* It is deuidenth from *Thesprotia* by the River *Thymus*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*  
*Chidorus*, a small River of *Macedonia*, which rising in *Gresonia*, runneth into the River *Asius*. *Herod. lib. 7.*  
*Chimerium*, a Promontory of *Epirus*, betwene the Islands called *Sybota*, and the mouth of the River *Acheron*. *Strab. lib. 7.* vide *Acheron*.  
*Chelonata*, a Promontory of *Elis*, betwene the Promontories of *Araxus* and *Leigys*. *Strab. lib. 8.*  
*Chelonius*, signifieth any portion of Land that is almost enuironed with the Sea; but for the most part, when there is no word added to determine the signification, it is here that Territory of *Thrace*, which is included with these three Seas, *Propontis*, *Hellespont*, and the Blacke Bay, *Mela*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* In the Isthmus of this *Chelonius* standeth the City *Cardys*, at the side toward the Blacke Bay, and *Paltys* on the part toward *Propontis*. *Herod. lib. 6.*  
*Chius*, now called *Scio*, an Island and City of the *Ionians*. *Herod. lib. 1.* distant from *Lesbos* about 400 furlongs, and 900 furlongs in circuit. *Strab. lib. 13.*  
*Chiusa*, a part of *Mydonia* so called. *Steph.*  
*Chiospolis*, a Village of the *Chalcidians*, in the mouth of *Pontus*. *Strab. lib. 12.*  
*Cinolis*, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, vide *Cyclades*. It lyeth West of *Sicurus*, *Pholegandrus*, and *Lagusa*. *Strab. lib. 10.*  
*Ciris*, a City of *Phocis*, in the *Corinthian* Bay, ouer against *Sigyn*. *Strab. lib. 9.* distant from *Delphi* threecore furlongs, from *Delphi* to *Ciris* runneth the River *Phlissus*. It is the Haven or Towne of shipping for *Delphi*. It confineth vpon *Loera*, *Pausan.* in *Phocis*. He maketh it the same with *Crisia*, vide *Crisia*.  
*Citarius*, a Mountaine of *Macedonia*, ioyning to *Olympus*, out of which riseth the River *Euenus*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*  
*Citheron*, a Mountaine of *Attica*. When the *Persian* Campe vnder *Mardonius* lay about *Argos* in the Territory of *Plataea*, the Army of the *Grecians* that were encamped at the foot of *Citheron*, were opposite to them. *Herod. lib. 9.* *Plataea* is betwene *Citheron* and the City of *Thibes*. *Strab. lib. 9.*  
*Citium*, a City of *Cyprus*.  
*Cleros*, an Island, one of the *Sporades*. *Ex Ortyli*. *Id. lib. 1.* Also a City belonging to the *Colophonians*. *Pauf. in Achaia*, betwene the mouth of the River *Casstrus* and the City of *Colophon*. *Strab. lib. 14.*  
*Clazomenae*, an Ionique City in *Lydia*. *Herodot. lib. 1.* Situate in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythrae*, confining on the *Erythraean*, these being within, the *Clazomenians* without the *Chersonesus*. Betwene *Clazomenae* and *Teos*, across the Isthmus it is but fifty furlongs, but round about by Sea, a thousand furlongs. Presently without the Isthmus, where it is narrowest, stands *Clazomenae*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Before it lyeth 8 little Islands. *Idem lib. 14.*  
*Cleitor*, a City of *Acadia*, betwene *Pipha* and *Caphys*. *Polib. lib. 4.* It confineth on the Territory of *Pheneum*, towards the East. *Pauf. in Arcadia.*  
*Cleone*, a City of *Argia*, betwene *Argos* and *Corinth*, confining on the *Philiassians*. *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.* Also a City in the territory where Mount *Atthis* standeth. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Cnemides*,

*Cnemides*, a Promontory of *Loeris*, distant from *Cymus*, the Haven of the *Opuntians*, towards *Thermopylae*, 50 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.*  
*Cnidus*, a City of the *Dorians* in *Asia*, by the Sea called *Triopium*. *Herod. lib. 1.* On the North it hath the *Ceranian* Bay on the South, the *Rhodian* Sea. *Strab. lib. 14.*  
*Colone*, an vpland City of *Hellespont*, in the Territory of *Lampisus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a maritime City of *Troas*, 140 furlongs from *Flum*, betwene *Hamaxius* and *Larissa*. *Id. lib. 13.*  
*Colontide*, a maritime City of *Messonia*, betwene *Asine* and the mouth of the River *Pamilius*, distant from *Asine* 40 furlongs. *Pauf. in Messeniaceis.*  
*Colophon*, an Ionique City in *Lydia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* betwene *Epheus* and *Lebedus*: from *Lebedus* 120 furlongs; from *Epheus* 70 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*  
*Colonioborus portus*, a Haven not farre from *Tarone*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*  
*Copa* & *Copais licus*, *Copa* is a City of *Boeotia*, situate on the North part of the Lake *Copais*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Pauf. in Boeotia.*  
*Copae*, Two little Islands on the West of the Island *Pattinus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*  
*Coryra*, now called *Cosia*, an Island ouer against *Epirus*, whose East parts are opposite to the Islands called *Sybota*, and West parts, to the Haven called *Onchimus*. *Strab. lib. 7.*  
*Corsus*, a Towne of the Territory of *Epheus*, by the Sea side, neere to the mouth of the River *Casstrus*. *Herodotus lib. 5.*  
*Corinthus*, a famous City, neere the Isthmus of *Peloponnesus*.  
*Coronea*, a City of *Boeotia*, vpon the River *Cephissus*, where it entrencheth into the Lake *Copais*, and not farre from the Hill *Helicon*. *Strab. lib. 9.*  
*Coronea*, a City of *Acarnania*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*  
*Cortysa*, a Towne neere the Sea in *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*  
*Corycus*, a Mountaine in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythrae*, betwene *Teos* and *Erythrae*. *Strab. lib. 13.*  
*Coryphasium*, a Promontory of *Messonia*, distant from *Methone* 100 furlongs; in this Promontory stood the Fort of *Pylus*. *Pauf. in Messeniaceis.*  
*Cos*, a Island with a City in it of the same name. It belonged to the *Dorians* of *Asia*. *Herodot. lib. 1.* called *Cos Meropidis*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* because inhabited of old by the *Meropians*. It lyeth in the *Carpathian* Sea, *Strab. lib. 10.* Opposite to *Termerium*, a Promontory of the *Mindians*. *Id. lib. 14.*  
*Cranan*, a City in the *Champaigne* of *Thessaly*. *Strab. lib. 9.* The same may be gathered out of *Livy*, lib. 42.  
*Cranj*, a people of *Cephalonia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* About the straight of that Island. *Strab. lib. 10.*  
*Crateris*, a Haven neere the City of *Phocaea* in *Asia*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*  
*Crene*, Id est, the Welles, a place in *Acarnania*, not farre from *Argos*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*  
*Crisia*, a Sea-Towne of *Boeotia*, vpon the Bay of *Crisia*, belonging to the City *Thes-*

*pie*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Pausan.* in *Boeotia*.  
*Crisia*, vide *frons Crisus*, a Sea Towne of *Phocis*, betwene *Cirba* & *Anticyra*, to which the Bay of *Corinth* is called also the *Crisian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 9.* This Bay is called now the Bay of *Lepanto*.  
*Critobola*, a Promontory of *Acarnania*, lying out into the Sea, betwene the City *Algea*, and the mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Strab. lib. 10.*  
*Crotylion*, a Towne in *Aetolia*, of the Region inhabited by the *Apodoti*. *Thuc. lib. 3.*  
*Crammyon*, a Towne in the Isthmus of *Corinth*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.* betwene *Schoenus* and the Rocks called *Scironides*, and confineth on *Megaris*. *Strab. lib. 8.*  
*Cyclades*, Islands in the *Aegean* Sea, so called, for that they lye round about the Island *Delos*. Their number and order, according to *Strabo*, is this, *Helene*, *Ceus*, *Cythus*, *Seriphus*, *Melos*, *Siphnus*, *Cinulus*, *Protophantus*, *Oearus*, *Naxus*, *Parus*, *Syrus*, *Myconus*, *Tenos*, *Andrus*, *Gyarus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*  
*Cyllene*, a Sea-Towne of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the City of *Elis*, and where their shipping lay, 60 furlongs distant from *Araxus*. *Strab. lib. 8.* and from *Elis* 120 furlongs. *Pauf. in 2. Ediacorum.* Also a Mountaine, the highest in *Peloponnesus*, on the confines of *Acadia* and *Achaia*, neere *Pheneum*. *Pauf. in Arcadiis.*  
*Cyme*, a City of *Asia*, on the Sea-coast. *Her. lib. 1.* the last of the maritime Cities of *Asia*, towards *Ionis*, as may be gathered out of *Strab. lib. 13.*  
*Cynus-fema*, a Promontory of the *Thracian* *Chersonesus*, not farre from *Abydos*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* ouer against the mouth of the River *Rhodius*, which falleth into the Sea betwene *Abydos* and *Dardanium*. *Strab. lib. 13.*  
*Cynus*, a Towne of *Loeris*, vpon the Sea towards *Euboea*, belonging to the City of *Opus*, distant from the Promontory *Cnemides* 50 furlongs, in the entrance of the Bay of *Opus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Livy lib. 28.*  
*Cynuria*, a territory on the border betwene *Argia* and *Laconia*, toward the Sea-side, containing the Cities *Thyrea* and *Athena*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.*  
*Cypellia*, a Castle in *Parthasia*, a Territory of *Acadia*, neere to *Sciritis* of *Laconia*. *Thuc. lib. 5.*  
*Cyrrhus*, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from *Pella*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Cyrrhesse*, that is, the people of *Cyrrhus* are placed thereabouts by *Pliny*, lib. 4.  
*Cytinium*, a City of *Doris* on the side of *Parnassus*. *Thuc. lib. 3.* *Strab. lib. 9.*  
*Cythra*, an Island opposite to *Malca*, a Promontory of *Laconia* and distant from it forty furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.* opposite directly to the City *Boca*. *Pauf. in Laconiacis.* In it are two Cities, *Cythera* and *Scandaea*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* *Pauf. in Laconiacis.*  
*Cythrus*, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, vide *Cyclades*.  
*Cyrenis*, an Island and City in *Propontis*,

*Strab. lib. 12.* distant from *Z. leia*, which is a City neere the Sea, on the River *Aesopus* 190 furlongs. *Id. lib. 13.*  
**D**  
*Dardanus* & *Dardanium*. *Dardanus* is a City on the Sea side from *Abydos*, 70 furlongs, betwene it and *Thesolium*. *Strab. lib. 13.* It confineth on *Abydos*. *Herodot. lib. 7.* *Dardanium*, is a Promontory betwene *Abydos* and *Dardanus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*  
*Daulia*, a Region of *Bithynia*, lying vpon the Towne *Dasyelos* or *Dasyllus*, which standeth vpon the Lake *Dasyllus*, by the River *Rhodoniscus*. *Strab. lib. 12.* It was a Province subiect to the *Persians* in the time of *Xerxes*, and governed by *Megastates*, his Lieutenant. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*  
*Delos*, a City of *Phocis*, on the East of *Delphi*, vpon the River *Cephissus*, and at the foot of *Parnassus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Pausan.* in *Phocis*.  
*Delceia*, a Towne in *Attica*, in the way betwene *Oropus* and *Athens*, distant from *Athens* 120 furlongs, and not much more from *Boeotia*. *Thuc. lib. 7.*  
*Delium*, a Temple of *Apollon* by the Sea-side in the Territory of *Tanaia*. *Thuc. lib. 4.* *Pauf. in Boeotia*, opposite to *Chalcis* of *Euboea*. *Herod. lib. 6.*  
*Delos*, an Island, and in it a City with a Temple consecrated to *Apollon*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* It is distant from *Andros* 15 miles, and as many from *Myconus*. *Plin. lib. 4.*  
*Delphi*, a City of *Phocis*, famous for the Temple and Oracle of *Apollon*. It standeth at the foot of the Hill *Parnassus*. *Herod. lib. 8.* on the South part of the hill. *Strab. lib. 9.* threecore furlongs from the Sea. *Pauf. in Phocis*.  
*Delphinium*, a Towne in the Ile *Chios*, not farre from the City *Chius*, and by the Sea-side. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*  
*Dercei*, a people of *Thrace*.  
*Dicea*, a City of *Thrace*, betwene *Abdera* and *Marmora*. *Herod. lib. 7.*  
*Diclidia*, a people in Mount *Athos*. *Thuc. lib. 8.*  
*Dion*, a City, and in it a Temple of *Iupiter*, standing at the Sea side, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* Also a City in Mount *Athos*. *Thuc. lib. 4.*  
*Doberus*, a City of *Paonia*, at the foot of *Cervine*. *Thuc. lib. 2.*  
*Dolicea*, a City of the *Perrhebiens*, not far from the Mountaines called *Cambury*. *Livy. lib. 44.*  
*Dolopia*, a Region on the South side of the hill *Pindus*, on the North of the *Amphibolians*, and confining on *Phibiatis* of *Thessaly*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Id.*  
*Doris*, a Region confining on the *Melians*, and with a narrow corner running in betwene them and *Phocis*. *Herod. lib. 8.* It lyeth on the East part of *Parnassus*, and deuidenth the *Loerians* called *Ozole*, from the *Loerians* called *Opuntians*. It was called *Tetrapolis*, because it contained these 4 Cities, *Eryneus*, *Borium*, *Cytinium*, and *Pindus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* The *Dorians* are also a Nation in *Asia*, by the Sea side, ioyning to *Carya*, of which

which were numbred, the inhabitants of the Islands *Rhodes* and *Cos*, and the Cities *Cnidus* and *Halicarnassus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Doriscus* *Comitis*, a large Champagne by the side of the River *Hebrus* in *Thrace*, where *Xerxes* passing on towards *Greece*, mustered his mighty Armies. *Herodot. lib. 7.*

*Drabescus*, a City of *Etolia*, beyond the River *Styrmon*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

*Dreconum* a Promontory of the Island *Cos*, distant from the City *Cos*, 200 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Dumissa*, an Island lying before *Clazomenae*. *Thucyd. lib. 8. Liny, lib. 38. vide Clazomenae.*

*Dreii*, a people of *Thrace*.  
*Dyme*, a City of *Achaia*, the nearest to the confines of *Elis*. *Strab. lib. 8. Pausan. in Achaia.*

## E

*Echinades*, Islands, lying in and out before the mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Thuc. lib. 3. Strab. lib. 10.*

*Edonia*, a Region of *Thrace*, lying to the River *Styrmon*, and the Sea; It had in it *Amphipolis*, *Drabescus*, and other Cities. *Thuc. lib. 1.* by which the situation thereof may be sufficiently understood.

*Edonem*, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from *Doleneis*. *Thuc. lib. 2. Plin. lib. 4.*

*Eion*, a City of *Thrace*, on the River *Styrmon*. *Herod. lib. 7.* In the mouth of *Styrmon*, 25 furlongs from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Elaea*, a Sea-towne in *Achaia*, belonging to the City of *Pergamus*, distant from the mouth of the River *Caicus* towards *Ionis*, 12 furlongs: and from *Cane* 100 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Elania*, a City of *Phocis*, by the River *Cephissus*, confining on the *Locris*. *Strab. lib. 9. Pausanias in Phocis.* It standeth in the Straights of the *Phocae* Mountaines. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Eleuthere*, a Towne of *Attica*, between *Eleusis* and *Platea*, on the border of *Attica*. *Pausan. in Attica. Id. in Boeotia.*

*Elmus*, a City of *Chersonesus* to the North of *Lemnos*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

*Eleusis*, a Sea-towne of *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 8.* on the confines of *Megaris*. *Pausanias in Attica.*

*Elis*, *Elis* and *Messenia* are two Regions, that take up the West part of *Peloponnesus*. *Elis* is bounded on the North by the Promontory *dyonax*, and divided from *Messenia* in the parts towards the Sea, by the River *Neda*. *Strab. lib. 8. Elis* the principall City thereof is distant from the Sea 120 furlongs, and from *Olympia* almost three hundred. *Pausan. in fine Iccandi Eliaeorum.*

*Elkincus*, a Towne in *Nerium* of the Territory of *Leucadia*. *Thuc. lib. 3.*

*Eluminae*, a Nation of *Macedonia*, which *Eluminae* at the foot of the Mountaines *Cambani*, and by the River *Alacma*. *Liu. lib. 42.*

*Embatius*, a Towne of *Erythraea*. *Thuc. lib. 3.* on the part toward *Lesbos*, as may be probably conjectured by the History.

*Eupneus*, a River of *Thessaly*, which falleth into the River *Peneus*. *Herodot. lib. 7.* But first it receiveth into it selfe the water of *Apidanus*, that passeth by *Pharsalus*. *Strab. lib. 8.* It falleth in the Mountaine *Othrys*. *Id. lib. 1.*

*Eorda*, a Region of *Macedonia*, between the *Lyceffians* and *Thessalonica* (or *Tier*) in the way called *Ignavia*, that leadeth from *Epidamnus* to *Thessalonica*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

*Ephesus*, an Ionique City in *Lydia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* at the mouth of the River *Caistrus*, upon the side towards *Mycale*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Ephyre*, a City of *Thessalia*, upon the River *Thyamus*. *Strab. lib. 7. Thuc. lib. 1.* Also a City of *Aegris*. *Strab. lib. 7. & lib. 10.*

*Epidamnus*, a City afterwards called *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*, situate on the *Ionian* Gulfe, amongst the *Taulanti*, *Illyrians*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* next without the Bay called *Rhizicus*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

*Epidamnus*, a City of *Argia* by the Sea-side, in the inmost part of the *Saronian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 8.*

*Epidaurus* *Limera*, a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the Bay of *Argos*, 300 furlongs from the Promontory of *Maha*. *Pausan. in Laconia.*

*Era*, a City in *Erythraea*, between *Tenos* and *Cassius*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Eressus*, a City in the Ile *Lesbos*, between *Pyrrha*, and the Promontory *Sigium*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Eretria*, a City of *Euboea*, between *Chalcis* and *Gereffus*. *Strab. lib. 10.* opposite to *Oropus* in *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Erigon*, a River of *Macedonia*, arising from the mouth of the River *Caicus* towards *Ionis*, 12 furlongs: and from *Cane* 100 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Eretria*, a City of *Euboea*, between *Chalcis* and *Gereffus*. *Strab. lib. 10.* opposite to *Oropus* in *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

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*Eurotas*, a River of *Laconia*, rising in the Territory of *Megalopolis*, and passing by the City of *Lacedaemon*, on the East side of it, falleth into the Sea neere *Helos*, between *Gythium* and *Acra*. *Strab. lib. 8.* Also a River of *Thessaly*, rising out of the Hill *Citarus*, and falling into the River *Peneus*. *Strab. lib. 7. Epit.*

*Eurytians*, a Nation of *Aetolians*, one of the three *Apodoti* being those that dwell toward the Sea; *Ophionti*, those toward the *Melians*, *Thucyd. lib. 3.* *Eurytians* therefore must be those toward *Aegris* and *Athamania*.

## G

*Galefus*, a City not farre from *Torone*. The Fleet of *Xerxes* compassing the Promontory of *Ampelus*, passed by these Cities, *Torone*, *Galefus*, *Scrimyla*, &c. *Herodot. lib. 7.*

*Galefus*, a City of *Thrace*, not far from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* *Orellius* thinketh it the same with *Galefus*: but it is more probable by the History to be another.

*Gangara*, a Promontory in *Asia*, 260 furlongs within the Promontory of *Leffus*, and is the beginning of the Bay of *Adramyttium*, properly so called. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Gereffus*, a Promontory of *Euboea*, *Gereffus* and *Petalia* are opposite to *Sunium*, a Promontory of *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Gereffus* is between the City *Styra*, and *Eretria*. *Jelm. lib. 10.*

*Gereffus*, a Hill in *Megaris*, neere the entrance of the *Isthmus*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* *Pausan. in Attica.*

*Glaucia*, a City in *Ionis*, neere the Mountaine *Myale*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

*Gigonis*, a Promontory not farre from *Potidea*. *Thuc. lib. 2.* *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Gomphi*, a City of *Thessaly*, in the Region called *Ephesus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* neere to the Springs of *Peneus*. *Plin. lib. 4.* The neereft of the *Thessalian* Cities to *Epirus*. *Livy, lib. 32.*

*Gonnus*, a City of the *Perrhebi* in *Thessaly*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* in the entrance to *Tempe*. *Polyb. lib. 17.* *Livy, lib. 44.* twenty miles distant from *Larissa*. *Liu. lib. 36.* *Gonnus* is in the entrance out of *Macedonia* through the *Perrhebi* into *Thessaly*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Gortynia*, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from the Hill *Cercine*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Gramineis*, a River in *Helleffont*, rising in Mount *Ida*, neere unto *Sceffus*, and falling into *Propontis* between the City *Priapus*, and the mouth of the River *Aefpus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Grestonia*, a Region of *Macedonia*, lying to the foot of *Olympus*, in which riseth the River *Choderus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Gyrus*, a small Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

*Gytia*, a City of *Perrhebia*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* before *Gonnus* to such as come out of *Macedonia*, by the Mountaines called *Camburi*. *Livy, libro 44.*

*Gythium*, a City of *Laconia*, the Harbour of the *Lacedaemonian* Shipping between *Acra*

*Acra* and *Acra*. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant 230 furlongs from the Promontory of *Tenarus*. *Pausan. in Laconia.*

## H

*Halius Thucydidi*, a maritime Towne *Halius Straboni*, of *Argia*, in the Bay *Halius Pausanias*, of *Hermione*. *Strab. lib. 8.* between *Acra* and *Hermione*, two hundred and fifty furlongs from *Acra*. *Pausan. in Corinthiacis.*

*Haliartus*, a citie of *Boetia*, by the side of the Lake *Copas*, towards *Helicon*. *Strab. lib. 9.* It confineth on the Territory of *Thespiae*. *Pausan. in Boetia.*

*Halicarnassus*, a City of the *Doreans* in *Asia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* In the bottome of the *Carianian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 14.*

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and Athens, Pauf. in Attica. The Athenians had Silver Mines in this Mountain. Thuc. Herod.

**Lebi,** a Nation dwelling on the River Styron, and the border between Thrac and Macedonia. Thucyd. lib. 2.

**Leleus,** an Inland City in Lydia. Herod. lib. 1. Scituate on the Sea-side, between Colophon and Teos, distant from each 120 furlongs. Strab. lib. 14.

**Leleus,** a Haven of the Corinthians in the Criffan or Corinthian Bay. Between Leleus and Corinthe is contained the Corinthian Isthmus. Pauf. in Corinthiaca.

**Leucas,** a City and Promontory of Troas, the beginning of the Bay of Adriaticum. Strab. lib. 14.

**Lenos,** an Island in the Aegean Sea, on the East of the Mountain Athos, to as the shadow of the Mountain falleth sometimes upon it. Plin. lib. 4. Strab. Epitom. lib. 7.

**Leptum,** a City of Elis, forty furlongs from the Sea. Pauf. Flacorum secundo. On the confines of Arcadia. Thucyd. lib. 5.

**Leus,** an Island, one of the Sporades, neere to Patmos. Strab. lib. 10.

**Leus,** an Island out against Aulis in Argia, distant from Lenos, Tenos, and Chios almost equally, less than five hundred furlongs from the isthmus of it. It reacheth in length between Leus and Cane 160 furlongs, and is in compass 1100 furlongs. Strab. lib. 13.

**Leucas,** a Peninsula, distant from Aegium 240 furlongs. Strab. lib. 10. now an Island, and called Santa Maria.

**Leucaea,** a Towne in Aegia, between Peloponnesus and Thessaly. Strab. lib. 9. Also a Towne of Lacedaemon in the Messenian Bay, between Thesprotis and Cardamyle, distant from Cardamyle 60 furlongs, and from Tenos three hundred and forty. Strab. lib. 8. Pauf. in Arcadica.

**Leucina,** the most Easterne Promontory of the Ile Corcyra, opposite to the Islands called Sybota. Strab. lib. 7.

**Leucaea,** a City of Phocia, distant from Delphi by Parnassus 180 furlongs. Pauf. in Phocica.

**Limnea,** a City on the confines of Argia, on the West to the River Achelous, as may be gathered out of Thucyd. lib. 3.

**Liny,** a City of the Island Rhodes, situate on the right hand to them that saile from the City of Rhodes Southward. Strab. lib. 14.

**Lisus,** a small River of Thrac, between Metembria and Stryna. Herod. lib. 7.

**Looi,** a Nation of Greece, whereof one part, called Loeri Ozole, inhabit on the West of Penestus, and confine on Aetolia. Strab. lib. 9. And the other part, called Loeri Ozopis, are divided from the Ozole by the Mountains Parnassus and the Region of Doris. Idem, lib. 9. Part of the Opuntians are called Epimenides, for that they dwell neere the Promontory called Cnemides.

**Loryma,** a City in the opposite Continent to Rhodes, between Cnidus and Phycus, where the flore begetteth to turne Northward. Strab. lib. 14. distant twenty

miles from Rhodes. Liuy, libro 45.

**Lyceum,** a mountain in Arcadia, neere to the confines of Laconia, and Megalopolis. Pauf. in Arcadica. Not far from Tegea. Strab. lib. 8.

**Lychnidus,** a City of Ilyria, on the Confines of Macedonia, in the Ignatian way, that leadeth from Apollonia to Therme. Strab. lib. 7.

**Lydius,** a River of Macedonia. Lydius and Alacmon meeting in one, divide Bactica from Macedonia. Herodot. lib. 7.

**Lyneus,** a Region and City of the upper Macedonia, the people are called Lyncesti by Thucyd. lib. 4. and placed by Strabo in the way between Epidamnus and Therme, which hee calles the Ignatian way. Strab. lib. 7.

M

**Macedonia,** a famous Kingdome, bordered with Thracia, Epirus, Ilyria, and Thessaly.

**Madytus,** a City in the Thracian Chersonesus. Between Scellus and Madytus, is the shortest cut over the Hellespont, of not above seven furlongs. Herod. lib. 7.

**Maender,** a River of Caria. The mouth of it is fifty furlongs from Pyrrhus, the beginning of the Lacinian Bay. Strab. lib. 14.

**Mady,** a people of Thrac, bordering on Macedonia. Polyb. lib. Thucyd. lib. 22.

**Manalis,** a Territory of Arcadia, belonging to the City Menalis, which City is about threecore and tenne furlongs from Megalopolis. Pauf. in Arcadica.

**Magneja,** a City of Thessaly, the Territory whereof extendeth from the Mountain Ossa and the Lake Baeitis, to the Mountain Pelion. Strab. lib. 9. Before the Continent of Magnesia, lyeth the Island Scythus. Herodot. lib. 7. Also a City of Ionia called Magnesia on Maender, above the City of Myus. Strabo, libro 14.

**Malea,** a Promontory of Laconia, between which and Tenarus is comprehended the Lacinian Bay. Strab. lib. 8. Also the most Southerne Promontory of Lesbos, opposite to Cane. Strab. lib. 13.

**Maninca,** a City of Arcadia, confining on Argia, Tegea, Metlydrium, and Orchomenus. Pauf. in Arcadica.

**Marabon,** a Towne in Attica, ouer against Ectria of Eubaea. Herod. lib. 6. Between Rhomus and Brauron. Strab. lib. 9. Equally distant from Athens and from Carystus in Eubaea. Pauf. in Attica.

**Marathus,** an Island lying before Clazomenae. Thucyd. lib. 8. Vide Clazomenae.

**Maronea,** a Citie of Thrac, lying to the Aegean Sea. Xerxes, after he had passed the River Lixus, went on toward Greece by these Cities, Maronea, Dicca, Abdera, &c. Herod. lib. 7.

**Meceberna,** a maritime Towne in the Bay of Torone, serving for the shipping of the City Olynthus. Strab. Epitom. lib. 7. The Fleet of Xerxes being come about Ampelus, (This is a Promontory neere Torone,) passed by these Cities, Torone, Ga-

lcpus, Sermyla, Meceberna, &c. Herodot. lib. 7.

**Medeon,** a Citie of Amphipolia, on the West of the River Achelous. The Army of the Peloponnesians having passed the River Achelous, out of Aetolia, went on into Argia by these Cities in order, Phytia, Medeon, and Limnea. Thucyd. lib. 3.

**Megalopolis,** a City of Arcadia, built after the Peloponnesian Warre, by Epaminondas. The Territory thereof confineth on Laconia, Messenia, Hersea, Orchomenus, Mantinea, and Tegea. It standeth on the River Helisson, not farre from Alpheus. Pauf. in Arcadica.

**Megara,** a City confining with Attica at Eleusi, distant from the Sea 18 furlongs. Pauf. in Attica. Strab. lib. 8.

**Melas,** a River, and a Bay into which it entrench, on the West of the Thracian Chersonesus. Herod. lib. 7.

**Melena,** a Promontory of the Island Chios, ouer against the Ile Pygia. Strabo, libro 15.

**Melienfer,** The Melienfer are next to the Thessaly Southward. Strab. Melian Bay. lib. 8. The Melian Bay begetteth at the Promontory Cnemides. Idem, lib. 9.

**Melita,** a City of Thessaly, neere the River Empeus. Strab. lib. 9. between Pharsalus and Heraclea. Thucyd. lib. 4.

**Melos,** an Island, one of the Cyclades, Vide Cyclades. Distant from the Promontorie Scyllaeum seven hundred furlongs. Strab. lib. 10.

**Mende,** a Citie in the Chersonesus of Palestine. Herod. lib. 7. between Aphyria and Scione. Strab. Epit. lib. 7.

**Melencibia,** a maritime City of Thrac, neere Doriscus, the last in the shore of Doriscus towards the West. Herod. lib. 7.

**Messenia,** a Region on the West part of Peloponnesus, confining on Elis, Arcadia, and Laconia, divided from Elis on the parts to the Sea, by the River Nedas, and confining with Laconia at Thurides. Strab. lib. 8. Pauf. in Messenica. Of the Messenian Bay, the first Towne is Aijne, the last Thurides. Idem, lib. 8. The City of Messene was built after the Peloponnesian Warre, by Epaminondas, vnder the Hill Ithome. Pauf. in Messenica. Vide Ithome.

**Meibone,** a City of Macedonia, forty furlongs from Pydna. Strab. Epit. lib. 7. Also a City in Argia, between Epidaurus and Troezen. Strab. lib. 8. Scituate in a Chersonesus belonging to the Troezenians. Pauf. in Corinthiaca. Strabo calleth it Meibona.

**Mela,** a maritime City of Messenia, between the Promontories Caryphasium and Acritas. Strab. lib. 8. Pauf. in Corinthiaca. Paufianus calleth it Mithone. It is now called Modena.

**Messaly,** the people of a City of the Loeri Ozole. Thucyd. lib. 2.

**Methydrium,** a City of Arcadia, confining on Mantinea, distant from Megalopolis 170 furlongs. Pauf. in Arcadica.

**Methymna,** a City of Lesbos, between the Promontories Sigrium and Malea, distant from Malea 340 furlongs, and from Sigrium 210. Strab. lib. 13.

Miletus,

**Miletus,** an Ionique City of Caria, the farthest toward the South. Herodot. lib. 1. next to Polideum, in the Latmian Lay. Strab. lib. 14.

**Mimusa,** a Hill in the Chersonesus of Erythraea, between the Cities Erythraea and Clazomenae. Strab. lib. 13.

**Mindus,** a maritime Citie of Caria, between the Promontorie of Alipheia, and the City Ixus. Strabo. libro 14.

**Mindus,** an Island, as Thucyd. a Promontory as Strabo saith, that maketh Nisea a Haven. Strab. lib. 9. Thucyd. lib. 2.

**Mitylene,** the chiefe City of Lesbos, situate between Methymna and Malea, distant from Cane one hundred and twenty furlongs. Strab. lib. 13.

**Molossus,** a people of Epirus. Thucyd. lib. 1. dwelling by the River Acheron. Liuy, lib. 8.

**Molycria,** a City of the Loeri Ozole, on the Sea side, next to Antirrhium, on the part toward Euenus. Pauf. in Phocica.

**Molycria,** a Promontory of Attica, which with Piraeus made the Harbour of the Athenian shipping, with three faire Hauens within it. Strab. lib. 9.

**Mysale,** a Promontory ouer against the Ile Samos. Herodot. lib. 1. A Mountain neere to Priene, opposite to Samos, which with Polideum a Promontory of Samos, maketh the streight of seven furlongs ouer. Strab. lib. 14.

**Mysaliffus,** a City of Bactia, between Thibes and Chalcis of Eubaea. Pauf. in Bactica. Thucyd. lib. 7.

**Mycaea,** a City once the head of Argia, on the left hand to those that goe from Cleone to Argos, distant from Argos fifty furlongs. Strab. lib. 8. Pauf. in Corinthiaca.

**Myconus,** an Island, one of the Cyclades, Vide Cyclades.

**Myzdonia,** a Region of Macedonia, deuided from Bottiae by the River Axius, and reaching vnto Pallene. Herodot. libro 7.

**Mylassa,** a vpland City of Caria, neere to the Sea at Phylacus. Strab. lib. 14.

**Myonnesus,** a maritime City of Ionia, between Teos and Lebedus. Strab. lib. 14.

**Myrcinus,** a City of the Ecdonians in Thrac, by the River Strymon. Herodot. lib. 5.

**Myra,** an Ionique City, 30 furlongs about the mouth of the River Meander. Strabo, lib. 14. Also a City of the Loeri Ozole, neere Amphissa, and thirty furlongs more remote from the Sea. Pauf. in Phocica.

N

**Naupactus,** a City of the Loeri Ozole, neere to Antirrhium, within the Criffan Bay. Strab. lib. 9. and next to it Oenutea. Pauf. in Phocica.

**Nauplia,** a City of Argia, in the Argive Bay, next after Temenium, towards the Promontorie Scyllaeum. Strab. lib. 8.

**Naxos** an Island, one of the Cyclades, Vide Cyclades.

**Neda,** a Riuer of Peloponnesus, rising in the Mountain Iyceum. Paufianus in Arcadica, and passing through Messenia. Jdem in Messenica. It diuideth the maritime parts of Elis and Messenia. Strab. lib. 8.

**Nemes,** a Forrest and Towne, The Forrest between Cleone and Phlius. Strab. lib. 8. The Towne between Cleone and Argos. Pauf. in Corinth.

**Neritum,** The Chersonesus of Leucas, since cut off and made an Island by the Corinthians. Strab. lib. 10.

**Nessus,** a Riuer of Thrac, that goeth out into the Sea, neere to the City Abdera. Herod. lib. 7. on the West side of Abdera. Strab. Epit. lib. 7.

**Nisea** the Haven Towne to the City of Megara. Pegae and Nisea comprehend the Isthmus, and are distant from each other 120 furlongs. Strab. lib. 8. On the East of the Island Minoe. Idem, lib. 9.

**Nisyra,** an Island, one of the Sporades, 60 furlongs from the Ile Cos, and as many from the Ile Telos, in compass 80 furlongs. Strab. lib. 10.

**Noucria,** a City of Arcadia, to the West of Pheneum, and inclining to the right hand; Pauf. in Arcadica.

**Natum,** a Towne on the Sea-side, belonging to the Colophonians, and distant from Colophon two miles. Liuy, lib. 37. Also a place in the Ile Chios, between the Promontorie Melina and the Haven Pheneum. Distant from the City Chios by Land threecore furlongs, by Sea 300. Strab. lib. 14.

**Nymphaeum,** a Promontory of Mount Athos, towards the Bay of Singus. Strab. Epit. lib. 7.

O

**Oche,** a Mountain, the greatest of Eubaea, neere to the City Carystus. Strab. lib. 10.

**Odontia,** a people of Thrac, neere the Mountain Pangeum. Herod. lib. 7.

**Odyse,** a people of Thrac. Thucyd. libro 2.

**Oeanthai,** a maritime City of the Loeri Ozole. Pauf. in Phocica. Ouere against Argia of Achaia. Polyb. lib. 4.

**Oenae,** a Citie of Acarnania, by the Sea side, opposite to the Promontorie Araxus, in Peloponnesus, and confining on Aetolia. Polyb. lib. 4. on the East side of the River Achelous, at the mouth of it. Strab. lib. 10.

**Oenon,** a City of the Loeri Ozole, not far from Naupactus, as may be gathered out of Thucyd. lib. 3.

**Oene,** a Towne on the border of Attica, towards Boetia. Thucyd. lib. 2. Oene and Hysie the last of the Townes of Attica, towards Boetia, on that part which is remotest from Chalcis and Eubaea. Herodot. libro 10.

**Oenusa,** a place in Bactia. Thucyd. lib. 2. but whereabouts, I cannot finde.

**Oenusa,** certain Islands vpon the Coast of Chios. Herod. lib. 1. Thucyd. lib. 8.

**Oeta,** a Mountain neere Thermopylae:

that part which is neere Thermopylae, for about twenty furlongs, is properly called Oeta, though the whole tract from Thermopylae, as farre as the Bay of Ambracia, be commonly also called Oeta. Strab. lib. 9.

**Oryme,** a City of the Ecdonians. Thucyd. lib. 4. Beyond the Riuer Stymon, and by the Sea-side, according to Tolomeus.

**Otarius,** an Island, one of the Cyclades, Vide Cyclades.

**Olenus,** a city of Achaia, betweene Patre and Dyme, at the mouth of the Riuer Peirus. Pauf. in Achaica.

**Olpe,** a Castle by the side of the Bay of Ambracia, neere to Argos Ampelachium. Thucyd. lib. 3.

**Olpe,** a city of the Loeri Ozole. Thucyd. lib. 3. but whereabouts I know not.

**Olympus,** a city in Mount Athos. Herod. lib. 7.

**Olympia,** a place in Elis, with a Temple dedicate to Iupiter, vpon the side of the Riuer Alpheus, distant from the Sea 80 furlongs. Strab. lib. 8.

**Olympus,** a Mountain, which is the bound of Thessaly on the North, and of Macedonia on the South, between it and the Mountain Ossa, in a narrow Valley, runneth the Riuer Peneus. Herod. lib. 7. Pauf. Eliacorum secundo.

**Olynthus,** a city of the Bottiaeans driuen out of Bottiae by the Macedonians. Herod. lib. 8. The Bottiaeans driuen out of Bottiae, seated themselves on the borders of the Chalcidians towards Thrac. Thucyd. lib. 2. Olynthus standeth somewhat remote from the Sea, and about threecore furlongs from Poidaea. Idem, lib. 2. Meceberna, which standeth on the Bay of Torone, serued them for the place of their shipping. Strab. Epit. lib. 7.

**Onugnathos,** a Promontory of Laconia, between which and Malea, is the city and Bay of Boca. Pauf. in Laconica.

**Opionei,** a people of Aetolia, toward the Melian Gulfe. Thucyd. lib. 3.

**Opus,** the chiefe city of the Loeri Opuntia, distant from the Sea threene furlongs, opposite to Aetessa in Eubaea. Strab. lib. 9.

**Orchomenus,** a city of Bactia, confining on Phocis, through the Territory whereof the Riuer Cephissus passeth from Chaeonea into the Lake Copais. Strab. lib. 9. Pauf. in Boeotica.

**Orta,** a city of Arcadia, confining on Mantinea and Pheneum. Paufianus in Arcadica.

**Orestis,** a Region of Macedonia, confining Epirus. Thucyd. lib. 2. not farre from Elymea. Liuy, lib. 37.

**Orestium,** A city of Arcadia, in the way between Sparta and Orestium the Isthmus. Herodot. lib. 9. and between Megalopolis and Tegea. Pauf. in Arcadica.

**Oreus,** a citie of the Hestians, in Eubaea. Thucyd. lib. 1. Strab. lib. 9. not farre

(c2)





the Continent. The City standeth on the South part of it, at the Sea-side. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Saga*, a City in *Pallene*. *Herod. lib. 7. Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* Also a City by the side of the Dutch made by *Auxes*, in Mount *Athos*, without the same, and to the Bay of *Sagis*. *Herod. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Sardis*, the chiefe City of the *Lydiens*, situate vnder the Hill *Tholus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Through it runneth the River *Tardus*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

*Scamander*, a River of *Troas*, rising in Mount *Ida*, *Sinnetis*, and *Scamander* meete in a Fenne, and then goe out into the Sea by one Channell, at *Sigeum*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Scandium*, a Promontory of the Island *Cos*, neere the City *Cos*, opposite to *Termerium*, a Promontory of the Continent. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Scandea*, a City in the Island *Cythera*. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

*Scepsis*, a City of *Troas*, in the highest part of Mount *Ida*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Seone*, a City in *Pallene*. *Herod. lib. 7.* betweene *Mende* and *Sane*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

*Seritis*, the territory of *Serius*, a *Laconian* Towne on the confines of *Pavliasia* in *Arcadia*, neere to *Cyrtia*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

*Serimus*, a Hauen of the Territory of *Corinth*, at the narrowest part of the *Isthmus*, betweene *Canthace* and *Crommyon*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

*Scellus*, a City of *Chalcidæ*, not far from *Cyrtus*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Scomius*, a Mountaine in *Thrace*, out of which riseth the River *Strymon*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Seythus*, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, lying before the territory of *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Betweene *Seythus* and the Continent of *Magnesia*, there is a narrow straight. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Seythium*, a Promontory of *Peloponnesus*, the bound of the Bay of *Argos*, towards *Corinth*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

*Seyrus*, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, lying over against the Continent of *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.* betweene *Eubæa* and *Lesbos*. *Herod. lib. 4.*

*Sellasia*, a Towne in *Laconia*, betweene *Lacedæmon* and the Hill *Parnethus*, which is the bound of *Laconia* and *Argia*. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

*Schymbræ*, a City of *Thrace*, by the side of *Propontis*.

*Sepæus*, a Promontory of *Magnesia*. *Herod. lib. 7.* the beginning of the *Pegæan* Bay.

*Seriphus*, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

*Serrium*, a Promontory; the utmost Westward of the shore of *Doris* in *Thrace*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Sermyla*, a City of *Chalcidæ*, vpon the *Toronean* Bay. The *Navy* of *Xerxes* being come about the Promontory *Ampelus*, passed by these Cities, *Torone*, *Galepsus*, *Sermyla*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

*Seslus*, a City of the *Thracian Cherfoneus*, thirty furlongs from *Abydos*, but neerer to *Propontis* than *Abydos*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Sicinus*, an Island not farre from *Mæis*,

on the West of the Island *Ios*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

*Sigon*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, betweene *Corinth* and *Achaia*, distant a hundred furlongs from *Phlius*. *Pauf. in Corinth.*

*Sidiffa*, a Towne by the Sea-side in *Erythraea*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

*Sigeum*, a City and Promontory of *Troas*, at the mouth of the River *Scamander*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Sigium*, the most northerne Promontory of the Ile *Leibos*, betweene *Eressus* and *Antissa*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Simone*, a River of *Troas*, which running into a Fenne, ioyneth there with the River *Scamander*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Singus*, and the Bay of *Singus*, a Towne, and Bay taking name from it, betweene Mount *Athos* and *Torone*. *Herodotus, lib. 7.*

*Sintys*, a people about *Amphipolis*. *Liv. lib. 44.* deuided from *Pæonia* by the Mountaine *Cercine*. *Thuc. lib. 2.*

*Siphe*, a City of *Bœotia*, vpon the *Crissean* Bay. *Pauf. in Bœotia.*

*Siphnus*, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

*Smyrna*, a maritime City of *Asia*, in the Bay called from it the Bay of *Smyrna*, beyond *Chironice* towards *Æolia*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Solium*, a maritime Towne of *Acarnania*. *Thucyd. Scholiast. ad lib. 2.*

*Sparta*, the same with *Lacedæmon*. *Strab. lib. 10. Vide Lacedæmon.*

*Spartacus*, a City of the *Bœotians*, on the border of the *Chalcidæans*. *Thuc. lib. 2.*

*Spercheus*, a River that riseth in *Dolopia*, at a Mountaine called *Tymphesius*, and falleth into the *Mælian* Bay, tenne furlongs within *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Sphacteria*, a little Island lying before *Pylos* of *Messenia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4. Pauf. in Messenia.*

*Sporades*, Islands vpon the Coast of *Caria*, and of *Creta*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

*Stagirus*, a City in the Bay of *Strymon*, betweene *Argilus* and *Acanthus*. *Herodotus, lib. 7.*

*Stratus*, a City of the *Amphilochians* in *Acarnania*, vpon the River *Achelous*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* two hundred furlongs from the River's mouth. *Strab. lib. 10.*

*Strephades*, Islands over against *Messenia*, about 400 furlongs from the Continent. *Strab. lib. 8.*

*Stryma*, a City on the Coast of *Thrace*, next after *Mesembria*, towards *Macedonia*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Strymon*, a River deuiding *Thrace* from *Macedonia*. It riseth in the Hill *Scomius*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.* It passeth by *Amphipolis*, on both sides of it, and falleth into the Sea at the City *Eion*. *Herodotus, lib. 7.* It is said to rise out of the Mountaine *Rhodope*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* But it is probable that the Hill *Scomius* is part of *Rhodope*.

*Symphalus*, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on the Territory of *Phlius*. *Pauf. in Arcadia.* *Strab. lib. 8.*

*Syra*, a City in *Eubæa*, neere to the City *Corythus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

*Synium*, a Promontory and Towne in *Attica*, towards *Eubæa*, betweene the *Saronic* Bay and the Sea towards *Eubæa*.

*Strab. lib. 10.* and distant from *Eubæa* three hundred furlongs. *Idem. lib. 9.*

*Sybuta*, Islands betweene *Leucine*, a Promontory of *Coccyra*, and the Continent. *Strab. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 1.* Also a Hauen by the Promontory of *Cheimerum*, in the same Continent. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

*Syme*, an Island over against the Continent of *Caria*, betweene *Laryma* and *Cnidus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

*Syros*, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

## T

*Tænarus*, a Promontory of *Laconia*, betweene the *Laconian* and the *Messenian* Bays. *Pauf. in Laconia.* Also a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the *Messenian* Bay, distant from *Tenarus* the Promontory forty furlongs. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

*Tanagra*, a City of *Bœotia*, confining on *Attica*, thirty furlongs from *Aula*, a Hauen on the *Eubæan* Sea. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Taulantia*, a People of *Illyria*, about *Dyrrachium* (or *Epidamnus*). *Strab. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 1.*

*Tægetus*, a Mountaine of *Laconia*, beginning at the Sea, about *Thurides*, and reaching vp towards *Arcadia*, as farre as *Amyle* and *Lacedæmon*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

*Tegea*, a City of *Arcadia*, betweene *Argos* and *Lacedæmon*. *Thucyd. lib. 5. Herodotus, lib. 6.*

*Tegea*, a City of *Tegea*, betweene *Argos* and *Lacedæmon*. *Thucyd. lib. 5. Herodotus, lib. 6.*

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*Tegea*, a City of *Tegea*, betweene *Argos* and *Lacedæmon*. *Thucyd. lib. 5. Herodotus, lib. 6.*

*Thæbe*, the principall City of *Bœotia*, situate neere the Rivers *Ilmenus* and *Aopus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* distant from *Platea* 70. furlongs. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Thera*, an Island on the Coast of *Crete*, distant from a Promontory thereof called *Dion*, twenty furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*

*Therapsa*, a small Island neere to *Thera*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

*Therme* and the *Therme* is a City in the *Thermean* Bay, the bottom of the *Thermean* Bay; and the *Thermean* Bay is presently within *Pallene*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

*Thermopylae*, the straight entrance into *Greece* out of *Thessaly*, of about halfe an *Acres* breadth, betweene the Mountaine *Ocia* and the *Mælian* Bay. Called *Thermopylae*, from hot waters that rise there (which the *Grecians* call *Therme*), and from Gates made there by the *Phœacians* in old time, (which they call *Pyle*). *Herod. lib. 7.* This straight is distant from *Chalcis* in *Eubæa* 530. furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Thespie*, a City of *Bœotia*, vnder Mount *Helicon*, on the confines of the City *Alivus*. *Pauf. in Bœotia.* neere to the *Crissean* Bay. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Thesprotia*, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, bordering on the *Ambracians* and *Leucadianus*. *Herod. lib. 8.* The *Chæones* and *Thesproti* haue the whole coast, from the *Ceraunian* Mountaines to the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

*Thessalia*, a Region of *Greece*, contained with in the Mountaines *Olympus*, *Ossa*, *Pelion*, (which is to the Sea), *Othrys* and *Pindus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* where hee layeth out the bounds of *Thessaly* exactly.

*Therica*, a maritime Towne of *Attica*, toward the *Eubæan* Sea, next beyond the Promontory *Sunium*. *Strab. lib. 9. Vide Helena.*

*Thracia*, a Kingdom bordering on *Macedonia*, at the River *Strymon*, described at large by *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

*Thria*, and *Thria* or *Thria*, a Towne *Thriasy campis*. *S. of Attica*, betweene *Athens* and *Elcusis*, ouer against *Salamis*. The Fields belonging to it, are called *Thriasy campis*, and the shore *Thriasium litus*. *Strab. 9. Herod. lib. 8.*

*Thronium*, a City of *Laconia*, vpon the *Mælian* Bay, betweene the Promontory *Cnemides*, and *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

*Thuride*, a City in the *Messenian* Bay, the first towards the East, distant from the Promontory *Tenarus* 70 furlongs. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

*Thurium*, a City of *Laconia*, 80 furlongs about *Phare*. *Pauf. in Messenica.*

*Thyamis*, a River of *Epirus*, diuiding *Thesprotis* from *Cestrine*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

*Thyamus*, a Hill on the confines of *Argolis* and *Amphilochia*, not farre from *Argos*. *Amphilochicum*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

*Thyrea*, a maritime City, in the Bay of *Argos*, in the Territory called *Cynuria*. It confineth on *Argia* and *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* and on the Territory of *Tegea*. *Pauf. in Arcadia.*

*Thyssa*, a City in Mount *Athos*. *Thuc. lib. 4. Herod. lib. 7.*

*Tichium*, a City of *Ætolia*, in the part inhabited by the *Apoditi*. *Thuy. lib. 8.*

*Tiborea*, a City in the top of *Parnassus*, called also *Xeon*, 80 furlongs from *Delphi*. *Pauf. in Phœcia.*

*Tmolus*, a Mountaine betweene the River *Gaſſius* and the City of *Sardes*. *Herod. lib. 5.* *Sardes* standeth at the foot of *Tmolus*, and out of this Hill riseth the River *Pactolus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Tolophon*, a City of the *Loeri Ozole*. *Thuc. lib. 3.*

*Tomeus*, a Hill neere to *Pylos* in *Messenia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Torone*, and *Torone* is a *Chalcidique* City, the Bay of } betweene the *Singitique* } *Torone*. } and *Toronean* Bays, neere

the Promontory *Ampelus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* The place of the *Toronean* Bay is vnderstood out of *Livy*, lib. 44. where he saith, that *Cassandrea* (or *Potidea*) standeth betweene the *Macedonian* Sea, and the Bay of *Torone*.

*Traga*, an Island neere to *Samos*. *Thuc. lib. 1.*

*Tregea*, Islands about *Mileus*. *Strab. lib. 4.*

*Tropium*, a Promontory of the *Cnidians*. *Thuc. lib. 8. Vide Cnidus.*

*Tripodiscus*, a Village of *Megaris*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

*Tritea*, a City of *Achaia*, remote from the Sea, distant from *Phare* 120 furlongs. *Pauf. in Achaia.* Also a City of the *Loeri Ozole*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

*Troas*, a Territory of *Asia* the lesse, vpon the side of the *Ægean* Sea, betweene *Æolia* and *Helleſpont*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Troæna*, a maritime City of *Argia*, the utmost in the Bay of *Hemonte*. *Strab. lib. 8.* confining on *Epidauria*. *Pauf. in Corinthia.*

*Troia*. *Vide Ilium.*

*Trogilum*, a Promontory, and foot of the Mountaine *Mycale*, ouer against the Ile *Samos*, which with *Possæum* a Promontory of that Ile, maketh the straight there of leuen furlongs ouer. *Strab. lib. 14.*

## Z

*Zacynthus*, an Island ouer against *Peloponnesus*. *Strab. lib. 10.* Now called *Zante*.

*Zarex*, a maritime City of *Laconia*, distant on one side from *Epidaurus* *Limeia* 100 furlongs, and from *Cyphanta* on the other side, sixteene furlongs. *Pauf. in Laconia.*

*Zelia*, a City vnder Mount *Ida*, toward *Propontis*, distant from *Cyzicus* 190. furlongs, and from the Sea 80. furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

*Zona*, a City on the shore of *Doris* in *Thrace*. *Herod. lib. 7.*



THE  
FIRST BOOKE  
OF  
THE HISTORY OF  
THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

*The estate of Greece, deriued from the remotest knowne Antiquity thereof, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre. The Occasion and Pretexes of this Warre, arising from the Controuerfies of the Athenians with the Corinthians, concerning Corcyra and Potidæa. The Lacedæmonians, instigated by the Confederates, undertake the Warre; not so much at their instigation, as of enuie to the greatnesse of the Athenian Dominion. The degrees by which that Dominion was acquired. The Warre generally decreed by the Confederates at Sparta. The Demands of the Lacedæmonians. The obstinacy of the Athenians; and their Answer, by the aduice of Pericles.*

A **T**HVCYDIDES an Athenian, wrote the Warre of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, \* as they warred against each other; beginning to write, as soone as the Warre was on foot, with expectation it should proue a great one, and most worthy the relation, of all that had beene before it: Coniecturing so much, both from this, that they flourished on both sides

B

in

\* ὡς ἐπαύρινον.



\* The common appellation  
is, the Grecians, to  
all Nations besides the  
Romans.

To make it appeare that  
this Warre was greater  
then any before it, the  
Author sheweth the im-  
becillity of former times;  
describing 3. Periods;  
1. From the beginning of  
the Grecian memory, to  
the Warre of Troy. 2. The  
Warre at selie. 3. The  
time from thence, to the  
present Warre which he  
writeth.

The state of Greece be-  
fore the Trojan Warre.  
\* Greece.

\* *ἀσπίς* for *ἀσπίς*.  
\* *ἀσπίς* is to *ἀσπίς*. What  
soever is estimated by  
money.

\* The territory of the Athe-  
nian City, so called, from  
Athens, the Daughter of  
Cecrops.

\* The Athenians had an op-  
inion of themselves, that  
they were not descended from  
other Nations, but that their  
Ancestors were over the Inha-  
bitants of Attica: wherefore  
they also styled themselves  
*αἰετῶν* - *Βασιλεῖς*, i. men of  
the same Land.

in all manner of prouision: and also because hee saw the A  
rest of Greece, siding with the one or the other Facti-  
on; some then presently, and some intending so to doe.  
For this was certainly the greatest Commotion that euer  
happened amongst the *Grecians*, reaching also to part of  
the \* *Barbarians*, and, as a man may say, to most Nati-  
ons. For the Actions that preceded this, and those againe  
that are yet more ancient, though the truth of them,  
through length of time, cannot by any meanes cleerely be  
discouered; yet for any Argument that (looking into  
times farre past) I haue yet light on to perswade me, I doe B  
not thinke they haue beene very great, either for matter of  
Warre, or otherwise.

For it is eident, that that which now is called \* *Hellas*,  
was not of old constantly inhabited; but that, at first,  
there were often remouals, euery one easily leauing the  
place of his abode, to the violence alwayes of some greater  
number. For whiles Trafficke was not, nor mutuall en-  
tercourse, but with feare, neither by Sea nor Land; and  
euery man so husbanded the ground, as but barely to liue  
vpon it, without any \* stocke of \* Riches; and planted C  
nothing, (because it was vncertaine when another should  
invade them, and carry all away, especially, not hauing  
the defence of Walls) but made account to be Masters in  
any place, of such necessary sustenance, as might serue  
them from day to day, they made little difficulty to change  
their habitations. And for this cause, they were of no a-  
bility at all, eyther for greatnesse of Cities, or other pro-  
uision. But the fattest Soyles were alwaies the most sub-  
iect to these changes of Inhabitants; as that which is now  
called *Theffalia*, and *Boetia*, and the greatest part of *Pelo-* D  
*ponnesus*, (except *Arcadia*) and of the rest of *Greece*, what-  
soeuer was most fertile. For, the goodnesse of the Land  
increasing the power of some particular men, both caused  
Seditions, (whereby they were ruin'd at home) and with-  
all, made them more obnoxious to the insidiation of stran-  
gers. From hence it is, that \* *Attica*, from great antiquity,  
for the sterility of the Soyle, free from Seditions, hath  
been inhabited euer by the same \* People. And it is none  
of the least euidences of what I haue said, That *Greece*, by  
reason of sundry transplantations, hath not in other parts E  
received the like augmentation. For, such as by Warre,  
or

A or Sedition, were driuen out of other places, the most po-  
tent of them, as to a place of stability, retired themselues  
to *Athens*; where receiuing the Freedome of the City,  
they long since so increased the same in number of People,  
as *Attica*, being incapable of them it selfe, they sent out  
Colonies into *Ionica*.

And to me, the imbecillity of ancient times, is not a lit-  
tle demonstrated also by this [that followeth.] For before  
the Trojan Warre, nothing appeareth to haue beene done  
by *Greece* in Common; nor indeed was it, as I thinke, cal-  
B led all by that one name of *Hellas*; nor before the time of  
*Hellen*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, was there any such name at  
all. But *Pelasgicum* (which was the farthest extended) and  
the other parts, by Regions, receiued their names from  
their owne Inhabitants. But *Hellen* and his Sonnes being  
strong in *Phthiotia*, and called in, for their ayde, into other  
Cities; these Cities, because of their conuersing with them,  
began more particularly to be called *Hellenes*: and yet could  
not that name of a long time after preuaile vpon them all.

This is coniectured principally out of *Homer*; for, though  
C borne long after the Trojan Warre, yet he giues them not  
any where that \* name in generall; nor indeed to any, but  
those, that with *Achilles* came out of *Phthiotia*, and were the  
first so called. But in his Poemes, he mentioneth *Danaans*,  
*Argiues*, and *Achaans*; nor doth he likewise vse the word *Bar-*  
*barians*; because the *Grecians*, as it seemeth vnto me, were  
not yet distinguished by one common name of *Hellenes*, op-  
positely answerable vnto them. The *Grecians* then, ney-  
ther as they had that Name in particular by mutuall en-  
tercourse, nor after, vniuersally so termed, did euer before  
D the Trojan Warre, for want of strength and correspon-  
dence, enter into any Action, with their Forces ioyned.  
And to that Expedition they came together, by the  
meanes of Navigation, which the most part of *Greece* had  
now receiued.

For *Minos* was the most ancient of all, that by report we  
know to haue built a Nauy: and he made himsef Ma-  
ster of the now \* *Grecian Sea*; and both commanded the  
Isles called *Cyclades*, and also was the first that sent Colo-  
nies into most of the same, expelling thence the *Carians*,  
E and constituting his owne Sonnes there for Gouvernours,  
and also freed the Seas of Pirates, as much as hee could,  
B 2. for

The original of the  
name *Hellas*.

\* The name of *Hellenes* not  
given to all the *Grecians* in  
the time that *Homer* wrote  
his Poemes.

The Trojan Warre was the  
first Enterprize where  
the *Grecians* combined  
their forces.

*Minos*, King of *Creta*, the  
first that had a Nauy.

\* Before that time, it was  
called the *Carian Sea*.

for the better comming in (as is likely) of his owne Re-  
A uenue.

A Digression, touching  
the Piracie & Robberies  
of old time; with other  
Notes of Saulvagenesse.

Robbing had in honour.

\* In distinction to the other  
Locrians, called Opuntij.

Continuall wearing of  
Armour in fashion.

The Athenians grew first  
civill.

\* The Athenians, holding  
themselves to be sprung from  
the ground they lived on,  
more the Grasshopper for  
a kinde of Cognizance, because  
that Beast is thought to be ge-  
nerated of the Earth.

For the *Grecians* in old time, and such *Barbarians* as, in  
the Continent, liued neere vnto the Sea, or else inhabited  
the Ilands, after once they beganne to crosse ouer one  
to another in Ships, became *Theeues*, and went a-  
broad vnder the conduct of their most puissant men, both  
to enrich themselues, and to fetch in maintenance for the  
weake: and falling vpon Towns vnfortified, and scattering-  
ly inhabited; rifled them, and made this the best meanes  
of their liuing; Being a matter at that time no where in B  
disgrace, but rather carrying with it something of glory.  
This is manifest by some that dwell on the Continent, a-  
mongst whom, so it be performed Nobly, it is still esteem-  
ed as an Ornament. The same also is prooued by some  
of the ancient Poets, who introduce men questioning of  
such as faile by, on all Coasts alike, whether they bee  
*Theeues*, or not; as a thing neyther scorned by such as  
were asked, nor vpbraided by those that were desirous to  
know. They also robbed one another within the maine  
Land: And much of *Greece* vseth that old custome, as the C  
*Locrians* called *Ozole*, the *Acarmanians*, and those of the  
Continent in that quarter, vnto this day. Moreouer, the  
fashion of wearing Iron, remaineth yet with the people  
of that Continent, from their old Trade of *Theeuing*.

For once they were wont throughout all *Greece*, to goe  
armed, because their Houses were vnfenced, and traveling  
was vn safe, and accustomed themselues, like the *Barba-  
rians*, to the ordinary wearing of their Armour. And the  
Nations of *Greece* that liue so yet, doe testifie, that the  
same manner of life was anciently vniversall to all the rest. D  
Amongst whom, the *Athenians* were the first that laid by  
their Armour, and growing ciuill, passed into a more ten-  
der kinde of life. And such of the Rich as were any thing  
stepped into yeeres, layd away, vpon the same delicacie,  
not long after, the fashion of wearing linnen Coates, and  
\* golden Grasshoppers, which they were wont to binde  
vp in the lockes of their haire: from whence also the same  
Fashion, by reason of their affinity, remained a long time  
in vse amongst the ancient *Ionians*. But the moderate kind  
of Garment, and conformable to the wearing of these E  
times, was first taken vp by the *Lacedamonians*; amongst  
whom

A whom also, both in other things, and especially in the cul-  
ture of their bodies, the Nobility obserued the most equa-  
lity with the Commons. The same were also the first,  
that when they were to contend in the \* *Olympicke* Games,  
stript themselues \* naked, and anoynted their bodies with  
oyntment: whereas in ancient times, the Champions did  
also in the *Olympicke* Games vse Breeches; nor is it many  
yeeres since this custome ceased. Also there are to this  
day amongst the *Barbarians*, especially those of *Asia*, Prizes  
propounded of fighting with Fitts, and of Wrestling, and  
B the Combattants, about their priuie parts, weare Breeches  
in the Exercise. It may likewise by many other things  
bee demonstrated, that the old *Greekes* vsed the same forme  
of life, that is now in force amongst the *Barbarians* of the  
present Age.

As for Cities, such as are of late Foundation, and since  
the increase of Navigation, in as much as they haue had  
since, more plenty of riches, haue beene walled about, and  
built vpon the Shore; and haue taken vp Isthmi, [that is  
to say, neckes of Land between Sea and Sea] both for Mer-  
C chandise, and for the better strength against Confiners.  
But the old Cities, men hauing beene in those times, for  
the most part, infested by *Theeues*, are built farther vp,  
as well in the Ilands, as in the Continent. For others al-  
so that dwelt on the Sea side, though not Sea-men, yet  
they molested one another with Robberies; and euen to  
these times, those people are planted vp high in the  
Country.

But these Robberies were the exercise especially of the  
Ilanders; namely, the *Carians*, and the *Phenicians*: for by  
D them were the greatest part of the \* Ilands inhabited. A  
testimony whereof, is this: The *Athenians*, when in this  
present \* Warre they hallowed the Ile. of *Delos*, and had  
dugged vp the Sepulchers of the Dead, found that more  
then halfe of them were *Carians*, \* knowne so to bee, both  
by the armour buried with them, and also by their manner  
of buriall at this day. And when *Minos* his Nauy was  
once afloat, Nauigators had the Sea more free: For hee  
expelled the Malefactors out of the Ilands, and in the most  
of them, planted Colonies of his owne. By which means,  
E they who inhabited the Sea-coasts, becomming more ad-  
dicted to Riches, grew more constant to their dwellings;

B 3

of

\* Exercises of diuers kindes  
instituted in honour of Iupiter,  
at Olympia in Peloponnesus,  
to which resorted  
such out of Greece, as con-  
tended for Prizes.  
\* This was perhaps the cause,  
why it was a capitall crime,  
for women to be Spectators  
of the *Olympicke* exercises.

The Cities of Greece, how  
scared, and for what  
causes.

The *Carians* and *Phenicians*,  
were those that com-  
mitted the most robbe-  
ries.  
\* The Cyclades.

\* Vide Lib. 4. in the begin-  
ning.

\* The *Carians* hauing in-  
vented the Crest of the Hel-  
met, and the handle of the  
Target, and also the drawing  
of Images on their Targets,  
had therefore a Helmet and  
a Buckler buried with them,  
and had their beads laid to-  
wards the West.

of whom, some growne now rich, compassed their Townes about with Walls. For out of desire of gaine, the meaner sort vnderwent servitude with the mighty; and the mighty with their wealth, brought the lesser Cities into subiection. And so it came to passe, that rising to power, they proceeded afterward to the Warre against Troy.

And to mee it seemeth, that <sup>a</sup> Agamemnon got together that Fleet, not so much for that hee had with him the <sup>b</sup> Suters of *Helena*, bound thereto by oath to *Tyndareus*, as for this, that hee exceeded the rest in power. For they that by tradition of their Ancestours, know the most certainty of the Acts of the *Peloponnesians*, say, That first, *Pelops*, by the abundance of wealth which he brought with him out of *Asia*, to men in want, obtained such power amongst them, as, though hee were a Stranger, yet the Countrey was called after his name. And that this power was also increased by his Posterity: For, *Euristheus* being slaine in *Attica*, by the <sup>c</sup> *Heracleides*, *Atreus*, that was his <sup>d</sup> Vncle by the Mother, (and was then abiding with him as an exiled person, for feare of his Father, for the \* death of *Chrysippus*) and to whom *Euristheus*, when he vndertooke the Expedition, had committed *Mycena*, and the gouernment thereof, for that he was his Kinsman; when as *Euristheus* came not backe, (the *Mycenians* being willing to it, for feare of the *Heracleides*, and because he was an able man, and made much of the Common people) obtained the Kingdome of *Mycena*, and of whatsoever else was vnder *Euristheus*, for himselfe: And the power of the <sup>e</sup> *Pelopeides* became greater then that of the <sup>f</sup> *Perseides*. To which greatnesse *Agamemnon* succeeding, and also farre excelling the rest in Shipping, tooke that Warre in hand, as I conceiue it, and assembled the said Forces, not so much vpon fauour, as by feare. For it is cleere, that he himselfe both conferred most Ships to that Action, and that some also hee lent to the *Arcadians*. And this is likewise declared by *Homer* (if any thinke his testimony sufficient) who, at the deliuey of the Scepter vnto him, calleth him, *Of many Iles, and of all Argos King*. Now he could not, liuing in the Continent, haue bene Lord of the Ilands, other then such as were adjacent, which cannot bee many, vnlesse hee had also had a Nauy. And by this Expedition, we are to estimate what were those of the Ages before it.

Now

The Action of Troy.

<sup>a</sup> The Sonne of Atreus, the Sonne of Pelops.<sup>b</sup> The opinion was, that *Tyndareus*, the Father of *Helena*, took an Oath of all his Daughters Suters, that if violence were done to him that obtained her, all the rest should helpe to revenge it. And that *Menelaus* hauing married her, and Paris the Sonne of Priam, King of Troy taken her away, *Agamemnon*, in the behalfe of his Brother *Menelaus*, drew them by this Oath to the Siege of Ilium.<sup>c</sup> *Peloponnesus*, so called from *Pelops*.<sup>d</sup> The increase of the power of the *Pelopians*.<sup>e</sup> A kindred and race of men, whereof was *Hercules*. This Family was persecuted by *Euristheus*, who was of the House of *Perseus*, and driven into *Attica*, thither he following them, was slaine by the Athenians.<sup>f</sup> *Astidamia*, the Mother of *Euristheus*, was *Atreus* his Sister.<sup>\*</sup> *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, Sonnes of *Pelops*, at the impulsion of their Mother, slew this *Chrysippus*, who was their halfe Brother, viz. by the Father; and for this fact, *Atreus* fled to *Euristheus*.*Atreus* King of *Mycena*, after the death of *Pelops*.<sup>e</sup> The House of *Pelops*.<sup>f</sup> The House of *Perseus*.<sup>\*</sup> The Sonne of *Atreus*, heire to the power of both Houses, both of the *Pelopeides*, and of the *Perseides*.

A Now seeing *Mycena* was but a small Citie, or if any other of that Age seeme but of light regard, let not any man for that cause, on so weake an Argument, thinke that Fleet to haue bene lesse then the Poets haue said, and Fame reported it to bee. For, if the City of *Lacedamon* were now desolate, and nothing of it left, but the Temples, and floores of the buildings, I thinke it would breed much vnbeliefe in posterity long hence, of their power, in comparision of the Fame. For although of \* five parts of *Peloponnesus*, it possesse \* two, and hath the leading of the rest, and also of many Confederates without; yet the Citie being not close built, and the Temples and other Edifices not costly, and because it is but scatteringly inhabited, after the ancient manner of *Greece*, their power would seeme inferiour to the report. Again, the same things happening to *Athens*, one would coniecture by the sight of their Citie, that their power were double to what it is. Wee ought not therefore to bee incredulous, [concerning the Forces that went to *Troy*,] nor haue in regard so much the externall shew of a Citie, as the power: but we are to thinke, that that Expedition was indeed greater then those that went before it, but yet inferiour to those of the present Age; if in this also we may credit the Poetry of *Homer*, who being a Poet, was like to set it foorth to the vtmost. And yet euen thus it commeth short. For hee maketh it to consist of 1200. Vessels: those that were of *Baotians*, carrying 120. men apiece, and those which came with *Philoctetes*, 50. Setting forth, as I suppose, both the greatest fort, and the least, and therefore of the bignesse of any of the rest, hee maketh in his Catalogue, no mention at all: but declareth, that they who were in the Vessels of *Philoctetes*, serued both as Mariners and Souldiers: for he writes, that they who were at the Oare, were all of them Archers. And for such as wrought not, it is not likely that many went along, except \* Kings, and such as were in chiefe authority, especially being to passe the Sea with Munition of Warre, and in Bottomes without Deckes, built after the old and Peiraticall fashion. So then, if by the greatest and least, one estimate the meane of their Shipping, it will appeare, that the whole number of men considered, as sent ioynly from all *Greece*, were not very many. And the cause heereof was not so much want

*Mycena*, though no great Citie, yet was of great power.<sup>\*</sup> 1. *Laconia*. 2. *Arceia*. 3. *Argolica*. 4. *Mejtena*. 5. *Eub.* 6. *Atozea*. 7. *Laconia*, *Mejtena*.The City of *Sparta* lesse, and the City of *Athens*, greater, then for the proportion of their power.A Survey of the Fleet sent to *Troy*.<sup>\*</sup> As *Achyles*, *Ulysses*, *Ajax*, *Diomedes*, *Patroclus*, and the like.<sup>\*</sup> The whole number of men, estimating the Ships at a medium to carry 8. men apiece, which is the meane betwene 120. and 50. come to 102000. men, carried in these 1200. Ships. Yet the Author makes it a light matter in respect of the present warre.

want of men, as of wealth. For, for want of victuall, they A  
carried the lesser Army, and no greater then they hoped  
might both follow the Warre, and also maintaine it selfe.  
When vpon their arriuall, they had gotten the vpper hand  
in fight, (which is manifest; for else they could not haue  
fortified their Campe) it appeares, that from that time for-  
ward, they employed not there their whole power, but  
that for want of victuall, they betooke themselves, part  
of them to the tillage of *Chersonesus*, and part to fetch in  
Booties: whereby diuided, the *Trojans* the more easily B  
made that tenne yeeres resistance; as being euer a Match  
for so many as remained at the Siege. Whereas, if they  
had gone furnished with store of prouision, and with all  
their Forces, eased of Boothaling and Tillage, since they  
were Masters of the Field, they had also easily taken the  
Citie. But they stroue not with their whole power, but  
onely with such a portion of their Army, as at the feue-  
rall occasions chanced to bee present: when as, if they had  
pressed the Siege, they had wonne the place, both in lesse  
time, and with lesse labour. But through want of money,  
not onely they were weake matters all that preceded this C  
Enterprize; but also this, (which is of greater name then  
any before it) appeareth to bee in fact beneath the Fame,  
and report, which, by meanes of the Poets, now goeth  
of it.

For also after the *Trojan Warre*, the *Grecians* continued  
still their shiftings, and transplantations; insomuch as ne-  
uer resting, they improved not their power. For the late  
returne of the *Greekes* from *Ilium*, caused not a little inno-  
uation; and in most of the Cities there arose seditions;  
and those which were driven out, built Cities for them- D  
selves in other places. For those that are now called *Bæo-  
tians*, in the sixtieth yeere after the taking of *Troy*, expelled  
*Arne* by the *Thesalians*, seated themselves in that Country,  
which now *Bæotia*, was then called *Cadmeis*. (But there  
was in the same, a certaine portion of that Nation before,  
of whom also were they, that went to the Warfare of  
*Troy*.) And in the eightieth yeere, the *Doreans*, together  
with the *Heracleides*, seized on *Peloponnesus*. And with  
much adoe, after long time, *Greece* had constant rest; and  
shifting their seates no longer, at length sent Colonies a- E  
broad. And the *Athenians* planted *Ionia*, and most of the  
Ilands,

The pouerty of the  
Greeks was the cause  
why the Trojans could  
so long hold out.

The state of Greece, after  
the Trojan Warre.

Bæotia, more anciently  
Cadmeis.

The Ionians were the Co-  
lonies of the Athenians.

A Ilands; and the *Peloponnesians*, most of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, and  
also certaine parts of the rest of *Greece*. But these Colo-  
nies were all planted after the *Trojan Warre*.

But when the power of *Greece* was now improved,  
and the desire of money withall, their reuenues being  
enlarged, in most of the Cities there were erected  
Tyrannies: (for before that time, Kingdomes with ho-  
nours limited, were hereditary.) And the *Grecians* built  
Nauies, and became more seriously addicted to the af-  
fares of the Sea. The *Corinthians* are said to haue been the

B first that changed the forme of shipping, into the neereft  
to that which is now in vse; and at *Corinth* are reported to  
haue beene made the first Gallies of all *Greece*. Now it is  
well knowne, that *Aminocles* the Ship-wright of *Corinth*,  
built 4. Ships at *Samos*. And from the time that *Aminocles*  
went to *Samos*, vntill the end of this present Warre, are at  
the most but 300. yeeres. And the most ancient nauall  
Battaile that we know of, was fought betweene the \* *Co-*

C *Isthmus*, had beene alwaies a place of Traffique; because  
the *Grecians* of old, from within and without *Peloponnesus*,  
trading by Land more then by Sea, had no other inter-  
course one to another, but thorow the *Corinthians* Territory.  
And was also wealthy in money, as appeares by the Poets,  
who haue furnished this Towne the *Rich*. And after the  
*Grecians* had comerce also by Sea, then likewise hauing fur-  
nished themselves with a Nauy, they scowred the Sea of  
Pirates, and affording Traffique both by Sea and Land,  
mightily increased their City in reuenue of money. After

D this, the *Ionians* in the times of *Cyrus*, first King of the  
*Persians*, and of his Sonne *Cambyses*, got together a great  
Nauie, and making warre on *Cyrus*, obtained for a time the  
dominion of that part of the Sea that lyeth on their owne  
Coast. Also *Polycrates*, who in the time of *Cambyses*, Ty-  
rannized in *Samos*, had a strong Nauy, wherewith he sub-  
dued diuers of the Ilands; and amongst the rest, hauing  
wonne *Rhenea*, hee consecrated the same to *Apollo* of *Delos*.  
The \* *Phocæans* likewise, when they were building the  
City of *Marzeilles*, ouercame the *Carthagineans* in a fight  
E at Sea.

These were the greatest Nauies extant, and yet euen  
C these

The difference betwixt  
Tyranny, and a King-  
dome.

At Corinth were made the  
first Gallies, or Gallies  
of this name of Gallies,  
one above another.

\* By this it appears, that  
Thucydides writes in the  
wide sense.

\* Pericles, the first  
of Corinth, built the  
first Gallies of his Sonne  
Polycrates.

The meanes of the  
wealth of Corinth.

Corinth furnished the Rich.

The Ionians had a Nauy  
in Cyrus his time.

Polycrates Tyrant of Samos,  
had a Nauy in the time  
of Cambyses.

\* The Phocæans in the time  
of Tarquinus, came into  
the Mouth of Tyber, entered  
into amity with the Ro-  
mans, and thence went and  
built Marzeilles amongst the  
Savage Nations, of the Ligu-  
rians, and Gauls. Justin  
l. 42.

these, though many Ages after the time of *Troy*, consisted A  
as it seemes, but of a few Gallies, and were made vp with  
Vessels of fiftie Oares, and with long Boates, as well as  
those of former times. And it was but a little before the  
\* *Median* Warre, and death of *Darius*, successor of *Cambyses*  
in the Kingdome of *Persia*, that the Tyrants of *Sicily*, and  
the *Corcyreans* had of Gallies any number. For these \* last,  
were the onely Nauies worth speaking of, in all *Greece*,  
before the invasion of the *Medes*. And the People of  
*Aegina*, and the *Athenians*, had but small ones, and the most  
of them consistling but of fiftie Oares apiece; and that so B  
lately, as but from the time, that the *Athenians* making  
Warre on *Aegina*, and withall expecting the comming of  
the *Barbarian*, at the perswasion of *Themistocles*, built those  
Ships, which they vsed in that Warre; and these also,  
not all had Deckes.

Such were then the Nauies of the *Greekes*, both ancient  
and modern. Neuertheless, such as applyed themselves  
to navall businesse, gained by them no small power, both  
in reuenuue of money, and in dominion ouer other people.  
For with their Nauies (especially those men that had not C  
sufficient Land, where they inhabited, to maintaine them-  
selves) they subdued the *Ilands*. But as for Warre by  
Land, such as any State might acquire power by, there  
was none at all. And such as were, were onely betweene  
Borderer and Borderer. For the *Grecians* had neuer yet  
gone out with any Army to conquer any Nation far from  
home; because the lesser Cities, neither brought in their  
Forces to the great ones, as Subiects, nor concurred as E-  
quals, in any common Enterprize; but such as were neigh-  
bours, warred against each other, hand to hand. For the D  
Warre of old, betweene the *Chalcideans* and the *Eretrians*,  
was it, wherein the rest of *Greece* was most divided, and in  
league with either partie.

As others by other meanes were kept backe from grow-  
ing great, so also the *Ionians* by this, That the *Persian* Af-  
fares prospering, *Cyrus* and the *Persian* Kingdome, after the  
defeat of *Croesus*, made warre vpon all that lyeth from the  
Riuer *Halys* to the Sea side, and so subdued all the Citties  
which they possessed in the Continent & *Darius* afterward,  
when he had ouercome the *Phoenissian* Fleet, did the like E  
vnto them in the *Ilands*.

And

\* *Medes* and *Persians* said  
here from *Cambyse* to the *Me-  
dian* Warre, being trans-  
lated to the *Persians*.  
\* Of the *Corinthians*, *Io-  
nians*, and *Phocceans*.

*Egina*.

The shipping of *Greece*  
very meane before this  
Warre.

The causes why the *Gre-  
cians* neuer ioynded their  
forces in any great  
action.

The *Ionians* kept downe  
by the *Persian*.

A And as for the Tyrants that were in the *Grecian* Cities,  
who foresawd onely for themselves, how, with as much  
safety as was possible, to looke to their owne persons, and  
their owne Families, they resided for the most part in the  
Cities, and did no Action worthy of memory, vnlesse it  
were against their neighbours: for, as for the Tyrants of  
*Sicily*, they were already arrived at greater power. Thus  
was *Greece* for a long time hindred, that neither ioyntly it  
could doe any thing remarkable, nor the Cities singly be  
adventrous.

B But after that the \* Tyrants both of *Athens*, and of the rest  
of *Greece*, where Tyrannies were, were the most, and last of  
them (excepting those of *Sicily*, put downe by the *Lacedae-  
monians*, (for *Lacedemon*, after it was built by the *Doreans*  
that inhabited the same, though it hath bin longer troubled  
with seditions, then any other Citie we know, yet hath it  
had for the longest time, good Laws, and bin also alwaies  
free from Tyrants. For it is vnto the end of this Warre,  
400. yeeres, and somewhat more, that the *Lacedemonians*  
haue vsed one and the same gouernment: and thereby be-  
C ing of power themselves, they also ordered the Affaires  
in the other Cities) [I say] after the dissolution of Ty-  
rannies in *Greece*, it was not long before the Battaile was  
fought by the *Medes*, against the *Athenians*, in the Fields  
of *Marathon*. And in the tenth yeere againe after that,  
came the \* *Barbarian*, with the \* great Fleet into *Greece*,  
to subdue it. And *Greece* being now in great danger, the  
leading of the *Grecians* that leagued in that Warre, was  
giuen to the *Lacedemonians*, as to the most potent State.  
And the *Athenians*, who had purposed so much before, and

D already slowd their necessities, at the comming in of  
the *Medes*, went \* a ship-boord, and became Sea-men.  
When they had ioyntly beaten backe the *Barbarian*, then  
did the *Grecians*, both such as were revolted from the  
King, and such as had in common made Warre vpon  
him, not long after, deuide themselves into Leagues,  
one part with the *Athenians*, and the other with the *La-  
cedemonians*; these two Cities appearing to bee the  
mightiest; for this had the power by Land, and the other  
by Sea. But this Confederation lasted but a while: for af-  
E terwards, the *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians*, being at \* va-  
riance, warred each on other, together with their seuerall

C 2

Confederates.

\* *Pisistratus* called *the Tyrant*.

The *Lacedemonians* put  
downe the Tyrants  
through all *Greece*.

\* *Xerxes*.

\* A Fleet of 1200. Gal-  
lies, and 1000. Hulks of  
the round manner of  
building, *Cora Nepos* in  
vita *Themistocles*.

\* The *Athenians* being ad-  
monished by the Oracle, for  
their safety against the  
*Medes*, to put themselves  
within Walls of wood: *Thes-  
timocles* interpreting the  
Oracle, they went into their  
Gallies.

All *Greece* deuided into  
two Leagues, the *Lacedae-  
monians* and their League,  
and the *Athenians* and  
their League.

\* This warre began vpon  
this, That *Cimon* hauing  
been sent for to assist the *La-  
cedemonians*, and the  
*Athenians*, was sent backe with  
his *Athenians*, out of dis-  
trust the *Lacedemonians*  
had of him in former times:  
whence the *Athenians* took  
for a dissent.



Confederates. And the rest of Greece, where any discord A  
 chanced to arise, had recourse presently to one of these. In  
 so much, that from the Warre of the Medes to this present  
 Warre, being continually [exercised] sometimes in peace,  
 sometimes in Warre, either one against the other, or against  
 revolted Confederates, they arrived at this Warre, both  
 well furnished with Military provisions, and also expert,  
 because their practice was with danger.

The Lacedæmonians governed not their Confederates so,  
 as to make them Tributaries, but onely drew them by  
 faire meanes to embrace the \* *Oligarchy*, convenient to their B  
 owne Policy. But the Athenians, having with time, taken  
 into their hands the Gallies of all those that stood out,  
 (except the Chians and Lesbians) \* reigned over them, and  
 ordained euery of them to pay a certaine tribute of money.  
 By which meanes, their \* owne particular provision was  
 greater in the beginning of this Warre, then when in their  
 flourishing time, the League betweene them and the rest  
 of Greece remaining whole, it was at the most.

Such then I finde to haue beene the state of things past,  
 hard to be beleueed, though one produce prooffe for euery C  
 particular thereof. *For Men receiue the report of things,*  
*though of their owne Countrey, if done before their owne time, all*  
*alike, from one as from another, without examination.*

For the vulgar sort of Athenians thinke, that Hipparchus  
 was the Tyrant, and slaine by Harmodius and Aristogeiton;  
 and know not that Hippias had the gouernment, as being  
 the eldest sonne of Pisistratus, and that Hipparchus and Thessa-  
 lus were his brethren; and that Harmodius and Aristogeiton,  
 suspecting that some of their Complices had that day, and  
 at that instant, discovered vnto Hippias somewhat of their D  
 treason, did forbear Hippias, as a man forewarned, and de-  
 sirous to effect somewhat, though with danger, before  
 they should be apprehended, lighting on Hipparchus, slew  
 him, neere the Temple called *Leocorium*, whilest he was  
 setting forth the \* *Panathenaicall* Show. And likewise  
 diuers other things now extant, and which Time hath not  
 yet involved in oblivion, haue beene conceiued amisse by  
 other Grecians; as that the Kings of Lacedæmon, in gi-  
 uing their suffrages, had not \* single, but double Votes.  
 And that \* *Pitanate* was a band of Souldiers, so called E  
 there, whereas there was neuer any such. *So impatient of*  
*labour*

The manner how the La-  
 cedæmonians dealt with  
 their Confederates.

\* The government of the Few,  
 that is to say, of the Nobility.  
 The manner how the A-  
 thenians handled their  
 Confederates.

\* Hence it is, that through  
 all this History, Subjects  
 and Confederates are ta-  
 ken for the same thing, espe-  
 cially with the Athenians.  
 \* Of the People of Athens  
 it selfe, excluding their Con-  
 federates.

Direction, to shew how  
 negligently men receiue  
 the fame of things past,  
 by the example of their  
 error touching the Story  
 of Hippias the sonne of Pi-  
 sistratu, which it seemes  
 he willingly mentions,  
 both here and hereafter  
 on light occasion.

\* Panathenaica, were So-  
 lemnities instituted by The-  
 teus, in memory of that he  
 had drawn together all the A-  
 thenians that lived disper-  
 sed in Attica, into the citie of  
 Athens. Pauf. in Arcad.  
 \* Lucan seemeth to relate  
 the same error, in Harmo-  
 dius.  
 \* A Tribe of the Lacedæ-  
 monians.

A labour are the most men, in the search of truth, and embrace soon-  
 est, the things that are next to hand.

Now he, that by the Arguments heere adduced, shall  
 frame a Iudgement of the things past, and not beleuee ra-  
 ther, that they were such as the Poets haue sung, or Prose-  
 writers haue composed, more delightfully to the eare, then  
 conformably to the truth, as being things not to bee dis-  
 prooued, and by length of time, turned for the most  
 part into the nature of Fables without credit; but shall  
 thinke them heere searched out, by the most euident signes  
 B that can be, and sufficiently too, considering their antiquity;  
 hee, I say, shall not erre. And though men alwaies iudge  
 the present Warre wherein they liue, to be greatest; and  
 when it is past, admire more those that were before it; yet  
 if they consider of this Warre, by the Acts done in the  
 same, it will manifest it selfe to bee greater, then any of  
 those before mentioned.

What particular persons haue spoken, when they were  
 about to enter into the Warre, or when they were in it,  
 were hard for mee to remember exactly, whether they C  
 were speeches which I haue heard my selfe, or haue recei-  
 ued at the second hand. But as any man seemed, to mee,  
 that knew what was neere to the \* summe of the truth,  
 of all that hath beene vttered, to speake most agreeably to  
 the matter still in hand, so haue I made it spoken heere.  
 But of the Acts themselues done in the Warre, I thought  
 not fit to write all that I heard from all Authors, nor  
 such as I my selfe did but thinke to bee true; but onely  
 those whereat I was my selfe present; and those of which  
 with all diligence I had made particular enquire. And  
 D yet euen of those things, it was hard to know the certainty,  
 because such as were present at every Action, spake not  
 all after the same manner, but as they were affected to the  
 Parts, or as they could remember.

To heare this History rehearsed, for that there bee in-  
 serted in it no Fables, shall bee perhaps not delightfull:  
 But hee that desires to looke into the truth of things done,  
 and which (according to the condition of humanity) may  
 bee done againe, or at least, their like, hee shall finde e-  
 nough heerein, to make him thinke it profitable: And it  
 E is compiled rather for an \* *EVERLASTING POSSES-*  
*sion*, then to be \* rehearsed for a Prize.

The diligence of the Au-  
 thor in the enquire of  
 the truth of what he  
 wrote: both touching  
 the Orations, and the  
 Actions.

\* To the analogie and sense  
 of what is to be said: so  
 that though he used not their  
 words, yet he used the argu-  
 ments that best might serue to  
 the purpose, which at any time  
 was in hand.

The vse of this History.

\* *Altesia* is also.  
 \* Both Poets, and Historiogra-  
 phers of old, recited their Hi-  
 stories to captaine glory. This  
 emulation of glory in their  
 writings, he callith *Altesia*.

The greatest of the  
Warre.  
\* *Nemesis* acted  
in this Warre, viz. one  
of the *Barbarians*, and the other  
of the *Greekes*. And as, in  
the time of *Thermopylae*,  
the *Greekes* were in the  
middle of the Warre.

Earthquakes, Eclipses,  
Famine, Pestilence, con-  
stants of this Warre.

*Nemesis*.  
\* The *Athenians*.

The cause of the Warre,  
the necessity of the  
Warre in the *Lacedaemonians*.

The cause of the Warre,  
the necessity of the  
Warre in the *Lacedaemonians*.

The first pretext.  
\* *Phaeacia*.  
Now the Gulfe of  
*Ionia*, called so from  
the *Ionians*, now *Slavonia*,  
and *Dalmatia*.  
\* *Inhabitants* of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*.  
\* *Corcyra* was a Colony  
of *Corinth*, and *Epidam-  
nus* of *Corcyra*.

The greatest Action before this, was that against the *A*  
\* *Medes*, and yet that, by \* two Battels by Sea, and as many  
by Land, was soone decided. But, as for this Warre, it both  
lasted long, and the harme it did to *Greece*, was such, as the  
like, in the like space, had never beene seene before. For nei-  
ther had there ever bin so many Cities expugned, and made  
desolate, what by the *Barbarians*, and what by the *Greekes*  
warring on one another, (and some Cities there were, that  
when they were taken, changed their inhabitants;) nor so  
much banishing and slaughter, some by the Warre, some  
by sedition, as was in this. And those things which con- *B*  
cerning former time, there went a fame of, but in fact  
rarely confirmed, were now made credible. As Earth-  
quakes, generall to the greatest part of the World, and  
most violent withall; Eclipses of the Sunne, oftner then  
is reported of any former time. Great droughts in some  
places, and thereby Famine; and that which did none  
of the least hurt, but destroyed also its part, the Plague.  
All these Evils entred together with this Warre, which  
began from the time that the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*  
brake the League, which immediately after the Conquest *C*  
of \* *Eubaea*, had beene concluded betweene them for thirty  
yeeres. The Causes why they brake the same, and  
their Quarrels, I haue therefore set downe first, because no  
man should bee to seeke, from what ground so great a  
Warre amongst the *Grecians* could arise. And the truest  
Quarrell, though least in speech, I conceiue to bee the  
growth of the *Athenian* power; which putting the *Laceda-*  
*monians* into feare, necessitated the Warre. But the Causes  
of the breach of the League, publicly voyced, were  
these.

*E*PIDAMNVS is a Citie situate on the right hand  
to such as enter into the *Ionian* Gulfe; bordering vp-  
on it, are the *Taulantij*, *Barbarians*; a people of *Illyris*.  
This was planted by the \* *Corcyraens*, but Captaine of the  
Colony, was one *Phalius*, the sonne of *Heratoclidus* a *Corin-*  
*thian*, of the linage of *Hercules*, and according to an an-  
cient Custome, called to this charge out of the \* *Metropo-*  
litan Citie; besides that the Colony it selfe, consisted in  
part, of *Corinthians*, and others of the *Dorique* Nation. In *E*  
processe of time, the Citie of *Epidamnus*, became great and  
populous;

A populous; and hauing for many yeeres together beene an-  
noyed with sedition, was by a Warre, as is reported, made  
vpon them by the confining *Barbarians*, brought low, and  
deprived of the greatest part of their power. But that  
which was the last accident before this Warre, was, that  
the Nobility, forced by the Commons to fly the Cittie,  
went and ioyned with the *Barbarians*, and both by Land  
and Sea, robbed those that remained within. The *Epidam-*  
*nians* that were in the Towne, oppressed in this manner,  
sent their Ambassadors to \* *Corcyra*, as being their Mo-  
ther Cittie, praying the *Corcyraens* not to see them perish, *\* Corf.*  
but to reconcile vnto them, those whom they had driven  
forth, and to put an end to the *Barbarian* Warre. And  
this they intreated in the forme of \* *Suppliants*, sitting  
downe in the Temple of *Iuno*. But the *Corcyraens*, not  
admitting their application, sent them away againe, with-  
out effect. The *Epidamnians* now despairing of reliefe from  
the *Corcyraens*, and at a stand how to proceed in their pre-  
sent affaires, sending to *Delphi*, enquired at the Oracle, whe-  
ther it were not best to deliuer vp their Citie into the  
hands of the *Corinthians*, as of their Founders, and make *C*  
tryall what ayde they should obtaine from thence. And  
when the Oracle had answered, That they should deliuer it,  
and take the *Corinthians* for their Leaders, they went to *Co-*  
*rinth*, and according to the advice of the Oracle, gaue their  
Cittie to them, and declared how the first Founder of it  
was a *Corinthian*, and what answer the Oracle had giuen  
them, intreating their helpe, and that they would not  
stand by, beholding their destruction. And the *Corin-  
thians* undertooke their defence, not onely for the equity of  
the cause, (as thinking them no lesse their owne, then the  
*Corcyraens* Colonie) but also for hatred of the *Corcyraens*,  
who being their Colony, yet contemned them, and al-  
lowed them not their due honour in publique meetings,  
nor in the distribution of the Sacrifice, began at a *Corin-*  
*thian*, as was the custome of other Colonies; but being e-  
quall to the richest *Grecians* of their time, for store of mo-  
ney, and strongly furnished with ammunition of Warre,  
had them in contempt. Also they stuck not some-  
times to boast how much they excelled in shipping; and  
that *Corcyra* had beene once inhabited by the \* *Phaeace*,  
who flourished in glory of nauall affaires; which was al

\* Either the *Epidamnians*,  
had offered the *Corcyra-*  
ans, or the *Corcyraens* to  
those who, in the Sanctu-  
ary, not only for crimes but for  
obscuring aid in extreme mis-  
treatments, tacitly disclaiming all other  
helps, save that of the Gods,  
and those to whom they made  
supplication.  
The *Epidamnians* neglected  
by their Mother Citie.  
*Corcyra*, procure the pro-  
tection of the *Corinthians*.

\* By Homer this Ile is called  
*Phaeacia*.

The Corinthians send inhabitants to Epidamnus.

The Corcyreans angry at the aydes sent by the Corinthians, make Warre on Epidamnus.

\* *ἐξέστη*. Divers occasions force men from their Country. Sentence of Law which is commonly called Banishment. Prescription, when the Sentence is death, for which cause they fly into banishment: But those that are here meant, are such as in Seditions being the weaker Faction, fly for feare of being murdered, which I call here, banished men; or might call them perhaps better Outlawes or Fugitives, but neither of them properly. The Florentines, and other places of Italy, that were or are Democraticall, when in such banishment can only happen, call the properly *Fuorusciti*.

The Corcyreans besiege Epidamnus.

The Corinthians send an Armie to relieue it.

to the cause, why they the rather prouided themselves of A  
a Nauie; and they were indeed not without power that way; for when they began this Warre, they had 120. Gallies. The Corinthians therefore hauing all these criminations, against them, relieved Epidamnus willingly, not only giuing leaue to whosoever would, to goe and dwell there, but also sent thither a Garrison of Ambraciotes, Leucadians, and of their owne Citizens; which succours, for feare the Corcyreans should haue hindred their passage by Sea, marched by Land to Apollonia. The Corcyreans vnderstanding that new inhabitants, and a Garrison were gone to Epidamnus, and that the Colonie was deliuered to the Corinthians, were vexed extremely at the same; and sayling presently thither, with 25. Gallies, and afterwards with another Fleet, in an insolent manner commanded them, both to recall those whom they had banished, (for these \* banished men of Epidamnus, had beene now at Corcyra, and pointing to the Sepulchers of their Ancestors, and claiming kindred, had intreated the Corcyreans to restore them) and to send away the Garrison and Inhabitants sent thither by the Corinthians. But the Epidamnians gaue no care to their commandements. Whereupon, the Corcyreans with forty C  
Gallies, together with the banished men, (whom they pretended to reduce) and with the Illyrians, whom they had ioyned to their part, warred vpon them; and hauing laid Siege to the City, made Proclamation, that such of the Epidamnians as would, and all strangers, might depart safely, or otherwise, were to bee proceeded against as Enemies. But when this prevailed not, the place being an Isthmus, they enclozed the City in on euery side. The Corinthians, when newes was brought from Epidamnus, how D  
it was besieged, presently made ready their Armie, and at the same time caused a Proclamation to bee made, for the sending thither of a Colony, and that such as would goe, should haue equall and like priuiledges, with those that were there before: and that such as desired to bee sharers in the same, and yet were vnwilling to goe along in person, at that present, if they would contribute 50. Corinthian Drachmaes, might stay behind. And they were very many, both that went, and that laid downe their filuer. Moreouer, they sent to the Megareans, for feare of E  
being stopped in their passage by the Corcyreans, to ayde them

A them with some Gallies, who accordingly furnished out 8. the Citizens of Pale in Cephalonia, 4. They also required Gallies of the Epidaurians, who sent them 5. the Citizens of Hermione, 1. the Trazenians, 2. the Leucadians, 10. the Ambraciotes, 8. Of the Thebans and Phliasiens they required money; of the Eleans, both money, & empty Gallies; and of the Corinthians themselves, there were ready 30. Gallies, and 3000. \* men of Armes. The Corcyreans, aduertised of this preparation, went to Corynth, in company of the Ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians, & of the Sycionians, whom they took with them, and required the Corinthians to recall the Garrison and Inhabitants, which they had sent to Epidamnus, as being a City, they said, wherwith they had nothing to do; or if they had any thing to alledge, they were content to haue the cause iudicially tryed, in such Citties of Peloponnesus, as they should both agree on, and they then should hold the Colonie, to whom the same should be adiudged. They said also, That they were content to referre their cause to the Oracle at Delphi: that Warre they would make none, but if they must needs haue it, they should by the violence of them, be forced in their owne defence, to seeke out \* better friends then those whom they already had. To this the Corinthians answered, that if they would put off with their Fleet, and dismisle the Barbarians from before Epidamnus, they would then consult of the matter: for before they could not honestly doe it: Because whilest they should bee pleading the case, the Epidamnians should be suffering the misery of a Siege. The Corcyreans replied to this, That if they would call backe those men of theirs already in Epidamnus, that then they also would D  
doe, as the Corinthians had required them; or otherwise, they were content to let the men on both sides stay where they were, and to suspend the Warre, till the cause should be decided. The Corinthians not assenting to any of these propositions, since their Gallies were manned, and their Confederates present, hauing defyed them first by a Herald, put to Sea with 75. Gallies, and \* 2000. men of Armes, and set sayle for Epidamnus, against the Corcyreans: Their Fleet was commanded by Aristaeus, the sonne of Pellicat, Callicrates, the sonne of Callias; and Timenor the sonne of Timanthes: and the Land Forces by Archev  
timus, the sonne of Eurytimus, and Isarchidas the sonne of I/archus.

Cephalonia.

\* *ἐν ἀρμῇ*, Men in armes.

The Corcyreans offer to stand to Arbitrament.

\* Meaning the Athenians.

The Corinthians vnwilling to accept it, and not without cause.

The Corinthian Fleet.

\* Either here or before, it is likely the number hath beene mis-written: for a list: before hee sayes they had made ready 3000.



\* A Haven famous after-  
wards, for the Battell be-  
tweene Augustus Caesar,  
and Marcus Antonius.

The Corcyrae Fleet.  
\* It is said, that the  
Corcyraeans had 1100  
Gallies, which number agree-  
eth with this 80, that fight  
at the 43, that maintaind  
the Siege.  
The Corcyraeans have the  
victory at Sea, and on  
the same day take the  
City.

\* Second Turning, particularly  
turning the backs, Trophies,  
Monuments, in remembrance  
of having made the Enemy  
lose their battles. These were  
often in 1066 times, now out  
of date.

Suite of Mounts, now  
an Island, then a Pen-  
insula.

The Corcyraeans Masters  
of the Sea.

The protis, part of  
Albania.

The Corinthus prepare  
a greater Name.

11 *Corcyrae*. After they were come as farre as \* *Actium*, in the A Territory of *Anactorium*, (which is a Temple of *Apollo*, and ground consecrated vnto him: in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*) the *Corcyraeans* sent a Herald to them, at *Actium*, to forbid their comming on, and in the meane time manned out their Fleet, and hauing repaired, and made fit for seruice their old Gallies, and furnished the rest with things necessary, shipped their Munition, and went aboard. The Herald was no sooner returned from the *Corinthians*, with an answer not inclining to peace, but ha-  
uing their Gallies already manned and furnished, to the B number of 80. Sayle, (for \* forty attended alwayes the Siege of *Epidamnus*) they put to Sea, and arranging them-  
selues, came to a Battell: In which the *Corcyraeans* were cleerely Victors; and on the part of the *Corinthians*, there perished 15. Gallies. And the same day it happened likewise, that they that besieged *Epidamnus*, had the same  
rendred vnto them, with Conditions, That the Strangers therein found, should be ransomed, and the *Corinthians* kept in  
bonds, till (such times as they should be otherwise disposed of. The Battell being ended, the *Corcyraeans*, after they had set vp C  
their \* Trophie in *Leucimna*, a Promontory of *Corcyra*, slew their other prisoners, but kept the *Corinthians* still in  
bonds. After this, when the *Corinthians* with their van-  
quished Fleet, were gone home to *Corinth*, the *Corcyraeans*, Masters now of the whole Sea in those parts, went first,  
and wasted the Territory of *Leucas*, a *Corinthian* Colonie, and then sayled to *Cyllene*, which is the Arsenall of the  
*Eleans*, and burnt it, because they had, both with money and shipping, giuen ayde to the *Corinthians*.

And they were Masters of those Seas, and infested the D Confederates of *Corinth*, for the most part of that yeere; till such time as in the beginning of the Summer follow-  
ing, the *Corinthians* sent a Fleet and Souldiers vnto *Actium*, the which for the more safe keeping of *Leucas*, and of o-  
ther Citties their friends, encamped about *Chimerium* in *Theprotis*: and the *Corcyraeans*, both with their Fleet and  
Land Souldiers, lay ouer against them in *Leucimna*. But neither part stirred against the other, but after they had  
lyen quietly opposite all the Summer, they retyred in Winter, both the one side and the other to their Cities. E

All this yeere, as well before as after the Battaile, the  
*Corinthians*

A *Corinthians* being vexed at the Warre with the *Corcyraeans*, applied themselues to the building of Gallies, and to the preparing of a Fleet, the strongest they were able to make, and to procure Mariners out of *Peloponnesus*, and all other parts of *Greece*. The *Corcyraeans* hauing intelligence of their preparations, beganne to feare, and (because they had neuer bene in League with any *Grecian* City, nor were in the Roll of the Confederates, either of the *Athe-  
nians*, or *Lacedaemonians*) thought it best now, to send to A-  
thens, to see if they could procure any ayde from thence.  
B This being perceiued by the *Corinthians*, they also sent their  
Ambassadours to *Athens*, lest the addition of the *Athenian*  
Nauy, to that of the *Corcyraeans*, might hinder them from  
carrying the Warre as they desired. And the Assembly  
at *Athens* being met, they came to pleade against each o-  
ther; and the *Corcyraeans* spake to this effect.

Both *Corcyraeans* and *Corin-  
thians* send their Ambas-  
sadours to *Athens*.

### THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadours of CORCYRA.

C MEN of Athens, It is but Iustice, that such as come to im-  
plore the ayde of their neighbours, (as now doe wee) and cannot  
pretend by any great benefit or League, some precedent merit,  
should before they goe any further, make it appeare, principally, that  
what they seeke conferreth profit, or if not so, yet is not prejudiciall  
at least, to those that are to grant it: and next, that they will bee  
constantly thankfull for the same. And if they cannot doe this,  
then not to take it ill, though their suite bee rejected. And the  
*Corcyraeans* being fully perswaded that they can make all this appeare  
on their owne parts, haue therefore sent vs hither, desiring you to a-  
D scribe them to the number of your Confederates. Now so it is, that we  
haue had a Custome, both vnreasonable in respect of our Suite to you,  
and also for the present vnprofitable to our owne estate. For, hauing  
euer till now, bene vnwilling to admit others into League with vs,  
we are now not onely suiters for League to others, but also left destitute  
by that meanes, of friends in this our Warre with the *Corinthians*.  
And that which before wee thought wisdom, namely, not to enter  
with others into League, because wee would not at the discretion of o-  
thers enter into danger, wee now finde to haue bene our weaknesse,  
and imprudence. Wherefore, though alone wee repulsed the *Corin-  
thians*, in the late Battell by Sea, yet since they are set to inuade vs  
E with greater preparation, out of *Peloponnesus*, and the rest of  
Greece.

Greece; and seeing with our owne single power we are not able to goe A through; and since also the danger, in case they subdue vs, would bee very great to all Greece, it is both necessary that wee seeke the succours, both of you, and of whomsoever else wee can; and we are also to be pardoned, though we make bold to crosse our former custome of not hauing to doe with other men, proceeding not from malice, but error of iudgement. Now if you yeeld vnto vs, in what wee request, this coincidence (on our part) of need, will on your part bee honourable, for many reasons. First, in this respect, that you lend your helpe to such as haue suffered, and not to such as haue committed the iniustice. And next, considering that you receiue into League, such as haue at B stake their whole fortune, you shall so place your benefit, as to haue a testimony of it, if euer any can be so indeleble. Besides this, the greatest Name but your owne, is ours: Consider then, what rarer hap, and of greater griefe to your enemies, can befall you, then that that power, which you would haue prized aboue any money, or other requittall, should come voluntarily, and without all danger or cost, present it selfe to your hands; bringing with it reputation amongst most men; a gratefull minde from those you defend; and strength to your selues. All which haue not happened at once to many. And few there bee of those that sue for League, that come not rather to receiue strength, C and reputation, then to conferre it. If any heere thinke, that the Warre wherein wee may doe you seruice, will not at all bee, hee is in an error, and seeth not, how the Lacedæmonians, through feare of you, are already in labour of the Warre; and that the Corinthians, gracious with them, and enemies to you, making way for their Enterprize, assault vs now, in the way to the invasion of you heereafter, that wee may not stand amongst the rest of their common Enemies, but that they may be sure before-hand, either to weaken vs, or to strengthen their owne estate. It must therefore be your part, we offering, and you accepting the League, to beginne with them, and to D anticipate plotting, rather then to counterplot against them. If they object iniustice, in that you receiue their Colonie, henceforth let them learne, that all Colonies, so long as they receiue no wrong from their Mother Citie, so long they honour her; but when they suffer iniurie from her, they then become alienate: for they are not sent out to be the Slaues of them that stay, but to be their equals. That they haue done vs the iniurie, is manifest; for when wee offered them a iudiciall tryall of the Controversie, touching Epidamnus, they chose to prosecute their quarrell, rather by Armes then Iudgement. Now let that which they haue done vnto vs, who are their kindred, serue you for some Ar. E gument, not to bee seduced by their demands, and made their instruments

A ments before you bee aware. For hee liues most secure, that hath fewest benefits bestowed by him vpon his Enemies, to repent of. As for the Articles betweene you and the Lacedæmonians, they are not broken by receiuing vs into your League, because wee are in League with neither partie. For there, it is said, That whosoever is Confederate of neither party, may haue acceffe lawfully to either. And sure it were very vnreasonable, that the Corinthians should haue the libertie to man their Fleet out of the Cities comprised in the League; and out of any other parts of Greece, and not the least out of \*places in your Dominion, and wee bee denyed both the League now propounded, and also, all other B helpe from whence soeuer. And if they impute it to you as a fault, that you grant our request; wee shall take it for a greater, that you grant it not. For therein you shall reject vs, that are invaded, and bee none of your Enemies; and them, who are your Enemies, and make the invasion, you shall not onely not oppose, but also suffer to raise vnlawfull Forces in your Dominions; Whereas you ought in truth, either not to suffer them to take vp Mercenaries in your States, or else to send vs succours also; in such manner as you shall thinke good your selues; but especially by taking vs into your League, and so aiding vs. Many commodities, as wee said in the beginning, wee shew vnto you, but this C for the greatest, that whereas they are your Enemies; (which is manifest enough) and not weake ones, but able to hurt those that stand vp against them, wee offer you a Nauall, not a Terrestriall League; and the want of one of these, is not as the want of the other: Nay rather, your principall aime, if it could be done, should bee, to let none at all haue shipping but your selues; or at least, if that cannot bee, to make such your friends, as are best furnished therewith. If any man now thinke thus, that what we haue spoken, is indeed profitable, but feares if it were admitted, the League were thereby broken: let that man consider, that his feare ioyned with strength, will make his Enemies D feare, and his confidence, hauing (if hee reject vs) so much the lesse strength, will so much the lesse be feared. Let him also remember, that hee is now in consultation, no lesse concerning Athens, then Corcyra; wherein hee forecasteth none of the best, (considering the present estate of affaires) that makes a question, whether against a Warre at hand, and onely not already on foot, hee should ioyne vnto it, or not, that City which with most important advantages, or disadvantages, will be friend or enemy. For it lyeth so conveniently for sayling into Italy, and Sicily, that it can both prohibit any Fleet to come to Peloponnesus from thence, and convoy any comming from Peloponnesus thither: and is also for diuers other vses most commodious. And to comprehend all in briebe, consider whether wee bee to bee abandoned,

\* At Cephalonia.

done, or not, by this. For Greece hauing but three Nauies of any A  
account; yours, ours, and that of Corinth, if you suffer the other two  
to ioyne in one, by letting the Corinthians first seaze vs, you shall  
haue to fight by Sea at one time, both against the Corcyraens and  
the Peloponnesians; whereas by making League with vs, you shall  
with your Fleet augmented, haue to deale against the Peloponnesi-  
ans alone.

Thus spake the Corcyraens, and after them, the Corinthi-  
ans, thus.

### THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadours of CORINTH.

B

**T**He Corcyraens in their Oration hauing made mention not  
onely of your taking them into League, but also, that they are  
wronged, and vniustly warred on; it is also necessarie for vs  
first to answer concerning both those points, and then afterwards to pro-  
ceed to the rest of what we haue to say, to the end you may fore-know,  
that ours are the safest demands for you to embrace, and that you may  
vpon reason reject the needy estate of those others. Whereas they al-  
leadge in defence of their refusing to enter League with other Cities,  
that the same hath proceeded from modesty, the truth is, that they tooke  
vp that Custome, not from any vertue, but meere wickednesse; as be-  
ing vnwilling to call any Confederate for a witnesse of their euill acti-  
ons, and to bee put to blush by calling them. Besides, their City be-  
ing by the situation sufficient within it selfe, giueth them this point,  
that when they doe any man a wrong, they themselues are the Iudges of  
the same, and not men appointed by consent. For going seldome forth a-  
gainst other Nations, they intercept such, as by necessity are driven  
into their Harbour. And in this consisteth their goodly pretext, for  
not admitting Confederates, not because they would not bee content to  
accompany others in doing euill, but because they had rather doe it alone;  
that where they were too strong, they might oppresse; and when there  
should bee none to obserue them, the lesse of the profit might be shared  
from them, and that they might escape the shame when they tooke any  
thing. But if they had beene honest men, (as they themselues say they  
are) by how much the lesse they are obnoxious to accusation, so much  
the more meanes they haue, by giuing, and taking what is due to make  
their honesty appeare. But they are not such, neither towards others,  
nor towards vs. For being our Colony, they haue not onely beene euer  
in reuolt, but now they also make warre vpon vs, and say they were not  
sent out to be injured by vs; but we say againe, that wee did not send  
them

E

**A** them forth to bee scorned by them, but to haue the leading of them, and  
to bee regarded by them, as is fit. For our other Colonies both honour  
and loue vs much, which is an argument, seeing the rest are plea-  
sed with our actions, that these haue no iust cause to bee offended a-  
lone; and that without some manifest wrong, wee should not haue  
had colour to warre against them. But say wee had beene in an er-  
rour, it had beene well done in them, to haue giuen way to our passi-  
on, as it had beene also dishonourable in vs, to haue insulted ouer  
their modesty. But through pride and wealth, they haue done vs  
wrong, both in many other things, and also in this, that Epidam-  
nus being ours, which whilest it was vexed with Warres, they ne-  
uer claimed, as soone as wee came to relieue it, was forcibly seazed  
by them, and so holden. They say now, that before they tooke it,  
they offered to put the cause to tryall of Iudgement: But you are  
not to thinke, that such a one will stand to Iudgement; as hath ad-  
uantage, and is sure already of what hee offereth to pleade for; but  
rather hee that before the tryall, will admit equality in the matter it  
selfe, as well as in the pleading: whereas contrarily these men, of-  
fered not this specious pretence of a Iudiciall tryall, before they had  
besieged the City, but after, when they saw wee meant not to put it  
vp. **C** And now hither they bee come, not content to haue beene fault-  
ty in that businesse themselues, but to get in you, into their confede-  
racy? no; but into their conspiracy; and to receiue them in this  
name, that they are enemies to vs. But they should haue come to  
you then, when they were most in safety; not now, when we haue the  
wrong, and they the danger; and when you, that neuer partaked of  
their power, must impart vnto them of your ayde; and hauing beene  
free from their faults, must haue an equall share from vs of the blame.  
They should communicate their power before-hand, that meane to  
make common the issue of the same; and they that share not in the  
**D** crimes, ought also to haue no part in the sequele of them. Thus it  
appeares that wee come for our parts, with arguments of equity and  
right; whereas the proceedings of these other, are nothing else but  
violence and rapine. And now we shall shew you likewise, that you  
cannot receiue them in point of Iustice. For although it bee in the  
Articles, that the Cities written with neyther of the parties, may  
come in, to whether of them they please; yet it holds not for such  
as doe so, to the detriment of eyther; but onely for those that ha-  
uing reuolted from neither part, want protection, and bring not a  
Warre with them in stead of peace to those (if they bee wise) that re-  
**E** ceiue them. For you shall not onely be Auxiliaries vnto these; but  
to vs, in stead of Confederates, Enemies. For if you goe with them,

it followes, they must defend themselves, not without you. You should A  
doe most vprightly, to stand out of both our wayes; and if not that,  
then to take our parts against the Corcyreans, (for betweene the  
Corinthians and you, there are Articles of peace, but with the Cor-  
cyreans you neuer had so much as a Truce) and not to constitute a  
new Law of receiving one anothers Rebels. For neither did we giue  
our votes against you, when the Samians revolted, though the rest of  
Peloponnesus was diuided in opinion: But plainly alledged, That  
it was reason, that euery one should haue liberty to proceed against their  
owne revolting Confederates. And if you shall once receive and ayde  
the doers of wrong, it will bee seene, that they will come ouer as fast B  
from you to vs; and you shall set vp a Law, not so much against vs,  
as against your selues. These are the points of Iustice wee had to shew  
you, conformable to the Law of the Grecians. And now wee come to  
matter of aduice, and claime of fauour; which (being not so much your  
enemies as to hurt you, nor such friends as to surcharge you) wee say,  
ought in the present occasion, to bee granted vs by way of requitall: For  
when you had want of Long Barques against the Aeginetæ, a little  
before the Medan War, you had 20. lent vnto you by the Corinthi-  
ans; which benefit of ours, and that other against the Samians, when  
by vs it was, that the Peloponnesians did not ayd them, was the cause C  
both of your victory against the Aeginetæ, and of the punishment of  
the Samians. And these things were done for you in a season, when  
men going to fight against their enemies, neglect all respects, but of  
victory. For euen a mans Domesticke affaires are ordered the worse,  
through eagernes of present contention. Which benefits considering,  
and the yonger sort taking notice of them from the elder, be you pleased  
to defend vs now in the like manner. And haue not this thought, that  
though in what wee haue spoken there bee equity; yet, if the Warre  
should arise, the profit would be found in the contrary. For utility fol-  
loweth those actions most, wherein we doe the least wrong; besides D  
that the likelihood of the Warre, wherewith the Corcyreans frighting  
you, goe about to draw you to iniustice, is yet obscure, and not worthy  
to moue you to a manifest and present hostility with the Corinthians;  
but it were rather fit for you indeed, to take away our former ieaiousies  
concerning the\* Megareans. For the last good turne done in sea-  
son, though but small, is able to cancell an accusation of much greater  
moment. Neither suffer your selues to be drawne on, by the greatnesse  
of the Navy which now shall bee at your seruice by this League; for to  
doe no iniurie to our equals, is a firmer power, then that addition of  
strength, which (pust vp with present shewes) men are to acquire with E  
danger. And since wee bee come to this, which once before wee said at  
Lacedæmon,

\* This which was done against  
the Corinthians, by the A-  
thenians that ayded Mega-  
ra, is related afterwards  
in this first Booke.

- A Lacedæmon, that euery one ought to proceed, as hee shall thinke  
good, against his owne Confederates, wee claime that liberty now of  
you; and that you that haue bene helped by our votes, will not hurt  
vs now by yours, but render like for like; remembering, that now is  
that occasion, wherein hee that aydeth vs, is our greatest friend; and  
hee that opposeth vs, our greatest enemy. And that you will not re-  
ceiue these Corcyreans into League against our wills, nor defend  
them in their iniuries. These things if you grant vs, you shall both  
doe as is fit, and also aduise the best for the good of your owne af-  
fares.
- B This was the effect of what was spoken by the Corin-  
thians.
- Both sides hauing bene heard, and the Athenian people  
twice assembled; in the former Assembly, they approued  
no lesse of the reasons of the Corinthians, (then of the Corcy-  
reans;) but in the latter, they changed their mindes; not so  
as to make a League with the Corcyreans, both offensive  
and defensue, that the Friends and Enemies of the one,  
should be so of the other, (for then, if the Corcyreans should  
haue required them to goe against Corinth, the Peace had  
beene broken with the Peloponnesians) but made it onely C  
defensue, that if any one should invade Corcyra or Athens,  
or any of their Confederates, they were then mutually to  
assist one another. For they expected, that euen thus,  
they should grow to Warre with the Peloponnesians, and  
were therefore vnwilling to let Corcyra, that had so great  
a Nauie, to fall into the hands of the Corinthians; but ra-  
ther, as much as in them lay, desired to breake them one a-  
gainst another; that if need required, they might haue to  
doe with the Corinthians, and others that had Shipping,
- D when they should be weakned to their hands. And the  
Iland seemed also to lye conveniently for passing into Italy,  
and Sicily. With this minde the people of Athens receiued  
the Corcyreans into League; and when the Corinthians were  
gone, sent tenne Gallies not long after to their ayde. The  
Commanders of them were Lacedæmonius the sonne of Ci-  
mon, Diotimus, the sonne of Strombichus, and Proteas, the  
Sonne of Epicles; and had order not to fight with the Co-  
rinthians, vnesse they invaded Corcyra, or offered to land  
there, or in some other place of theirs. Which if they  
E did, then with all their might to oppose them. This  
they forbade, because they would not breake the Peace
- E  
con-

A League defensue made  
betweene the Athenians  
and Corcyreans.

They ayde Corcyra with  
tenne Gallies.

concluded with the *Eleoponnefians*. So these Gallies arrived at *Corcyra*.

The Corinthian Fleet.  
See Index.

The *Corinthians*, when they were ready, made towards *Corcyra* with 150. Saile; (viz.) of the *Eleans*, 10. of the *Megaraeans*, 12. of the *Leucadians*, 10. of the *Ambraciotes*, 27. of the *Anactorians*, 1. and 90. of their owne. The Commanders of these, were men chosen out of the said severall Cities, for the feuerall parts of the Fleet which they sent in; & ouer those of *Corinth*, was *Xenocleides*, the son of *Eubicles*, with 4. others. After they were all come together, vpon the Coast of the Continent ouer against *Corcyra*, they sayled from *Leucas*, and came to *Cheimerium*, in the Countrey of *Thesprotis*. In this place is a Harbour, and about it, further from the Sea, the Cittie of *Ephyre*, in that part of *Thesprotis*, which is called *Eleatis*; and neere vnto it, disbogueth into the Sea the Lake *Acherusia*, and into that (hauing first passed through *Thesprotis*) the Riuer *Acheron*, from which it taketh the Name. Also the Riuer *Thyanis* runneth heere, which divideth *Thesprotis* from \**Cestrine*, betwixt which two Riuers, ariseth this Promontory of *Cheimerium*. To this part of the Continent came the *Corinthians*, and encamped. The *Corcyraeans* vnderstanding that they made against them, hauing ready 110. Gallies vnder the conduct of *Miciades*, *Aesimides*, and *Eurybatius*, came and incamped in one of the Islands called *Sybota*. And the tenne Gallies of *Athens* were also with them. But their Land-forces stayed in the Promontory of *Leucimma*, and with them 1000. men of Armes of the \**Zacynthians* that came to ayde them. The *Corinthians* also had in the Continent the aydes of many *Barbarians*, which in those quarters haue bene euermore their friends. The *Corinthians*, after they were ready, and had taken aboard three dayes prouision of victuall, put off by night from *Cheimerium*, with purpose to fight; and about breake of day, as they were sayling, descryed the Gallies of the *Corcyraeans*, which were also put off from *Sybota*, and comming on to fight with the *Corinthians*. As soone as they had sight one of another, they put themselves into order of Battaille. In the right \* wing of the *Corcyraeans* were placed the Gallies of *Athens*; and the rest being their owne, were diuided into three Commands, vnder the three Commanders, one vnder one. This was the order of the *Corcyraeans*. The *Corinthians* had in their

\* *Cestrine* the Territory of Cestria, part of Chaonia.

The *Corcyraean* Fleet.

The *Corinthians* set forward.

\* *Xigae*, The Gallies stood all one by one, in a row, and the right wing were those that were on the right hand from the middle; and the left wing, those on the left hand.

A their right wing the Gallies of *Megara*, and of *Ambracia*; in the middle, other their Confederates in order, and opposite to the *Athenians*, and right wing of the *Corcyraeans*, they were themselves placed, with such Gallies as were best of Sayle, in the left. The \* Standard being on either side list vp, they ioyned Battell; hauing on both parts, both many men of Armes, and many Archers and Slingers, but after the old fashion, as yet somewhat vnskilfully appointed. The Battell was not so artificially as cruelly fought; neere vnto the manner of a fight at Land. For after they had once runne their Gallies vp close aboard one of another, they could not for the number and throng, be easily gotten asunder againe, but relyed for the victory, especially vpon their men of Armes, who fought where they stood, whilst the Gallies remained altogether without motion. Passages through each other they made none, but fought it out with courage and strength, rather then with skill: in so much as the Battell was in euery part, not without much tumult and disorder. In which the *Athenian* Gallies, being alwaies, where the *Corcyraeans* were oppressed, at hand, kept the enemies in feare, but yet began no assault, because their Commanders stood in awe of the prohibition of the *Athenian* people. The right wing of the *Corinthians* was in the greatest distresse; for the *Corcyraeans* with twenty Gallies, had made them turrie their backs, and chased them disperfed, to the Continent; and sayling to their very Campe, went aland, burnt their abandoned Tents, and tooke away their Baggage; so that in this part the *Corinthians* and their Confederates were vanquished, and the *Corcyraeans* had the victory. But in the left wing, where the *Corinthians* were themselves, they were farre superiour; because the *Corcyraeans* had twenty Gallies of their number, which was at first lesse then that of the *Corinthians*, absent in the chase of the Enemy. And the *Athenians*, when they saw the *Corcyraeans* were in distresse, now ayded them manifestly, whereas before, they had abstained from making assault vpon any. But when once they fled out right, and that the *Corinthians* lay fore vpon them; then euery one fell to the businesse, without making difference any longer: and it came at last to this necessity, that they vnderooke one another, *Corinthians*, and *Athenians*.

*Megara*.

\* *ovacia*, A Picture of a magick Idoll, as the Eagle amongst the Romans.

The Battell.

The *Corinthians* haue the better.

The *Athenians* and *Corinthians* fight.

E 2

The

The *Corinthians*, when their enemies fled, staid not to fasten the Hulles of the Gallies they had sunke, vnto their owne Gallies, that so they might tow them after; but made after the men, rowing vp and downe, to kill, rather then to take alieue; and through ignorance (not knowing that their right wing had bene discomfited) slew also some of their owne friends. For the Gallies of eyther side being many, and taking vp a large space of Sea, after they were once in the medly, they could not easily discern who were of the Victors, and who of the vanquished party. For this was the greatest Nauall Battell, for number of Ships, that euer had bene before, of *Grecians* against *Grecians*. When the *Corinthians* had chased the *Corcyraeans* to the shore, they returned to take vp the broken Gallies, and bodies of their dead, which for the greatest part they recouered, and brought to *Sybota*, where also lay the Land-forces of the *Barbarians*, that were come to ayde them. This *Sybota* is a desert Hauen of *Thessrotia*. When they had done, they re-vnited themselues, and made againe to the *Corcyraeans*; and they likewise, with such Gallies as they had fit for the Sea, remaining of the former Battell, together with those of *Athens*, put forth to meete them, fearing lest they should attempt to land vpon their Territory. By this time the day was farre spent, and the \*Song which they vsed to sing when they came to charge, was ended, when suddenly the *Corinthians* beganne to row a Sterne: for they had descryed twenty *Athenian* Gallies, sent from *Athens* to second the former tenne; for feare lest the *Corcyraeans* (as it also fell out) should bee ouercome, and those tenne Gallies of theirs bee too few to defend them. When the *Corinthians* therefore had sight of these Gallies, suspecting that they were of *Athens*, and more in number then they were, by little and little they fell off. But the *Corcyraeans* (because the course of these Gallies was vnto them more \*out of sight) descryed them not, but wondred why the *Corinthians* rowed a Sterne; till at last some that saw them, said they were Enemies; and then retired also the *Corcyraeans*. For by this time it was darke; and the *Corinthians* had turned about the heads of their Gallies, and dissolued themselues. And thus were they parted, and the Battell ended in night.

The *Corcyraeans* lying at *Leucinna*, these twenty *Athenian* Gallies,

Sybot of the Continent,  
a Hauen.

\* Pæan, a Hymne, to Mars  
in the beginning of fight: to  
Apollo after the victory.

A supply of 20. Sayle  
from Athens.

The *Corinthians* fall off.

\* (viz.) more behind their  
backs.

A Gallies, vnder the command of *Glaucon*, the sonne of *Leagrus*, and *Andracides*, the sonne of *Leogorus*; passing through the midst of the floating Carcasses, and wrecke, soone after they were descryed, arriued at the Campe of the *Corcyraeans* in *Leucinna*. The *Corcyraeans* at first, (being night) were afraid they had bene Enemies, but knew them afterwards; so they anchored there.

The next day, both the thirty Gallies of *Athens*, and as many of *Corcyra* as were fit for seruice, went to the Hauen in *Sybota*, where the *Corinthians* lay at Anchor, to see if they would fight. But the *Corinthians*, when they had put off from the Land, and arranged themselues in the wide Sea, stood quiet, not meaning of their owne accord to beginne the Battell; both for that they saw the supply of fresh Gallies from *Athens*, and for many difficulties that happened to them, both about the safe custody of their Prisoners aboard, and also for that beeing in a desert place, their Gallies were not yet repaired; but tooke thought rather how to goe home, for feare lest the *Athenians*, hauing the Peace for already broken, in that they had fought against each other, should not suffer them to depart. They therefore thought good to send afore vnto the *Athenians*, certaine men, without priuledge of Heraulds; for to sound them, and to say in this manner

Men of Athens, You doe vnjustly to beginne the Warre, and violate the Articles: For whereas wee goe about to right vs on our Enemies, you stand in our way, and beare Armes against vs. If therefore you bee resolved to hinder our going against *Corcyra*, or whatsoeuer place else wee please, dissolue the Peace, and laying hands first vpon vs that are heere, use vs as Enemies.

Thus said they: and the *Corcyraeans*, as many of the Armies heard them, cryed out immediately, to take and kill them. But the *Athenians* made answer thus:

Men of Peloponnesus, Neither doe wee beginne the Warre, nor breake the Peace; but wee bring ayde to these our Confederates, the *Corcyraeans*: if you please therefore to goe any whither else, wee hinder you not; but if against *Corcyra*, or any place belonging vnto it, we will not suffer you.

When the *Athenians* had giuen them this answer, the *Corinthians* made ready to goe home, and set vp a Trophee in *Sybota* of the Continent. And the *Corcyraeans* also, both tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of the dead, which carried

The *Corcyraeans* offer Battell againe.

The *Corinthians* expostulate with the *Athenians*, to sound their purpose.

The answer of the *Athenians*.

The *Corinthians* goe home: Both the *Corcyraeans* and *Corinthians* challenge the victory, and both set vp Trophies.



every way by the Waues, and the Wind that arose the night before, came driuing to their hands; and, as if they had had the victory, set vp a Trophie likewise in *Sybotia* the Hands. The victory was thus challenged on both sides, vpon these grounds: The *Corinthians* did set vp a Trophie, because in the Battell they had the better all day, hauing gotten more of the wrecke and dead bodies, then the other, and taken no lesse then 1000. Prisoners, and sunke about 70. of the Enemies Gallies. And the *Corcyraens* set vp a Trophie, because they had sunke 30. Gallies of the *Corinthians*, and had, after the arriual of the *Athenians*, recovered the wrecke and dead bodies, that droue to them, by reason of the Wind; and because the day before, vpon sight of the *Athenians*, the *Corinthians* had rowed a Sterne, and went away from them: and lastly, for that when they went to *Sybotia*, the *Corinthians* came not out to encounter them. Thus each side claimed victory.

The *Corinthians* in their way homeward, tooke in *Anactorium*, a Towne seated in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, by deceit; (this Towne was common to them, and to the *Corcyraens*) and hauing put into it *Corinthians* onely, departed, and went home. Of the *Corcyraens* 800. that were seruants, they sold; and kept prisoners 250. whom they vsed with very much fauour, that they might bee a meanes, at their returne, to bring *Corcyra* into the power of the *Corinthians*; the greatest part of these, being principall men of the Citie. And thus was *Corcyra* deliuered, of the Warre of *Corinth*, and the *Athenian* Gallies went from them. This was the first Cause, that the *Corinthians* had of Warre against the *Athenians*; namely, because they had taken part with the *Corcyraens* in a Battell by Sea, against the *Corinthians*, with whom they were comprized in the same Articles of Peace.

**P**RESENTLY after this, it came to passe, that other differences arose betwene the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*, to induce the Warre. For whilest the *Corinthians* studied to bee reuenged, the *Athenians*, who had their hatred in ialousie, commanded the Citizens of *Potidea*, a Citie seated in the Isthmus of *Pallene*, a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but confederat and tributary to the *Athenians*, to pull downe that part of the Wall of their Citie, that stood

The *Corinthians* in their way home, take *Anactorium*, and keepe 250. of the best men prisoners, being *Corcyraens*, and vse them well.

The second pretext of the Warre.

*Potidea* suspected.

*Potidea* commanded to giue Hostages, and to pull downe part of their Wall.

A flood towards *Pallene*, and to giue them Hostages, and also to send away, and no more receiue the *Epidemiurgi*, (Magistrates so called) which were sent vnto them yeere by yeere, from *Corinth*; fearing lest through the perswasion of \* *Perdiccas*, and of the *Corinthians*, they should reuolt, and draw to reuolt with them their other Confederates in *Thrace*. These things against the *Potideaens*, the *Athenians* had precontriued, presently after the Nauall Battell fought at *Corcyra*. For the *Corinthians* and they were now manifestly at difference; and *Perdiccas*, who before had bene their Confederate and friend, now warred vpon them. And the cause why hee did so, was, that when his Brother *Philip* and *Derdas* ioyned in Armes against him, the *Athenians* had made a League with them. And therefore being afraid, hee both sent to *Lacedemon*, to negotiate the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and also reconciled himselfe to the *Corinthians*, the better to procure the reuolt of *Potidea*; and likewise he practised with the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and with the *Bottieans*, to reuolt with them. For if hee could make these confining Cities his Confederates, with the helpe of them, hee thought his Warre would bee the easier. Which the *Athenians* perceiuing, and intending to preuent the reuolt of these Cities, gaue order to the Commanders of the Fleet, (for they were now sending thirty Gallies, with a thousand men of Armes, vnder the command of *Archestratus*, the sonne of *Lycomedes*, and tenne others into the Territories of *Perdiccas*) both to receiue Hostages of the *Potideaens*, and to demolish their Wall; and also to haue an eye to the neighbouring Cities, that they reuolted not. The *Potideaens* hauing sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, to try if they could perswade the people not to make any alteration amongst them; by other Ambassadors, whom they sent along with the Ambassadors of *Corinth* to *Lacedemon*, dealt with the *Lacedemonians* at the same time, if need required, to be ready to reuenge their quarrell. When after long sollicitation at *Athens*, and no good done, the Fleet was sent away against them, no lesse then against *Macedonia*; and when the Magistrates of *Lacedemon* had promised them, if the *Athenians* went to *Potidea*, to invade *Attica*, then at last they reuolted, and together with them, the *Chalcideans* and *Bottieans*, all mutually sworne in the same Conspiracy.

\* King of Macedonia.

The *Athenians* giue order to the Generals they were sending against *Perdiccas*, to secure their Cities in those parts.

The *Potideaens* seek the protection of the *Lacedemonians*.

The reuolt of *Potidea*, *Bottiea*, and *Chalcidica*, from the *Athenians*.

spiracy. For *Perdiccas* had also perswaded the *Chalcideans*, A  
to abandon and pull downe their maritime Townes, and  
to goe vp and dwell at *Olynthus*, and that one City to make  
it strong: And vnto those that remoued, gaue part of his  
owne, and part of the Territorie of *Macedonia*, about the  
Lake *Bolbe*, to liue on, so long as the Warre against the  
*Athenians* should continue. So when they had demolished  
their Cities, and were gone vp higher into the Countrey,  
they prepared themselves to the Warre.

The Athenian Fleet, find-  
ing *Potidea* and other  
Cities already lost, goe  
into *Macedonia*.

The *Athenian* Gallies, when they arriued in *Thrace*,  
found *Potidea* and the other Cities, already reuolted. And B  
the Commanders of the Fleet conceiuing it to be impossi-  
ble, with their present forces, to make Warre both against  
*Perdiccas* and the Townes reuolted, set saile againe for *Ma-  
cedonia*, against which they had beene at first sent out, and  
there staying, ioyned with *Philip*, and the brothers of *Der-  
das*, that had invaded the Countrey from aboue.

The Corinthians send their  
Forces to *Potidea* to de-  
fend it.

In the meane time, after *Potidea* was reuolted, and  
whilest the *Athenian* Fleet lay on the Coast of *Macedonia*,  
the *Corinthians*, fearing what might become of the Citie,  
and making the danger their owne, sent vnto it, both of  
their owne Citie, and of other *Peloponnesians*, which they C  
hired, to the number of 1600. men of Armes, and 400.  
\* light armed. The charge of these was giuen to *Aristæus*,  
the sonne of *Alimantus*, for whose sake most of the Volun-  
taries of *Corinth* went the Voyage: (for hee had beene euer  
a great Fauourer of the *Potideaans*.) And they arriued in  
*Thrace*, after the reuolt of *Potidea*, forty dayes.

\* Archers, darters, and the  
like, that wore not Armour  
on their bodies, and were  
called *psiloi*, naked.

The newes of the reuolt of these Cities, was likewise  
quickly brought to the *Athenian* people; who hearing  
withall of the Forces sent vnto them, vnder *Aristæus*, sent D  
forth against the places reuolted, 2000. men of Armes,  
and 40. Gallies, vnder the Conduct of *Callias*, the Sonne of  
*Calliades*. These comming first into *Macedonia*, found there  
the former thousand, (who by this time had taken *Therme*,  
and were now besieging the City of *Pydna*;) and staying,  
helped for a while to besiege it with the rest. But short-  
ly after, they tooke composition; and hauing made a \* ne-  
cessary League with *Perdiccas*, (vrge thereto by the af-  
fares of *Potidea*, and the arriuall there of *Aristæus*) departed  
from *Macedonia*. Thence comming to *Berrhæa*, they at- E  
tempted to take it: but when they could not doe it, they  
turned

The Athenians send forces  
against *Potidea*.

*Therme*, after called  
*Thessalonica*, now *Sa-  
lonica*.

\* or scarce honourable.

*Veria*.

A turned backe, and marched towards *Potidea* by Land.  
They were of their owne number 3000. men of Armes,  
besides many of their Confederates; and of *Macedonians*  
that had serued with *Philip* and *Pausanias* 600. Horse-men.  
And their Gallies, 70. in number, sayling by them along  
the Coast, by moderate Iournies, came in three dayes to  
*Gigonis*, and there encamped.

The *Potideaans* and the *Peloponnesians* vnder *Aristæus*, in  
expectation of the comming of the *Athenians*, lay now en-  
camped in the *Isthmus*, neere vnto *Olynthus*, and had the  
B Market kept for them without the Citie: and the leading  
of the Foot, the Confederates had assigned to *Aristæus*, and  
of the Horse, to *Perdiccas*: (for hee fell off againe pre-  
sently from the *Athenians*, and hauing left *Iolans* Gouver-  
nour in his place, tooke part with the *Potideaans*.) The  
purpose of *Aristæus* was, to haue the body of the Armie  
with himselfe within the \* *Isthmus*, and therewith to at-  
tend the comming on of the *Athenians*, and to haue the *Chal-  
cideans* and their Confederates without the *Isthmus*, and also  
the 100. Horse vnder *Perdiccas*, to stay in *Olynthus*, and  
C when the *Athenians* were past by, to come on their backs,  
and to encloze the Enemy betwixt them. But *Callias* the  
*Athenian* Generall, and the rest that were in Commission  
with him, sent out before them their *Macedonian* Horse-  
men, and some few of their Confederates to *Olynthus*, to stop  
those within from making any sally from the Towne, and  
then dislodging, marched on towards *Potidea*. When they  
were come on as far as the *Isthmus*, and saw the Enemy  
make ready to fight, they also did the like, and not long af-  
ter, they ioyned Battell. That wing wherein was *Aristæus*  
D himselfe, with the chosen men of the *Corinthians* and o-  
thers, put to flight that part of their Enemies that stood  
opposite vnto them, and followed execution a great way.  
But the rest of the Army of the *Potideaans* and *Peloponnesi-  
ans* were by the *Athenians* defeated, and fled into the Citie.  
And *Aristæus*, when hee came backe from the Execution,  
was in doubt what way to take, to *Olynthus*, or to *Potidea*.  
In the end, hee resolued of the shortest way, and with his  
Souldiers about him, ranne as hard as hee was able into  
*Potidea*, and with much adoe got in at the Peere, through  
E the Sea, cruelly shot at, and with the losse of a few, but  
safety of the greatest part of his company. Assoone as  
F the

The Athenians and those  
with *Aristæus*, prepare  
themselves for Battell.

*Neke gamala*.

\* The *Isthmus* of *Pallene*,  
where they were.

The Victory falleth to  
the *Athenians*.



the Battell beganne, they that should haue seconded the *A Potideans* from *Olympus*, (for it is at most but 60. Furlongs off, and in sight) aduanced a little way to haue ayded them; and the *Macedonian* Horse opposed themselves likewise in order of Battell, to keepe them backe. But the *Athenians* hauing quickly gotten the Victory, and the Standards being taken downe; they retýred againe, they of *Olympus*, into that Citie; and the *Macedonian* Horsemen, into the Armie of the *Athenians*. So that neither side had their Cauallery at the Battell. After the Battell, the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and gaue truce to the *Potideans*, B for the taking vp of the bodies of their dead. Of the *Potideans* and their friends, there dyed somewhat lesse then 300. and of the *Athenians* themselves 150. with *Callias*, one of their Commanders.

Presently vpon this, the *Athenians* raised a Wall before the City, on the part towards the *Isthmus*, which they kept with a Garrison, but the part to *Pallene*-ward, they left vnwalld. For they thought themselves too small a number, both to keepe a guard in the *Isthmus*, and withall to goe ouer and fortifie in *Pallene*, fearing lest the *Potideans* C and their Confederates should assault them when they were deuided. When the people of *Athens* vnderstood that *Potidea* was vnwalld on the part toward *Pallene*, not long after they sent thither 1600. men of Armes, vnder the Conduct of *Phormio*, the Sonne of *Asopius*: who arriuing in *Pallene*, left his Gallies at *Aphytis*, and marching easily to *Potidea*, wasted the Territory as hee passed through. And when none came out to bid him Battell, hee raised a Wall before the Citie, on that part also that looketh towards *Pallene*. Thus was *Potidea* on both sides D strongly besieged; and also from the Sea, by the *Athenian* Gallies, that came vp and rode before it.

*Aristeus*, seeing the Citie enclosed on euery side, and without hope of safety, saue what might come from *Peloponnesus*, or some other vnexpected way, gaue aduice to all but 500. taking the opportunity of a Wind, to goe out by Sea, that the prouision might the longer hold out for the rest; and of them that should remaine within, offered himselfe to bee one. But when his counsell tooke not place, beeing desirous to settle their businesse, and make E the best of their affaires abroad, hee got out by Sea, vn-scene

The *Athenians* beginne to besiege *Potidea*.

The *Athenians* send *Phormio* with 6000. men of Armes, to *Potidea*.

*Potidea* straightly besieged on all sides.

The aduice of *Aristeus*, to carry all the people but 500. men out of the City, that their victuall might the better hold out, refused.

*Aristeus* getteth out of the City, vnscene of the *Athenians*.

A scene of the *Athenian* Guard, and slaying amongst the *Chalcideans*, amongst other actions of the Warre, laid an Ambush before *Sermyla*, and slew many of that Citie, and solicited the sending of ayd from *Peloponnesus*. And *Phormio*, after the Siege laid to *Potidea*, hauing with him his 1600. men of Armes, wasted the Territories of the *Chalcideans* and *Bottians*, and some small Townes he tooke in.

These were the Quarrels betweene the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*. The *Corinthians* quarrelled the *Athenians*, for besieging *Potidea*, and in it, the men of *Corinth* and B *Peloponnesus*. The *Athenians* quarrelled the *Peloponnesians*, for causing their confederate and tributary City to reuolt; and for that they had come thither, and openly fought against them in the behalfe of *Potidea*. Neuerthelesse the Warre brake not openly forth as yet, and they yet abstained from Armes; for this was but a particular action of the *Corinthians*.

B V T when *Potidea* was once besieged, both for their mens sakes that were within, and also for feare C to lose the place, they could no longer hold. But out of hand, they procured of their Confederates to goe to *Lacedemon*; and thither also they went themselves, with clamours and accusations, against the *Athenians*, that they had broken the League, and wronged the *Peloponnesians*. The *Aeginetes*, though not openly by Ambassadors, for feare of the *Athenians*, yet priuily instigated them to the Warre as much as any; alledging that they were not permitted to gouerne themselves according to their owne Laws, as by the Articles they ought to haue beene. So the D *Lacedemonians* hauing called together the Confederates, and whosoever else had any iniustice to lay to the charge of the *Athenians*, in the ordinary \* Councell of their owne State commanded them to speake. Then presented euery one his accusation; and amongst the rest, the *Megareans*, besides many other their great differences, laid open this especially, That contrary to the Articles, they were forbidden the *Athenian* Markets and Hauens. Last of all, the *Corinthians*, when they had suffered the *Lacedemonians* to be incensed first by the rest, came in, and said as followeth.

And slaying in *Chalcidica*, slew certaine of the City of *Sermyla*, by ambuscament.

*Phormio* wasteth the Territories of the *Chalcidians* and *Bottians*.

The solicitation of the Warre by the *Corinthians*, and other Confederates of the *Lacedemonians*.

Complaints exhibited against the *Athenians* in the Councell of *Sparta*.

*Aeginetes* instigate the *Lacedemonians* to the Warre.

\* Of the *Ephori*, & those that had the Souerainety, that is to say, before the *Aristocratic*.

## THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH.

**M**En of Lacedæmon, your own fidelity, both in matter of estate & conuersation, maketh you the lesse apt to beleue vs, when we accuse others of the contrary. And heereby you gaine indeed a reputation of equity, but you haue lesse experience in the affaires of Forraigne States. For although we haue oftentimes foretold you, that the Athenians would doe vs a mischief; yet from time to time when we told it you, you neuer would take informatiō of it, but haue suspected rather, that what we spake, hath proceeded from our owne private differences. And you haue therefore called hither these Confederates, not before wee had suffered, but now, when the euill is already vpon vs. Before whom, our speech must bee so much the longer, by how much our obiections are the greater, in that wee haue both by the Athenians beene iniured, and by you neglected. If the Athenians lurking in some obscure place, had done these wrongs vnto the Grecians, wee should then haue needed to proue the same before you, as to men that knew it not. But now what cause haue wee to vse long discourse, when you see already that some are brought into seruitude, and that they are contriuing the like against others, and especially against our Confederates, and are themselves, in case Warre should be made against them, long since prepared for it? For else they would neuer haue taken Corcyra, and bolden it from vs by force, nor haue besieged Potidæa, whereof the one was most commodious for any action against Thrace; and the other had brought vnto the Peloponnesians a most faire Nauie. And of all this, you are your selues the authors, in that you suffered them, vpon the end of the Persian Warre, to fortifie their Citie, and againe afterwards to raise their Long Walles, whereby you haue hitherto deprived of their liberty, not onely the States by them already subdued, but also your owne Confederates. For not he that bringeth into slavery, but he that being able to hinder it, neglects the same, is most truly said to doe it; especially if they assume the honour to be the esteemed Deliuerers of Greece, as you doe. And for all that, we are hardly yet come together, and indeed not yet, with any certaine resolution what to doe. For the question should no: haue beene put, Whether, or not, wee haue receiued iniurie, but rather, in what manner we are to repaire it. For they that doe the wrong, hauing consulted vpon it before-hand, vse no delay at all, but come vpon them whom they meane to oppresse, whilst they be yet irresolute. And we know, not onely that the Athenians haue incroached vpon

**A** vpon their neighbours, but also by what wayes they haue done it. And as long as they thinke they carry it closely, through your blindnesse, they are the lesse bold. But when they shall perceiue that you see, and will not see, they will then presse vs strongly indeed. For (Lacedæmonians) you are the onely men of all Greece, that sitting still, defend others, not with your Forces, but with promises; and you are also the onely men, that loue to pull downe the power of the Enemie, not when it beginneth, but when it is doubled. You haue indeede a report to bee sure; but yet it is more in fame that, then in fact. For we our selues know, that the Persian came against Peloponnesius, from the utmost parts of the Earth, before you encountred him, as became your State. And also now you coninue at the Athenians, who are not as the Medes, farre off, but hard at hand; choosing rather to defend your selues from their inuasion, then to inuade them; and by hauing to doe with them when their strength is greater, to put your selues vpon the chance of Fortune. And yet wee know, that the Barbarians own errour, and (in our Warre against the Athenians) their owne oversights, more then your assistance, was the thing that gaue vs victory. For the hope of your ayde, hath beene the destruction of some, that relying on you, made no preparation for themselves by other meanes. Yet let not any man thinke that we speak this out of malice, but only by way of expostulation: for expostulation is with friends that erre, but accusation, against enemies that haue done an iniurie. Besides, if there bee any that may challenge to exprobrate his neighbour, we thinke our selues may best doe it, especially on so great quarrels as these, whereof you neither seeme to haue any feeling, nor to consider what manner of men, and how different from you in euery kinde the Athenians bee, that you are to contend withall: For they loue innovation, and are swift to devise, and also to execute what they resolue on. But you on the contrary are onely apt to saue your owne; not devise any thing new, nor scarce to attaine what is necessary. They againe are bold beyond their strength, adventurous about their owne reason, and in danger hope still the best: Whereas your actions are euer beneath your power, and you distrust euen what your iudgement assures, and being in a danger, neuer thinke to bee deliuered. They are stirrers, you studiers: they loue to bee abroad, and you at home the most of any. For they make account by being abroad to adde to their estate, you, if you should goe forth against the State of another, would thinke to impayre your owne. They, when they overcome their enemies, aduance the farthest, and when they are overcome by their enemies, fall off the least; and as for their Bodies, they vse them in the seruice of the Common-wealth, as if they were none of their owne.

but their minds, when they would serue the State, are right their owne. A  
 Vnlesse they take in hand what they haue once aduised on, they account  
 so much lost of their owne. And when they take it in hand, if they ob-  
 taine any thing, they thinke lightly of it, in respect of what they looke  
 to winne by their prosecution. If they faile in any attempt, they doe  
 what is necessary for the present, and enter presently into other hopes.  
 For they alone, both haue and hope for at once, whatsoever they con-  
 ceine, through their celerity in execution of what they once resolue on.  
 And in this manner they labour and toyle, all the dayes of their lines.  
 What they haue, they haue no leasure to enioy, for continuall getting  
 of more. Nor Holiday esteeme they any, but whereon they effect some B  
 matter profitable; nor thinke they ease with nothing to doe, a lesse tor-  
ment, than laborious businesse. So that, in a word, to say they are  
men, borne neither to rest themselves, nor suffer others, is to say the  
truth. Now notwithstanding, (men of Lacedæmon) that this  
 Citie, your Aduersary, bee such, as we haue said; yet you still delay  
 time; not knowing, that those onely are they, to whom it may suffice  
 for the most part of their time to sit still, who (though they vse not  
 their power to doe iniustice) yet bewray a minde vnlikely to swallow  
 injuries; but placing equity belike in this, that you neither doe any  
 harme to others, nor receiue it, in defending of your selues. But this C  
 is a thing, you hardly could attaine, though the States about you were of  
 the same condition. But (as we haue before declared) your Customes  
 are in respect of theirs antiquated, and of necessity (as it happeneth in  
 Artes) the new ones will preuaile. True it is, that for a City liuing  
 for the most part in peace, vnchanged customes are the best; but for  
 such as bee constrained to vndergoe many matters, many deuices will  
 be needfull. Which is also the reason, why the Athenian Customes,  
 through much experience, are more new to you, then yours are to them.  
 Here therefore giue a Period to your slacknesse, and by a speedy inua-  
 sion of Attica, as you promised, relieue both Potidæa, and the rest: D  
 left otherwise you betray your friends and kindred to their cruellest ene-  
 mies; and lest wee and others, be driuen through despaire, to seeke out  
 some other League. Which to doe, were no iniustice, neither against  
 the Gods, Iudges of mens Oathes, nor against Men, the bearers of  
 them. For not they breake the League, who being abandoned, haue re-  
 course to others; but they that yeld not their assistance, to whom they  
 haue sworne it. But if you meane to follow the businesse seriously,  
 wee will stay; for else, wee should doe irreligiously, neither  
 should wee finde any other, more conformable to our manners, then  
 your selues. Therefore deliberate well of these points, and take E  
 such a course, that Peloponnesus may not by your leading,  
 fall

A fall into worse estate, then it was left vnto you by your Pro-  
 genitors.

Thus spake the Corinthians.

The Athenian Ambassadors (who chanced to bee resi-  
 ding in Lacedæmon, vpon their businesse) when they heard  
 of this Oration thought it fit to present themselves be-  
 fore the Lacedæmonians, not to make Apologie for what  
 they were charged with by the other Citties, but to shew  
 in generall, that it was not fit for them in this case to take  
 any sudden resolution, but further time to consider. Also  
 B they desired to lay open the power of their City; to the  
 elder sort, for a remembrance of what they knew already;  
 and to the yonger, for an information of what they knew  
 not: supposing, that when they should haue spoken, they  
 would encline to quietnesse, rather then to Warre. And  
 therefore they presented themselves before the Lacedæmo-  
 nians, saying, That they also, if they might haue leaue,  
 desired to speake in the Assembly; who willed them to  
 come in: And the Athenians went into the Assembly, and  
 spake to this effect.

The Athenian Ambassa-  
 dours, residing in Lacedæ-  
 mon, vpon their busi-  
 nesse, desire to make an-  
 swer to the Oration of  
 the Corinthians.

### THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of ATHENS.

THough our Ambassage was not to this end, that wee should ar-  
 gue against our Confederates, but about such other Affaires  
 as the Citie was pleased to employ vs in; yet hauing heard  
 of the great exclamation against vs, wee came into the Court, not  
 to make answer to the criminations of the Citties (for to pleade be-  
 fore you here, were not to pleade before the Iudges either of them  
 D or vs) but to the end you may not be drawne away, to take the worst  
 resolution, at the perswasion of the Confederates, in matters of so  
 great importance. And withall, touching the summe of the Oration  
 made against vs, to informe you, that what wee possesse, wee haue  
 it iustly, and that our Citie deserueth reputation. But what neede  
 wee now to speake of matters long past, confirmed more by heare-  
 say; then by the eyes of those that are to heare vs relate them?  
 But our actions against the Persian, and such as you your selues  
 know as well as wee, those, though it bee tedious to heare them euer  
 objected, wee must of necessity recite. For when wee did them, we  
 E hazarded our selues for some benefit, of which you as had your parts  
 in the substance, so must wee haue ours (if that be any benefit) in the  
 com-

commemoration. And wee shall make recitall of them, not by way of de- A  
precation, but of protestation, and declaration of what a Citty (in case  
you take ill advice) you haue to enter the list withall. Wee therefore  
say, that wee not onely first and alone, hazarded Battell against the  
Barbarian in the Fields of Marathon, but also afterwards, when  
hee came againe, beeing unable to resist him by Land, imbarqued  
our selues, euery man that was able to beare Armes, and gaue him  
Battell amongst the rest, by Sea, at Salamis; which was the cause  
that kept him backe from sailing to Peloponnesus, and laying it waste  
Cittie after Cittie: for against so many Gallies, you were not able to  
giue each other mutuall succour. And the greatest prooffe of this is B  
the Persian himselfe, who when his Fleet was ouercome, and that hee  
had no more such Forces, went away in haste, with the greatest part of  
his Armie. Which being so, and euident, that the whole State of the  
Grecians, was imbarqued in their Fleet, we conferred to the same,  
the three things of most aduantage; namely, the greatest number of  
Gallies, the most prudent Commander, and the most liuely courage.  
(For of 400. Gallies in the whole, our owne were few lesse then two  
thirds) and for Commander, Themistocles, who was the principall  
cause that the Battell was fought in the \* streight, whereby he cleerely  
saued the whole businesse, and whom, though a Stranger, you your C  
selues haue honoured for it, more then any man that came vnto you;  
and a forwardeesse wee shewed, more aduenturous then any other, in  
this, that when none of them had ayded vs by Land before, and the rest  
of the Cities, as farre as to our owne, were brought into seruitude, wee  
were neuerthelesse content, both to quit our Citie, and lose our goods,  
and euen in that estate, not to betray the Common Cause of the Confe-  
derates, or diuided from them, to bee vnusefull; but to put our selues  
into our Nauie, and vndergoe the danger with them, and that  
without passion against you, for not hauing formerly defended vs in the  
like manner. So that we may say, that wee haue no lesse conferred a D  
benefit vpon you, then wee receiued it from you. You came indeed to  
ayde vs, but it was from Cities inhabited, and to the end you might  
still keepe them so; and when you were afraid, not of our danger,  
but your owne: whereas wee, coming from a Citty no more in  
\* being, and putting our selues into danger, for a Citty, hopelesse euer  
to bee againe; saued both you (in part) and our selues. But if wee  
had ioyned with the Persian, fearing (as others did) to haue our Ter-  
ritories wasted; or afterwards, as men loth, durst not haue put our  
selues into our Gallies, you must not haue fought with him by Sea, be-  
cause your Fleet had beene too small; but his affaires had succeeded E  
as hee would himselfe. Therefore (men of Lacedæmon) we deserue  
not

\* Of Salamis.

\* The Athenians, at the  
coming in of the Persian,  
when they put themselves into  
their Gallies, left their Citie  
to the Army of the Persians  
by Land, and sent their wives  
and children into Egina,  
mis, and Trazena.

A not so great enuie of the Grecians, for our courage at that time, and  
for our prudence, and for the dominion wee hold, as wee now under-  
goe. Which dominion wee obtained not by violence, but because the  
Confederates, when your selues would not stay out the reliques of the  
Warre against the Barbarian, came in, and intreated vs to take the  
command, of their owne accord. So that at first wee were forced to  
advance our Dominion to what it is, out of the nature of the thing it  
selfe; as chiefly for feare, next for honour, and lastly for profit. For  
when wee had the enuie of many, and had reconquered some that had  
already revolted, and seeing you were no more our friends, as you had  
B beene, but suspected and quarelled vs, wee held it no longer a safe  
course, laying by our power, to put our selues into your danger. For the  
reuels from vs, would all haue beene made to you. Now it is no  
fault for men in danger, to order their affaires to the best. For you al-  
so (men of Lacedæmon) haue command ouer the Cities of Pello-  
ponnesus, and order them to your best aduantage: and had you,  
\* when the time was, by staying it out, beene enuied in your Command,  
as wee know well, you would haue beene no lesse heauy to the Confede-  
rates, then wee, you must haue beene constrained to rule imperiously,  
or to haue falne into danger. So that, though ouercome by three the  
C greatest things, honour, feare, and profit, wee haue both accepted  
the dominion deliuered vs, and refuse againe to surrender it, wee haue  
therein done nothing to be wondered at, nor beside the manner of men.  
Nor haue wee beene the first in this kinde, but it hath beene euer a  
thing fixed, for the weaker to be kept vnder by the stronger. Besides,  
we tooke the gouernment vpon vs, as esteeming our selues worthy of  
the same; and of you also so esteemed, till hauing computed the com-  
modity, you now fall to allegation of equity; a thing which no man that  
had the occasion to atchieue anything by strength, euer so farre pre-  
ferred, as to diuert him from his profit. Those men are worthy of  
D commendation, who following the naturall inclination of man, in desi-  
ring rule ouer others, are iust, then for their power they need. And  
therefore if another had our power, we thinke it would best make ap-  
peare our owne moderation; and yet our moderation hath vnderferued-  
ly incurred contempt, rather then commendation. For though in pleas  
of Couenants with our Confederates, when in our owne Citty we haue  
allowed them triall, by Laws equall both to them and vs, the Iudgement  
hath beene giuen against vs, we haue then neuerthelesse beene reputed  
contentious. None of them considering that others, who in other  
places haue dominion, and are toward their subiect States lesse moderate  
E then wee, yet are neuer vpbayded for it. For they that haue the power  
to compell, need not at all to goe to Law. And yet these men hauing  
G beene

\* That is, when Pausanias  
King of Lacedæmon, pur-  
suing the reliques of the Per-  
sian Warre, through his pride  
and insipient Command, procu-  
red the hatred of the Confede-  
rates (as farre as the Lacedæ-  
monian State calling him  
home, they put themselves  
under the leading of the  
Athenians)

bee used to converse with vs upon equall termes, if they lose any thing which they thinke they should not, eyther by sentence, or by the power of our gouernment, they are not thankfull for the much they retaine, but take in worse part the little they forgoe, then if at first, laying Law aside, wee had openly taken their goods by violence. For in that kinde also, they themselues cannot deny, but the weaker must giue way to the stronger. And men, it seemes, are more passionate for iniustice, then for violence. For that, comming as from an equall, seemeth rapine; and the other, because from one stronger, but necessity. Therefore when they suffered worse things vnder the Medes dominion, they bore it, but thinke ours to bee rigorous. And good reason; for to men in subiection, the present is euer the worst estate. Insomuch as you also, if you should put vs downe, and reigne your selues, you would soone finde a change of the loue, which they beare you now for feare of vs, if you should doe againe, as you\* did for a while, when you were their Commanders against the Medes. For not onely your owne institutions are different from those of others, but also when any one of you comes abroad [with charge,] he neither useth those of yours, nor yet those of the rest of Greece. Deliberate therefore of this a great while, as of a matter of great importance; and do not vpon the opinions and criminations of others, procure your owne trouble. Consider before you enter, how vnexpected the chances of Warre bee: for a long Warre for the most part endeth in calamity, from which we are equally far off, and whether part it will light on, is to be tryed with vncertainty. And men when they goe to Warre, vse many times to fall first to action, the which ought to come behind, and when they haue already taken harme, then they fall to reasoning. But since we are neither in such error our selues, nor doe finde that you are; wee advise you, whilest good counsell is in both our elections, not to breake the peace, nor violate your Oathes; but according to the Articles, let the controuersie bee decided by Iudgement; or else wee call the Gods you haue sworne by to witnesse, that if you beginne the Warre, we will endeavour to reuenge our selues the same way that you shall walke in before vs.

Thus spake the Athenians.

After the Lacedemonians had heard both the complaints of the Confederates against the Athenians, and the Athenians Answer, they put them euery one out of the Court, and consulted of the businesse amongst themselues. And the opinions of the greatest part concurred in this, That the Athenians had done vniustly, & ought speedily to be warred on: But Archidamus their King, a man reputed both wise and temperate, spake as followeth.

THE

\* Meaning the Imperious and tyrannicall vniuersall of Pericles.

The Lacedemonians amongst themselves take counsell how to proceed.

A

## THE ORATION OF ARCHIDAMVS.

MEN of Lacedæmon, both I my selfe haue the experience of many Warres, and I see you of the same age with mee, to haue the like; insomuch as you cannot desire this Warre, either through inexperience (as many doe) nor yet as apprehending it to bee profitable or safe. And whosoever shall temperately consider the Warre wee now deliberate of, will finde it to bee no small one. For though in respect of the Peloponnesians, and our neighbour States, wee haue equall strength, and can quickly bee vpon them; yet against men, whose Territory is remote, and are also expert Seamen, and with all other things excellently furnished, as money, both priuats and publicke, Shipping, Horses, Armes, and number, more then any one part of Greece besides; and that haue many Confederates, paying them Tribute; against such, I say, why should we lightly vndertake the Warre? And since wee are vnfurnished, whereon relying, should we make such haste to it? On our Nauie? But therein we are too weake. And if we will prouide and prepare against them, it will require time. On our money? But therein also we are more too weake; for neither hath the State any, nor will priuate men readily contribute. But it may be, some rely on this, that wee exceed them in Armes, and multitude of Souldiers, so that we may waste their Territories with incursions. But there is much other Land vnder their dominion, and by Sea they are able to bring in whatsoever they shall stand in need of. Again, if wee assay to alienate their Confederates, wee must ayde them with Shipping, because the most of them are Ilanders. What a Warre then will this of ours bee? For vnlesse we haue the better of them in Shipping, or take from them their reuenue, whereby their Navy is maintained, we shall doe the most hurt to our selues. And in this case to let fall the Warre againe, will be no honour for vs, when we are chiefly thought to haue begun it. As for the hope, that if we waste their Countrey, the Warre will soone be at an end; let that neuer list vs vp: for I feare we shall transmit it rather to our children. For it is likely the Athenians haue the spirit not to be slaues to their earth, nor as men without experience, to be astonished at the Warre. And yet I doe not aduise that wee should stupidly suffer our Confederates to bee wronged, and not apprehend the Athenians in their plots against them; but onely, not yet to take vp Armes, but to send and expostulate with them, making no great shew neither of war, nor of sufferance: and in this meane time to make our prouiso, and make friends, both of Greeks & Barbarians,

G 2

such

such as in any place wee can get, of power either in shipping or money (nor are they to be blamed, that being laid in wait for, as wee are by the Athenians, take vnto them, not Grecians only, but also Barbarians for their safety) and withall to set forth our owne. If they listen to our Ambassadors, best of all; if not, then two or three yeeres passing ouer our heads, being better appointed, wee may warre vpon them, if we will. And when they see our preparation, and heare words that import no lesse, they will perhaps relent the sooner; especially, hauing their grounds unhurt, and consulting vpon commodities extant, and not yet spoiled. For wee must thinke their Territorie to bee nothing but **B** an Hostage, and so much the more, by how much the better husbanded. The which wee ought therefore to spare as long as wee may, lest making them desperate, we make them also the harder to expugne. For if vnfurnished as wee bee, at the instigation of the Confederates, we waste their Territory, consider if in so doing, we doe not make the Warre both more dishonourable to the Peloponnesians, and also more difficult. For though accusations, as well against Cities, as private men, may bee cleared againe, a warre for the pleasure of some, taken vp by all, the successe wherof cannot bee foreseene, can hardly with honour be letten fall againe. Now let no man thinke it cowardise, that being many Cities, we goe not presently, and invade that one City; for of Confederates that bring them in money, they haue more then wee; and Warre is not so much Warre of Armes, as Warre of Money, by meanes whereof Armes are vsfull; especially when it is a Warre of Land-men, against Sea-men. And therefore let vs first provide our selues of money, and not first raise the Warre, vpon the perswasion of the Confederates. For wee that must be thought the causes of all euents, good or bad, haue also reason to take some leasure, in part to foresee them. As for the slacknesse and procrastination, wherewith wee are reproached by the Confederates, bee neuer ashamed of it; for the more haste you make to the Warre, you will bee the longer before you end it, for that you goe to it vnprouided. Besides, our Citie hath beene **C** euer free, and well thought of. And this which they obieect, is rather to be called a Modesty proceeding vpon iudgement. For by that it is, that we alone, are neither arrogant vpon good successe, nor shrinke so much as others in aduersity. Nor are wee, when men prouoke vs to it with praise, through the delight thereof, moued to vndergoe danger, more then wee thinke fit our selues; **E** nor when they sharpen vs with reprehension, doth the smart thereof

A thereof a jot the more preuaile vpon vs. And this modesty of ours maketh vs both good Souldiers, and good Counsellours: good Souldiers, because shame begetteth modesty, and valour is most sensible of shame; good Counsellours, in this, that wee are brought vp more simply, then to disesteeme the Lawes, and by seuerity, more modestly then to disobey them. And also in that, that wee doe not, like men exceeding wise in things needlesse, finde fault brauely with the preparation of the Enemy, and in effect not assault him accordingly; but doe thinke our neighbours cogitations like our owne, and that the euents of Fortune cannot be discerned by a speech; and doe therefore alwayes so **B** furnish our selues really against the enemy, as against men well advised. For we are not to build our hopes vpon the ouersights of them, but vpon the safe foresight of our selues. Nor must wee thinke that there is much difference betweene man and man, but him onely to bee the best, that hath beene brought vp amongst the most difficulties. Let vs not therefore cast aside the institutions of our Ancestours, which wee haue so long retained to our profit; nor let vs, of many mens liues, of much money, of many Cities, and much honour, hastily resolve in so small a part of one day, but at leasure; the which wee haue better commodity then any other to doe, by reason of our power. Send to the **C** Athenians, about the matter of Potidæa, send about that wherein the Confederates say they are iniured; and the rather, because they bee content to referre the cause to Iudgement: And one that offereth himselfe to Iudgement, may not lawfully be invaded; as a doer of iniurie, before the iudgement be giuen; and prepare withall for the Warre; so shall you take the most profitable counsell for your selues, and the most formidable to the Enemy.

Thus spake Archidamus.

But Sthenelaidas, then one of the Ephori, stood vp last of all, and spake to the Lacedæmonians in this manner:

**D**

### THE ORATION OF STHENELAIDAS.

**F**Or my part, I vnderstand not the many words vsed by the Athenians; for though they haue beene much in their owne praises, yet they haue said nothing to the contrary, but that they haue done iniury to our Confederates, and to Peloponnesus. And if they carrie themselves well against the Medes, when time was, and now ill against vs, they deserue a double punishment, because they are not good **E** as they were; and because they are euill, as they were not. Now are we the same we were, and meane not (if we be wise) either to conuine



at the wrongs done to our Confederates, or deferre to repaire A them; for the harms they suffer, is not deferred. Others haue much money, many Gallies, and many Horses; and wee haue good Confederates, not to be betrayed to the Athenians, nor to bee defended with words; (for they are not hurt in words) but to be ayded with all our power, and with speed. Let no man tell mee, that after wee haue once receiued the iniurie, wee ought to deliberate. No, it belongs rather to the doers of iniurie, to spend time in consultation. Wherefore (men of Lacedæmon) decree the Warre, as becommeth the dignity of Sparta; and let not the Athenians grow yet greater, nor let vs betray our Confederates, but in the name of B the Gods, proceed against the doers of iniustice.

Hauiug thus spoken, being himselfe Ephore, hee put it to the quæstion in the Assembly of the Lacedæmonians; and saying afterwards, that hee could not discerne whether was the greater cry (for they vsed there to giue their votes *viua voce*, and not with \* Balles) and desiring that it might bee euident that their minds were enclined most to the Warre, he put it vnto them againe, and said, To whosoever of you it seemeth that the Peace is broken, and that the Athenians haue done C vnjustly, let him arise, and goe yonder. And withall he shewed them a certaine place: And to whomsoever it seemeth otherwise, let him goe to the other side. So they arose, and the Roome was diuided, wherein farre the greater number were those, that held the Peace to bee broken.

Then calling in the Confederates, they told them, that for their owne parts, their sentence was, That the Athenians had done them wrong; But yet they desired to haue all their Confederates called together, and then to put it to the question againe, that if they would, the Warre might bee decreed by Common consent. This done, their Confederates went home, and so did also D afterwards the Athenians, when they had dispatched the businesse they came about. This Decree of the Assembly, that the Peace was broken, was made in the foureteenth yeere of those thirty yeeres, for which a Peace had bene formerly concluded, after the actions past in Eubæa.

THE LACEDÆMONIANS gaue Sentence, that the Peace was broken, and that Warre was to bee made, not so much for the words of the Confederates, as for feare the Athenian greatnesse should still E encrease: For they saw that a great part of Greece was false

\* *Life's*, Properly *lapillus*, Calculus. A little stone or ball, which hee that gaue his voice, put into a Box, either on the affirmative or negative part, as hee pleased. The Athenians used Beanes, white and blacke. The Venetians now use balls, and the distinction is made by the Box inscribed with yea and no.

The Lacedæmonians by question conclude that the Athenians had broken the Peace.

Negroponte.

The true cause of this Warre being the feare the Lacedæmonians had of the power of Athens, the Author digresseth, to shew how that power grew first vp.

A false already into their hands. Now the manner how the Athenians came to the administration of those affaires, by which they so raised themselves, was this:

After that the Medes, ouercome by Sea and Land, were departed, and such of them as had escaped by Sea to \* Mycale, were there also vtterly ouerthrowne, Leotychides King of the Lacedæmonians, then Commander of the Grecians at Mycale, with their Confederates of Peloponnesus, went home: But the Athenians with their Confederates of Ionia, and the Hellespont, as many as were already reuolted from B the \* King, staid behinde, and besieged Sestus, holden then by the Medes, and when they had layne before it all the Winter, they tooke it, abandoned by the Barbarians; and after this they set sayle from the Hellespont, euery one to his owne Citie. And the \* body of the Athenians, as soone as their Territory was cleere of the Barbarians, went home also, and fetcht thither their Wiues and Children, and such goods as they had, from the places where they had bin put out to keep, and went about the reparation of their City & Walles. For there were yet standing some pieces of the circuit of their Wall, and likewise a few houses, (though the most were downe) which the principall of the Persians had reserued for their owne lodgings. The Lacedæmonians hearing what they went about, sent thither their Ambassadors, partly because they would themselves haue bene glad, that neyther the Athenians, nor any other had had Walles; but principally, as incited thereto by their Confederates, (who feared not only the greatnesse of their Nauie, which they had not before, but also their courage shewed against the Persians) and entreated them, not to D build their Walles, but rather to ioyne with them, in pulling downe the Walles of what Cities soeuer without Peloponnesus had them yet standing: Not discouering their meaning, and the ieaousie they had of the Athenians; but pretending this, that if the Barbarian returned, hee might finde no fortified Citie, to make the Seate of his Warre, as hee did of Thebes: and that Peloponnesus was sufficient for the all, whereinto to retire, and from whence to withstand the Warre. But the Athenians, by the aduice of Themistocles, when the Lacedæmonian Ambassadors had so said, E dismissed them presently with this Answer, That they would presently send Ambassadors about the businesse they

The manner by which the Athenians came to haue the command of the common Forces of Greece against the Persians, by which they raised their Empire.

\* A Proclamation: After the Lacedæmonians had defeated the Persian King, the Land-Forces were reuolted by Paulanias of Lacedæmon, with the slaughter of Mardonius their General, and a most terrible state of 300000 men.

Of Persia. The Athenians returned to their City.

\* To raise, the State. Thus as they made Athens againe the Seate of their government, where as before it was in the Fleet and Campe still remouing. They repaire their Citie, and wall it.

The Lacedæmonians aduise them to the contrary for their owne ends, pretending the Common good.

Themistocles aduiseeth them to build on.



The reason why Themistocles was most addicted to affaires by Sea.

Pausanias sent Generall of the Grecians, to pursue the reliques of the Persian Warre.

\* Constantinople.

Pausanias growing insolent, the Ionians offended, desired the protection of the Athenians.

\* The Ionians were all Colonies of the people of Athens

Pausanias sent for home, to answer to certaine accusations.

In his absence, the Grecians give the Athenians the leading of them.

together with Iron and Lead. But for height, it was raised A but to the halfe at the most of what he had intended. For hee: would haue had it able to hold out the Enemy, both by the height and breadth; and that a few, and the lesse seruiceable men might haue sufficed to defend it, and the rest haue serued in the Nauie. For principally hee was addicted to the Sea; because (as I thinke) he had obserued, that the Forces of the King had easier access to invade them by Sea, then by Land; and thought that *Piræus* was more profitable then the City aboue. And oftentimes hee would exhort the *Athenians*, that in case they B were oppressed by Land, they should goe downe thither, and with their Gallies, make resistance against what Enemy foeuer. Thus the *Athenians* built their Wallles, and fitted themselues in other kinds, immediately vpon the departure of the *Persians*.

In the meane time was *Pausanias* the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, sent from *Lacedæmon*, Commander of the *Grecians*, with twenty Gallies out of *Peloponnesus*. With which went also 30. Saile of *Athens*, besides a multitude of other Confederates, and making Warre on *Cyprus*, subdued the greatest C part of the same: and afterwards, vnder the same Commander, came before \* *Byzantium*, which they besieged, and wonne.

But *Pausanias* being now growne insolent, both the rest of the *Grecians*, and specially the *Ionians*, who had newly recovered their liberty from the King, offended with him, came vnto the *Athenians*, and requested them for \* confanguinities sake to become their Leaders, and to protect them from the violence of *Pausanias*. The *Athenians* accepting the motion, applyed themselues both to the D defence of these, and also, to the ordering of the rest of the affaires there, in such sort as it should seeme best vnto themselues. In the meane time the *Lacedæmonians* sent for *Pausanias* home, to examine him of such things as they had heard against him. For great crimes had beene laid to his charge by the *Grecians*, that came from thence; and his gouernment was rather an imitation of Tyranny, then a Command in Warre. And it was his hap to bee called home at the same time; that the Confederates, all but the Souldiers of *Peloponnesus*, out of hatred to him, had turned E to the *Athenians*. When he came to *Lacedæmon*, though he

A he were censured for some wrongs done to priuate men, yet of the greatest matters he was acquit, especially of *Medizing*, the which seemed to bee the most euident of all. Him therefore they sent Generall no more, but *Dorcis*, and some others with him, with no great Army; whose command the Confederates refused, and they finding that, went their wayes likewise. And after that, the *Lacedæmonians* sent no more; because they feared lest such as went out, would proue the worse for the State, (as they had seene by *Pausanias*;) and also because they desired to be rid B of the Persian Warre, conceiuing the *Athenians* to bee sufficient Leaders, and at that time, their friends.

When the *Athenians* had thus gotten the Command, by the Confederates owne accord, for the hatred they bare to *Pausanias*, they then set downe an order, which Cities should contribute money for this Warre against the *Barbarians*, and which, Gallies. For they pretended to reparaire the iniuries they had suffered, by laying waste the Territories of the King. And then first came vp amongst the *Athenians*, the Office of \* *Treasurers of Greece*, who were recei- C uers of the \* *Tribute*, (for so they called this money contributed.) And the first Tribute that was taxed, came to \* 460. Talents. The Treasurie was at \* *Delos*, and their meetings were kept there, in the \* *Temple*.

Now vsing their authority at first, in such manner, as that the Confederates liued vnder their own Laws, and were admitted to Comon Councell; by the War, and administration of the common affaires of *Greece*, from the Persian War to this, what against the *Barbarians*, what against their own innouating Confederates, and what against such of the *Peloponnesians* as chanced alwaies in euery Warre to fall in, D they effected those great matters following; which also I haue therefore written, both because this place hath beene pretermitted by all that haue written before me: (For they haue either compiled the *Grecian* acts before the invasion of the *Persians*, or that invasion only. Of which number is *Hellanicus*, who hath also touched them in his *Attique Historie*, but briefly, and without exact mention of the times;) and also because they carry with them a demonstration of how the *Athenian* Empire grew vp.

E And first, vnder the Conduct of *Cimon*, the sonne of *Miltiades*, they tooke *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strymon*, from the

H 2

Medes

*Pausanias* acquit, but sent Generall no more.

The *Grecians* refuse the command of *Dorcis*, sent from *Sparta* to be their Generall.

The *Athenians* assigne their Confederates, for the sustaining of the Warre

\* *Byzantium*.

\* *659.*

The originall of the Tribute paid to the *Athenians*.

\* 86250. pound sterling.

\* Not at *Athens*, because they would not seeme to challenge a propriety in that money.

\* Of *Apollo*.

The History of the time betweene the Persian and *Peloponnesian* War, pretermitted by other Writers, briefly deliuered by *Thucydides*.

The steps of the *Athenians* toward their great Dominion. The *Athenians* take *Eion*.

And Scyros.

And Carystus.

And Naxos, their Confederate, now Nisira.

The cause of revolts from the Athenians.

*Medes* by siege, and carried away the Inhabitants Captiues. Then the Ile *Scyros*, in the *Aegean* Sea, inhabited by the *Dolopes*, the Inhabitants whereof they also carried away Captiues, and planted therein a Colony of their owne. Likewise they made Warre on the *Caristians*, (alone, without the rest of the *Eubæans*) and those also after a time, came in by composition. After this they warred on the revolted *Naxians*, and brought them in by siege. And this was the first Confederate Citie, which contrary to the Ordinance, they deprived of their free estate; though afterwards, as it came to any of their turnes, they B did the like by the rest.

Amongst other causes of revolts, the principall was their failing to bring in their Tribute, and Gallies, and their refusing (when they did so) to follow the Warres. For the *Athenians* exacted strictly, and were grievous to them, by imposing a necessity of toyle, which they were neither accustomed nor willing to vndergoe. They were also otherwise not so gentle in their gouernment as they had beene, nor followed the Warre vpon equall termes, and could easily bring backe to their subiection, such as should revolt. And of this the Confederates themselues C were the causes: for through this refusall to accompanie the Armie, the most of them, to the end they might stay at home, were ordered to excuse their Gallies with Money, as much as it came to. By which meanes, the Navy of the *Athenians* was increased at the cost of their Confederates, and themselues vnprouided, and without meanes to make Warre, in case they should revolt.

The Athenians defeat the Persian, vpon the Riuer of Eurymedon.

They warre on Thasus.

After this, it came to passe, that the *Athenians* and their Confederates, fought against the *Medes*, both by Land D and by Water, vpon the Riuer of *Eurymedon*, in *Pamphylia*; and in one and the same day, the *Athenians* had Victory in both; and tooke or sunke all the *Phœnician* Fleet, to the number of 200. Gallies. After this againe happened the revolt of *Thasus*, vpon a difference about the places of Trade; and about the Mines they possessed in the opposite parts of *Thrace*. And the *Athenians* going thither with their Fleet, ouerthrew them in a Battell at Sea, and landed in the Island; But hauing about the same time sent 10000. of their owne and of their Confederates people, E into the Riuer of *Strymon*, for a Colonie to be plaunted in a place

A place called then the *Nine-ways*, now *Amphipolis*. They wonne the said *Nine-ways*, which was held by the *Eidonians*; but advancing farther, towards the heart of the Countrey of *Thrace*, they were defeated at *Drabescus*, a Citie of the *Eidonians*, by the whole power of the *Thracians*, that were Enemies to this new-built Towne of the *Nine-ways*. The *Thasians* in the meane time, being ouercome in diuers Battels, and besieged, sought ayde of the *Lacedæmonians*, and entreated them to diuert the Enemy by an invasion of *Attica*: which, vnknowne to the *Athenians*, they

B promised to doe, and also had done it, but by an Earth-quake that then happened, they were hindred. In which Earth-quake, their \* *Helotes*, and of neighbouring Townes the *Thuriata*, and *Aetheans*, revolted, and seized on *Ithome*. Most of these *Helotes* were the posterity of the ancient *Messenians*, brought into seruitude in former times; where-by also it came to passe, that they were called all *Messenians*. Against these had the *Lacedæmonians* a Warre now at *Ithome*. The *Thasians* in the third yeere of the Siege, rendered themselues to the *Athenians*, vpon condition to raze

C their Wallles; to deliuer vpp their Gallies; to pay both the money bebinde, and for the future, as much as they were wont; And to quit both the Mines and the Continent. The *Lacedæmonians*, when the Warre against those in *Ithome* grew long, amongst other their Confederates, sent for aide to the *Athenians*, who also came with no small Forces, vnder the command of *Cimon*. They were sent for principally, for their reputation in murall assaults, the long continuance of the Siege, seeming to require men of ability in that kinde; whereby they might perhaps haue gotten the place by force. And

D vpon this Iourney, grew the first manifest dissension betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*. For the *Lacedæmonians*, when they could not take the place by assault, fearing lest the audacious and innovating humour of the *Athenians*, whom withall they esteemed of a \* contrary Race, might, at the perswasion of those in *Ithome*, cause some alteration, if they staid; dismissed them alone of all the Confederates, not discovering their ieaousie, but alledging, that they had no further need of their Seruice. But the *Athenians* perceiuing that they were not sent away E vpon good cause, but onely as men suspected, made it a heynous matter; and conceiuing that they had better de-

They take Amphipolis, and afterwards receive a great overthrow at Drabescus in Thrace.

The Lacedæmonians intending to invade Attica, are hindred by an Earth-quake.

\* The Lacedæmonians employed the Thuriata, Thracians, and Aetheans, to besiege Ithome, and other places, which were held by the Helotes, and the Messenians, because the first of them so employed, were Captiues of the Towne of Helos in Laconia.

The Lacedæmonians send for ayde to the Athenians, in their Warre against Ithome.

The first dissention betweene the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians.

\* The Lacedæmonians were Dorians, the Athenians Ionians.

The Athenians being had in suspicion by the Lacedæmonians, ioyne with the Argives.

ferred at the *Lacedemonians* hands, as soone as they were *A* gone, left the League which they had made with the *Lacedemonians* against the *Persian*, and became Confederates with their Enemies the *Argives*; and then both *Argives* and *Athenians* tooke the same Oath, and made the same League with the *Theffalians*.

Those in *Ithome*, when they could no longer hold out, in the tenth yeere of the Siege, rendred the place to the *Lacedemonians*, vpon condition of security to depart out of *Peloponnesus*, and that they should no more returne; and whosoever should bee taken returning, to bee the Slaue of him that should take *B* him. For the *Lacedemonians* had before beene warned by a certaine answer of the *Pythian Oracle*, to let goe the Suppliant of *Iupiter Ithometes*. So they came forth, they, and their Wiues, and their Children. And the *Athenians*, for hatred they bore to the *Lacedemonians*, receiued them, and put them into \* *Naupactus*, which Citie they had lately taken from the *Locrians* of *Ozole*. The *Megaraeans* also reuolted from the *Lacedemonians*, and came to the League of the *Athenians*, because they were holden downe by the *Corinthians*, with a Warre about the limits of their Territories. *C* Wherevpon *Megara* and *Pegae* were put into the hands of the *Athenians*; who built for the *Megaraeans*, the long Walles, from the Citie to \* *Nisaea*, and maintained them with a Garrison of their owne. And from hence it was chiefly, that the vehement hatred grew of the *Corinthians* against the *Athenians*. Moreover, *Inarus*, the sonne of *Psammetticus*, an *African*, King of the *Africans* that confine on *Egypt*, making Warre from *Marea*, aboue *Pharus*, caused the greatest part of *Egypt* to rebell against the King *Artaxerxes*; and when hee had taken the gouernment of them *D* vpon himselfe, hee brought in the *Athenians* to asist him; who chancing to be then warring on *Cyru*, with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, left *Cyru*, and went to him. And going from the Sea, vp the Riuer of *Nilus*, after they had made themselves Masters of the Riuer, and of two parts of the Citie of \* *Memphis*, assaulted the third part, called the *White Wall*. Within were of the *Medes* and *Persians*, such as had escaped, and of the *Egyptians*, such as had not revolted amongst the rest. The *Athenians* came also with a Fleet to *Halius*, and landing *E* their Souldiers, fought by Land with the *Corinthians* and

*Epidau-*

The *Holotes* in *Ithome*, after ten yeeres siege, compounded, and quit *Peloponnesus*.

The *Athenians* receiue them, and place them in *Naupactus*.

\* *Lepanto*.  
*Megara* reuolteth from the *Lacedemonians* to the *Athenians*.

\* The Haven and Asenall of *Megara*.

The *Athenians* send an Armie into *Egypt*, to ayde the Rebels against the King of *Persia*.

\* *Cairo*.

The *Athenians* fight by Sea, against the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*.

*A* *Epidaurians*, and the *Corinthians* had the Victory. After this, the *Athenians* fought by Sea against the Fleet of the *Peloponnesians* at \* *Cecryphalea*, and the *Athenians* had the Victory. After this againe, the Warre being on foot of the *Athenians*, against the *Aeginete*, a great Battell was fought betweene them by Sea, vpon the Coast of *Aegina*, the Confederates of both sides being at the same; in which the *Athenians* had the Victory; and hauing taken 70. Gallies, landed their Armie, and besieged the Citie, vnder the Conduct of *Leocrates*, the sonne of *Strabus*. After this, the *B* *Peloponnesians* desiring to ayde the *Aeginete*, sent ouer into *Aegina* it selfe three hundred men of Armes, of the same that had before ayded the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, and with other Forces, seized on the top of \* *Geranea*. And the *Corinthians*, and their Confederates, came downe from thence, into the Territory of *Megara*; supposing that the *Athenians*, hauing much of their Armie absent in *Aegina*, and in *Egypt*, would be vnable to ayde the *Megaraeans*, or if they did, would be forced to rise from before *Aegina*. But the *Athenians* stirred not from *Aegina*, but those that remained at *Athen*, both yong and old, vnder the conduct of *C* *Myronides*, went to *Megara*; and after they had fought with doubtfull victory, they parted asunder againe, with an opinion in both sides, not to haue had the word in the Action. And the *Athenians* (who notwithstanding had rather the better) when the *Corinthians* were gone away, erected a Trophie. But the *Corinthians* hauing beene reuiled at their returne, by the ancient men of the Citie, about 12. dayes after, came againe prepared, and set vp their Trophie likewise, as if the Victorie had bene theirs. Heerevpon the *Athenians* falling out of *Megara*, with a huge *D* shout, both slew those that were setting vp the Trophie, and charging the rest, got the victory. The *Corinthians* being ouercome, went their way; but a good part of them, being hard followed, and missing their way, lighted into the inclosed ground of a priuate man, which fenced with a great Ditch, had no passage through which the *Athenians* perceiuing, opposed them at the place by which they entred, with their men of Armes; and encompassing the ground with their light armed Souldiers, killed those that *E* were entred, with stones. This was a great losse to the *Corinthians*; but the rest of their Armie got home againe.

About

After that, against the *Peloponnesians*.

\* Some sayd of one *Peloponnesius*, whose surname is not now knowne. Then against the *Aeginetes*.

The *Corinthians* ayde *Aegina*.

\* A ridge of a Hill, by which the entrance into the *Thames*.

The *Corinthians* receiue a great losse in *Megara*.



The Athenians build their long Wall, from both sides of the City to the Sea.

\* The Doreans, the Mother Nation of the Lacedæmonians, inhabited a little Countrey on the North side of Phocis, called Doris, and Terapolis, from the four Cities it contained; of which those here mentioned were three, and the fourth was Pindus.

\* Gulfe of Corinth.

The Lacedæmonians fight with the Athenians at Tanagra.

The Athenians overthrow the Boeotians at Oenophytia, [that is to say, the Vineyards] and subdue Boeotia and Phocia.

About this time the Athenians began the building of their A long Wall, from the Citie downe to the Sea, the one reaching to the Hauē called Phaleron, the other to Peiræus. The Phocæans also making Warre vpon Boeotia, Cynium, and Erineus, Townes that belonged to the \* Doreans, of whom the Lacedæmonians are descended, and hauing taken one of them, The Lacedæmonians, vnder the conduct of Nicomedes, the sonne of Cleombrotus, in the place of Pleistoanactes, sonne of King Pausanias, who was yet in minority, sent vnto the ayde of the Doreans, 1500. men of Armes of their owne, and of their Confederates tenne thousand. B And when they had forced the Phocæans vpon composition to surrender the Towne they had taken, they went their wayes againe. Now, if they would goe home by Sea through the \* Crissean Gulfe, the Athenians going about with their Fleet, would bee ready to stop them; and to passe ouer Geranea, they thought vn safe, because the Athenians had in their hands Megara, and Pega: For Geranea was not onely a difficult passage of it selfe, but was also alwayes guarded by the Athenians. They thought good therefore to stay amongst the Boeotians, and C to consider which way they might most safely goe through. Whilest they were there, there wanted not some Athenians, that priuily solicited them to come to the Citie, hoping to haue put the people out of gouernment, and to haue demolished the Long Wall, then in building. But the Athenians, with the whole power of their Citie, and 1000. Argiues, and other Confederates, as they could be gotten together, in all 14000. men, went out to meet them: for there was suspicion that they came thither to depose the Democracie. There also came to the D Athenians certaine Horsēmen out of Thessaly, which in the Battell turned to the Lacedæmonians. They fought at Tanagra of Boeotia, and the Lacedæmonians had the Victory, but the slaughter was great on both sides. Then the Lacedæmonians entering into the Territories of Megara, and cutting downe the Woods before them, returned home by the way of Geranea and the Isthmus. Vpon the two and sixtieth day after this Battell, the Athenians, vnder the conduct of Myronides, made a Iourney against the Boeotians, and overthrew them at Oenophytia, and brought the Territories E of Boeotia and Phocia vnder their obedience; and withall razed

A zed the Wall of Tanagra, and tooke of the wealthiest of the Locrians of Opus, 100. Hostages; and finished also at the same time, their long Wall, at home. After this, Aegina also yeelded to the Athenians, on these conditions, That they should haue their Wall pulled downe, and should deliuer up their Gallies, and pay their taxed tribute for the time to come. Also the Athenians made a Voyage about Peloponnesus, wherein they burnt the Arsenall of the Lacedæmonians Nauie, tooke \* Chalcis, a Citie of the Corinthians; and landing their Forces in Sycionia, ouercame in fight those that made B head against them. All this while the Athenians stayed still in Egypt, and saw much variety of Warre. First the Athenians were Masters of Egypt. And the King of Persia sent one Megabazus, a Persian, with money to Lacedæmon, to procure the Peloponnesians to invade Attica, and by that meanes to draw the Athenians out of Egypt. But when this tooke no effect, and money was spent to no purpose, Megabazus returned with the money he had left, into Asia. And then was Megabazus the sonne of Zopirus, a Persian, sent into Egypt, with great Forces, and comming C in by Land, ouerthrew the Egyptians and their Confederates in a Battell, draue the Grecians out of Memphis, and finally inclosed them in the Ile of Prosopis; There hee besieged them a yeere and a halfe, till such time as hauing dreined the Channell, and turned the Water another way, he made their Gallies lye aground, and the Iland for the most part Continent, and so came ouer, and wonne the Iland with Land-Souldiers. Thus was the Armie of the Grecians lost, after sixe yeeres Warre; and few of many passing through Africa, saued themselues in Cyrene: but D the most perished. So Egypt returned to the obedience of the King, except onely Amyrteus, that raigned in the Fennes, for him they could not bring in, both because the Fennes are great, and the people of the Fennes, of all the Egyptians the most warlike. But Inarus, King of the Africans, and Author of all this stirre in Egypt, was taken by treason, and crucified. The Athenians moreouer had sent fifty Gallies more into Egypt, for a supply of those that were there already; which putting in at Mendesium, one of the mouthes of Nilus, knew nothing of what had happened to E the rest: and being assaulted from the Land by the Armie, and from the Sea by the Phœnician Fleet, lost the

Aegina yeelded to the Athenians.

The Athenians sayle round Peloponnesus, and waste it.

\* A Citie of Corinthians, nere the River Tugnas.

The end of the Athenian Forces in Egypt.

A supply of Athenians going to Egypt, defeated by the forces of the King.



greatest part of their Gallies, and escaped home againe **A** with the lesser part. Thus ended the great expedition of the *Athenians*, and their Confederates into *Aegypt*.

Also *Orestes* the sonne of *Echecratidas*, King of the *Thessalians*, driven out of *Thessaly*, perswaded the *Athenians* to restore him: And the *Athenians*, taking with them the *Bœotians* and *Phœaciens*, their Confederates, made Warre against *Pharsalus*, a Citie of *Thessaly*; and were Masters of the Field, as farre as they strayed not from the Armie, (for the *Thessalian* Horsemen kept them from straggling) but could not winne the Citie, nor yet performe any thing else **B** of what they came for, but came backe againe without effect, and brought *Orestes* with them. Not long after this, a thousand *Athenians* went aboard the Gallies that lay at *Pegæ*, (for *Pegæ* was in the hands of the *Athenians*) vnder the command of *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanthippus*, and sayled into *Sicyonia*, and landing, put to flight such of the *Sicyonians* as made head; and then presently tooke vp forces in *Achaia*; and putting ouer, made Warre on *Oenias*, a Citie of *Acarnania*, which they besieged; neuerthelesse they tooke it not, but returned home.

Three yeeres after this, was a Truce made betweene the *Peloponnesians* and *Athenians* for five yeeres; and the *Athenians* gaue ouer the *Grecian* Warre, and with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, vnder the conduct of *Cimon*, made Warre on *Cyprus*. Of these, there went 60. Sayle into *Aegypt*, sent for by *Amyrtæus*, that reigned in the Fennes, and the rest lay at the Siege of *Citium*. But *Cimon* there dying, and a Famine arising in the Armie, they left *Citium*, and when they had passed *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, fought at once both by Sea and Land, against **D** the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, & *Cilicians* and hauing gotten victory in both, returned home, and with them the rest of their Fleet, now come backe from *Aegypt*. After this, the *Lacedæmonians* tooke in hand the Warre, called the *Holy Warre*, and hauing wonne the Temple at *Delphi*, deliuered the possession thereof to the *Delphians*. But the *Athenians* afterward, when the *Lacedæmonians* were gone, came with their Armie, and regaining it, deliuered the possession to the *Phœaciens*. Some space of time after this, the Outlawes of *Bœotia*, being seized of *Orchomenus* and *Cheronea*, **E** and certaine other places of *Bœotia*, the *Athenians* made Warre

The *Athenians* invade *Thessaly*.

\* Famous for the Battell betweene Iul. Cæsar, and Cn. Pompeius.

The *Athenians* vnder *Pericles* besiege *Oenias*.

Truce for 5. yeeres betweene the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*.

The *Athenians* warre on *Cyprus*.

" dyeth.

The Holy Warre.

**A** Warre vpon those places, being their Enemies, with a thousand men of Armes of their owne, and as many of their Confederates as seuerally came in, vnder the conduct of *Tolmidas*, the sonne of *Tolmaus*. And when they had taken *Cheronea*, they carried away the Inhabitants Captiues, and leauing a Garrison in the Citie, departed. In their returne, those Outlawes that were in *Orchomenus*, together with the *Locrians* of *Opus*, and the *Eubœan* Outlawes, and others of the same Faction, set vpon them at *Coronea*, and ouercomming the *Athenians* in Battell, some they slew, **B** and some they tooke aliu. Wherevpon the *Athenians* relinquished all *Bœotia*, and made peace, with condition to haue their Prisoners released. So the Outlawes and the rest, returned, and liued againe vnder their owne Lawes. Not long after, revolted *Eubœa* from the *Athenians*; and when *Pericles* had already passed ouer into it with the *Athenian* Armie, there was brought him newes, that *Megara* was likewise revolted, and that the *Peloponnesians* were about to invade *Attica*, and that the *Megareans* had slaine the *Athenian* Garrison, except onely such as fled into *Nisæa*. **C** Now the *Megareans*, when they revolted, had gotten to their ayd, the *Corinthians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Sicyonians*. Wherefore *Pericles* forthwith withdrew his Armie from *Eubœa*; and the *Lacedæmonians* afterward brake into *Attica*, and wasted the Countrey about *Eleusine*, and *Thriasium*; vnder the conduct of *Pleistoonax*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, King of *Lacedæmon*, and came no further on, but so went away. After which the *Athenians* passed againe into *Eubœa*, and totally subdued it; the *Hestians* they put quite out, taking their Territory into their owne hands; but ordered the rest of **D** *Eubœa*, according to composition made. Being returned from *Eubœa*, within a while after, they made a Peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, for thirty yeeres, & rendred *Nisæa*, *Achaia*, *Pegæ*, and *Træzene*, (for these places the *Athenians* held of theirs) to the *Peloponnesians*. In the sixth yeere of this Peace, fell out the Warre betweene the *Samians* and *Milesians*, concerning *Priene*; and the *Milesians* being put to the worse, came to *Athens*, and exclaimed against the *Samians*; wherein also certaine priuate men of *Samos* it selfe, tooke part with the *Milesians*, out of desire **E** to alter the forme of Gouvernement. Wherevpon the *Athenians* went to *Samos* with a Fleet of forty Gallies, and set

The *Athenians* recover *Cheronea*, taken by the *Bœotian* Outlawes.

The *Athenians* defeated at *Coronea* by the Outlawes, lose *Pericles*.

*Eubœa* revolteth from the *Athenians*.

*Megara* revolteth.

*Eubœa* subdued by the *Athenians*.

Peace for 30. yeeres, betweene the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*.

The *Athenians* warre vpon *Samos*.

Stallimire.

vp the *Democratic* there, and tooke of the *Samians* 50. Boyes, A  
and as many men, for Hostages; which when they had  
put into *Lemnos*, and set a Guard vpon them, they came  
home. But certaine of the *Samians* (for some of them, not  
enduring the popular gouernment, were fled into the Con-  
tinent) entring into a League with the mightiest of them  
in *Samos*, & with *Pissuthnes*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, who then  
was Gouernour of *Sardis*, and leuying about 700. auxiliary  
Souldiers, passed ouer into *Samos* in the euening; and first  
set vpon the popular Faction, and brought most of them  
into their power, and then stealing their Hostages out of B  
*Lemnos*; they reuolted, and deliuered the *Athenian* Guard, and  
such Captaines as were there, into the hands of *Pissuthnes*,  
and withall prepared to make Warre against *Miletus*.  
With these also reuolted the *Byzantines*. The *Athenians*,  
when they heard of these things, sent to *Samos* 60. Gallies,  
16. whereof they did not vse, (for some of them went into  
*Caria*; to obserue the Fleet of the *Phonicians*, and some to  
fetch in succours from *Chios* and *Lesbos*;) but with the 44.  
that remained, vnder the command of *Pericles* and 9. o-  
thers, fought with 70. Gallies of the *Samians*, (whereof C  
twenty were such as serued for transport of Souldiers,) as  
they were comming all together from *Miletus*; and the *A-*  
*thenians* had the Victory. After this came a supply of  
forty Gallies more from *Athens*, and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*  
25. With these hauing landed their men, they ouerthrew  
the *Samians* in Battell, and besieged the City; which they  
enclosed with a triple Wall, and shut it vp by Sea with  
their Gallies. But *Pericles* taking with him 60. Gallies  
out of the Road, made haste towards *Cannus* and *Caria*,  
vpon intelligence of the comming against them of the *Phae-* D  
*nician* Fleet. For *Stesagoras* with fise Gallies, was already  
gone out of *Samos*, and others out of other places, to meete  
the *Phonicians*. In the meane time, the *Samians* comming  
suddenly forth with their Fleet, and falling vpon the  
Harbour of the *Athenians*, which was vnfortified, sunke  
the Gallies that kept watch before it, and ouercame the  
rest in fight; insomuch as they became Masters of the  
Sea neere their Coast, for about foureteene dayes together,  
importing and exporting what they pleased. But *Pericles*  
returning, shut them vp againe with his Gallies; and E  
after this, there came to him from *Athens* a supply of forty  
Sayle,

Sig. Mitilene.

A Sayle, with \* *Thucydides*, *Agnon*, and *Phormio*, and twenty  
with *Tlepolemus* and *Anticles*; and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*,  
forty more. And though the *Samians* fought against  
these a small battell at Sea, yet vnable to hold out any  
longer, in the ninth moneth of the Siege, they rendred the  
Citie vpon composition: Namely, to demolish their Wallles; to  
giue Hostages; to deliuer vp their Navy; and to repay the money  
spent by the *Athenians* in the Warre, at dayes appointed. And  
the *Byzantines* also yeelded, with condition to remaine sub-  
iect to them, in the same manner as they had beene before their re-  
volt.

Now not many yeeres after this, happened the matters  
before related, of the *Corcyreans* and the *Potidaeans*, and what-  
soeuer other interuenient pretext of this Warre. These  
things done by the *Gracians*, one against another, or against  
the *Barbarians*, came to passe all within the compasse of  
fiftie yeeres, at most, from the time of the departure of  
*Xerxes*, to the beginning of this present Warre: In which  
time, the *Athenians* both assured their Gouernment ouer  
the Confederates, and also much enlarged their own partic-  
ular wealth. This the *Lacedaemonians* saw; & opposed not,  
saue now and then a little, but (as men that had euer before  
beene slow to Warre without necessity, and also for that  
they were hindered sometimes with domestique Warre)  
for the most part of the time stirred not against them;  
till now at last, when the power of the *Athenians* was ad-  
vanced manifestly indeed, and that they had done iniury  
to their Confederates; they could forbear no longer, but  
thought it necessary to goe in hand with the Warre with  
all diligence, and to pull downe, if they could, the *Atheni-*  
an greatnesse. For which purpose, it was by the *Lacedae-* D  
*monians* themselues decreed, That the Peace was broken,  
and that the *Athenians* had done vniustly. And also hauing  
sent to *Delphi*, and enquired of *Apollo*, whether they should  
haue the better in the Warre, or not; they receiued (as it  
is reported) this Answer: That if they warred with their  
whole power, they should haue victory, and that himselfe would be  
on their side, both called and vncalled.

Now when they had assembled their Confederates again,  
they were to put it to the question amongst them, Whether  
E they should make Warre, or not. And the Ambassadors of the  
feuerall Confederates comming in, and the Councell set,  
I 3  
aswell

\* Not the sister of the  
11. Booy.Samos yeelded to the  
Athenians.The businesse about Cor-  
cyra and Potidea, before  
related.Betweene the Persians and  
Peloponnesian Warre, fifty  
yeeres.The Oracle consulted by  
the Lacedaemonians, en-  
courageth them to the  
Warre.Consultation of the Pello-  
ponnesians in generall,  
whether they should en-  
ter into a Warre, or not.

as well the rest spake what they thought fit, most of them accusing the Athenians of iniurie, and desiring the Warre; as also the Corinthians, who had before intreated the Cities, every one severally to give their Vote for the Warre, fearing lest *Pericles* should be lost before helpe came, being then present, spake last of all to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH.

**C**onfederates, we can no longer accuse the Lacedæmonians, they having both decreed the Warre themselves, and also assembled us to doe the same. For it is fit for them who have the command in a common League, as they are honoured of all before the rest, so also (administring their priuate affaires equally with others) to consider before the rest, of the Common businesse. And though as many of us as have already had our turnes with the Athenians, need not be taught to beware of them; yet it were good for those that dwell up in the Land, and not as we, in places of traffique on the Sea side, to know, that vnlesse they defend those below, they shall with a great deale the more difficulty, both carry to the Sea, the commodities of the seasons, and againe more hardly receiue the benefits afforded to the inland Countries from the Sea; and also not to mistake what is now spoken, as if it concerned them not; but to make account, that if they neglect those that dwell by the Sea, the calamity will also reach vnto themselves; and that this consultation concerneth them no lesse then vs, and therefore not to be afraid to change their Peace for Warre. For though it be the part of discreet men to be quiet, vnlesse they haue wrong, yet it is the part of valiant men, when they receiue iniury, to passe from Peace into Warre, and after successe from Warre to come againe to composition: and neither to swell with the good successe of Warre, nor to suffer iniurie, through pleasure taken in the ease of Peace. For hee whom pleasure makes a Coward, if hee sit still, shall quickly lose the sweetnesse of the ease that made him so. And hee that in Warre, is made proud by successe, obserueth not, that his pride is grounded vpon vnfaithfull confidence. For though many things ill aduised, come to good effect, against Enemies worse aduised; yet more, thought well aduised, haue false but badly out, against well-aduised enemies. For no man comes to execute a thing, with the same confidence hee premeditates it: for we deliuer opinions in safety, whereas in the Action it selfe, we faile through feare. As for the Warre at this time, we raise it, both vpon iniuries done

vs,

**A**s, and vpon other sufficient allegations; and when we haue repaired our wrongs vpon the Athenians, we will also in due time lay it down. And it is for many reasons probable, that we shall haue the victory. First, because we exceed them in number: and next, because when we goe to any action intimated, we shall be all of one \* fashion. And as for a Nauie, wherein consisteth the strength of the Athenians, we shall provide it, both out of euery ones particular wealth, and with the money at Delphi and Olympia. For taking this at interest, we shall be able to draw from them their forraigne Mariners, by offer of greater wages: for the Forces of the Athenians, are rather mercenarie then domesticke. Whereas our owne power is lesse obnoxious to such accidents, consisting more in the persons of men then in money. And if we ouercome them but in one Battell by Sea, in all probability they are totally vanquished: And if they hold out, we also shall with longer time apply our selues to Nauall affaires. And when we shall once haue made our skill equall to theirs, we shall surely ouermatch them in courage. For the valour that we haue by nature, they shall neuer come vnto by teaching; but the experience which they exceed vs in, that must we attaine vnto by industry. And the money wherewith to bring this to passe, it must be all our parts to contribute. For else it were a hard case, that the Confederates of the Athenians should not sticke to contribute to their owne seruitude; and we should refuse to lay out our money, to be reuenged of our enemies, and for our owne preservation, and that the Athenians take not our money from vs, and euen with that doe vs mischief. We haue also many other wayes of Warre; as the reuolt of their Confederates, which is the principall meanes of lessening their reuenuue; \* the building of Forts in their Territorie, and many other things which one cannot now foresee. For the course of Warre is guided by nothing lesse then by the points of our account, but of it selfe contrineth most things vpon the occasion. **D**Wherein, he that complies with it, with most temper, standeth the firmeest; and hee that is most passionate, oftene mis-carries. Imagine we had differences each of vs about the limits of our Territorie, with an equall duersary; we must undergoe them. But now the Athenians are a match for vs all at once, and one Citie after another, too strong for vs. Insomuch that vnlesse we oppose them ioyntly, and euery Nation and Citie set to it vnanimously, they will ouercome vs asunder, without labour. And know, that to be vanquished (though it trouble you to heare it) brings with it no less then manifest seruitude: which, but to mention as a doubt, as if so many Cities could suffer vnder one, were very dishonourable to Peloponnesus. For if must then be thought, that we are either punished vpon merit, or else that

\* All Land Souldiers, all of one manner of Arming and discipline.

\* Though thus be here said in the person of a Corinthian, yet it was neuer thought on by any of that side, till Alcibiades put it into their heads, when he reuolted from his Country.

that we endure it out of feare, and so appeare degenerate from our Ancestours; for by them the liberty of all Greece hath bene restored; whereas we for our parts, assure not so much as our owne; but claiming the reputation of having deposed Tyrants in the severall Cities, suffer a Tyrant Citie to be established amongst vs. Wherein we know not how we can auoyd one of these three great faults, Foolishnesse, Cowardise, or Negligence. For certainly, you auoyde them not, by imputing it to that which hath done most men hurt, Contempt of the Enemy: for Contempt, because it hath made too many men miscarry, hath gotten the name of Foolishnesse. But to what end should we object matters past, more then is necessary to the business in hand? we must now by helping the present, labour for the future. For it is peculiar to our Countrey to attaine honour by labour; and though you be now somewhat advanced in honour and power, you must not therefore change the custome; for there is no reason that what was gotten in want, should be lost by wealth. But we should confidently goe in hand with the Warre, as for many other causes, so also for this, that both the God hath by his Oracle advised vs thereto, and promised to bee with vs himselfe: and also for that the rest of Greece some for feare, and some for profit, are ready to take our parts. Nor are you they that first breake the Peace, (which the God, in as much as hee doth encourage vs to the Warre, iudgeth violated by them) but you fight rather in defence of the same. For not hee breaketh the Peace, that taketh reuenge, but hee that is the first invader. So that, Seeing it will be every way good to make the Warre, and since in common we persuade the same; and seeing also that both to the Cities, and to private men, it will bee the most profitable course, put off no longer, neither the defence of the Potidæans, who are Doreans, and besieged (which was wont to bee contrary) by Ionians, nor the recovery of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians. For it is a case that admitteth not delay, when they are some of them already oppressed: and others (after it shall be knowne we meet, and durst not right our selues) shall shortly after vndergoe the like. But thinke (Confederates) you are now at a necessity, and that this is the best advice. And therefore giue your Votes for the Warre, not fearing the present danger, but coueting the long Peace proceeding from it. (For though by Warre groweth the confirmation of Peace, yet for loue of ease to refuse the Warre, doth not likewise auoyde the danger. But making account, that a Tyrant Citie set vp in Greece, is set vp alike ouer all, and reigneth ouer some already, and the rest in intention, we shall bring it againe into order by the Warre; and not onely liue for the time to come out of danger our selues, but also deliuer the

A the already enthralled Grecians out of seruitude: Thus said the Corinthians.

The Lacedæmonians, when they had heard the opinion of them all, brought the \* Balles to all the Confederates present, in order, from the greatest State to the least. And the greatest part gaue their Votes for the Warre. Now after the War was decreed, though it were impossible for them to goe in hand with it presently, because they were vnprovided, and every State thought good without delay, severally to furnish themselves of what was necessary, yet there passed not fully a yeere in this preparation, before Attica was invaded, and the Warre openly on foot.

IN THE MEANE TIME, they sent Ambassadors to the Athenians, with certaine Criminations, to the end that if they would giue eare to nothing, they might haue all the pretext that could bee, for raising of the Warre. And first the Lacedæmonians, by their Ambassadors to the Athenians, required them to \* banish such as were vnder curse of the Goddesse Minerva, for Pollution of Sanctuary. Which Pollution was thus. There had bene one Cylon an Athenian, a man that had bene Victor in the Olympian exercises, of much Nobility and power amongst those of old time, and that had married the Daughter of Theagenes, a Megarean, in those dayes Tyrant of Megara. To this Cylon, asking counsell at Delphi, the God answered, That on the greatest Festiuall day, hee should seaze the Cittadell of Athens. Hee therefore hauing gotten Forces of Theagenes, and perswaded his Friends to the Enterprize, seazed on the Cittadell, at the time of the Olimpicke Holidayes in Peloponnesus, with intention to take vpon him the Tyranny: Esteeming the Feast of Iupiter to bee the greatest; and to touch withall on his Particular, in that he had bene Victor in the Olympian exercises. But whether the Feast spoken of, were \* meant to be the greatest in Attica, or in some other place, neither did hee himselfe consider, nor the Oracle make manifest. For there is also amongst the Athenians the Diasia, which is called the greatest Feast of Iupiter Meilichius, and is celebrated without the City; wherein, in the confluence of the whole people, many men offered Sacrifices, not of liuing Creatures, but

E \* such as was the fashion of the Natiues of the place. But hee, supposing hee had rightly vnderstood the Oracle, laid

K hand

The Warre decreed by all the Confederates. \* *ἑλπίων ἑλπίων*. The fashion it seemeth, as now in some places, to present a Box or Urne, and a little Ball, or stone or beane, to him that gaue his Vote, to the end hee might put his Ball into the part of the Urne that was for affirmation or negation, as he saw cause.

The Lacedæmonians send Ambassadors to the Athenians, about expiation of Sacriledges, only to pick better quarrels for the Warre.

\* Excommunication extending also to posterity.

\* The Oracles were alwayes obscure, that euery man might be found to salve their credit; and whether they were the inspiration of the Deuill, or of men, which is the more likely, they had no pretension, nor secure wise coniecture of the future.

\* Images of liuing creatures, made of paste.

hand to the enterprife; and when the Athenians heard of A it, they came with all their Forces out of the Fields, and lying before the Cittadell, besieged it. But the time growing long, the Athenians wearied with the Siege, went most of them away, and left both the Guard of the Cittadell, and the whole businesse to the nine Archontes, with absolute authority to order the same, as to them it should seeme good. For at that time, most of the affaires of the Common-weale were administred by those 9. Archontes. Now those that were besieged with Cylon, were for want both of victuall and Water, in very cuill estate; and therefore Cylon, and a Brother of his, fled priuily out; but the rest, when they were pressed, and some of them dead with famine, fate downe as suppliants, by the \* Altar that is in the Cittadell: And the Athenians, to whose charge was committed the guard of the place, rayling them, vpon promise to doe them no harme, put them all to the Sword. \* Also they had put to death some of those that had taken Sanctuary at the Altars of the \* Seuerer Goddesses, as they were going away. And from this, the Athenians, both themselues and their posterity, were called \* accused and sacrilegious persons. Heereupon the Athenians banished those that were vnder the curse: and Cleomenes, a Lacedemonian, together with the Athenians, in a Sedition banished them afterwards againe: and not onely so, but dis-enterred and cast forth the bodies of such of them as were dead. Neuerthelesse there returned of them afterwards againe; and there are of their race in the Citie vnto this day. This Pollution therefore the Lacedemonians required them to purge their Citie of. Principally forsooth, as taking part with the Gods; but knowing withall, that Pericles the sonne of Xantippus, was by the Mothers side one of that Race. For they thought, if Pericles were banished, the Athenians would the more easily bee brought to yeeld to their desire. Neuerthelesse, they hoped not so much, that hee should bee banished, as to bring him into the enuie of the Citie, as if the misfortune of him, were in part the cause of the Warre. For being the most powerfull of his time, and hauing the sway of the State, hee was in all things opposite to the Lacedemonians, not suffering the Athenians to giue them the least way, but E enticing them to the Warre.

Contrariwise,

\* The Governours or Rulers of the City.

\* of Minerva.

\* The Lacedemonians that were brought of Codrus to Athens, and were accused, some of them being entred to the City, could not get any, but fate at those Altars, and were damned safe, but some of them flaine as they were going.

\* Pericles, Eumenides, & Cylon.

Pericles alwayes aduerse to the Lacedemonians.

A Contrariwise the Athenians required the Lacedemonians to banish such as were guilty of breach of Sanctuary at Te-narus. For the Lacedemonians, when they had caused their Helots, Suppliants in the Temple of Neptune at Tenarus, to forsake Sanctuary, slew them. For which cause, they themselues thinke it was, that the great Earthquake happened afterwards at Sparta.

Also they required them to purge their Citie of the pollution of Sanctuary, in the Temple of Pallas Chalciuea, which was thus: After that Pausanias the Lacedemonian was recalled by the Spartans from his charge in Hellepont, and hauing bin called in question by them, was absolved, though hee was no more sent abroad by the State, yet hee went againe into Hellepont, in a Gallie of Hermione, as a priuate man, without leaue of the Lacedemonians, to the Grecian Warre, as hee gaue out, but in truth to negotiate with the King, as hee had before begunne, aspiring to the Principality of Greece. Now the benefit that hee had laid vp with the King, and the beginning of the whole businesse, was at first from this: When after his returne from Cyprus he had taken Byzantium, when he was there the first time, (which being holden by the Medes, there were taken in it, some neere to the King, and of his kindred) unknowne to the rest of the Confederates, hee sent vnto the King those neere ones of his which hee had taken, and gaue out, they were runne away. This hee practised with one Gongylus, and Eretrian, to whose charge hee had committed both the Towne of Byzantium, and the Prisoners. Also he sent Letters vnto him, which Gongylus carried, wherein, as was afterwards knowne, was thus written.

D The Letter of Pausanias to the King.

PAVSANIAS, Generall of the Spartans, being desirous to doe thee a courtesie, sendeth backe vnto thee these men, whom hee hath by Armes taken prisoners: And I haue a purpose, if the same seeme also good vnto thee, to take thy Daughter in marriage, and to bring Sparta and the rest of Greece, into thy subiection. These things I account my selfe able to bring to passe, if I may communicate my counsels with thee: If therefore any of these things doe like thee, send some trusty man to the Sea side, by whose mediation wee may conserue together.

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These

The Athenians required the Lacedemonians to expunge the violation of Sanctuary also on this party.

The occasion and manner of the death of Pausanias in the Temple of Pallas Chalciuea.

Pausanias practised with the King of Persia against the State of Greece.

These were the Contents of the Writing. *Xerxes* being pleased with the Letter, sends away *Artabazus* the sonne of *Pharnaces*, to the Sea side, with commandement to take the gouernment of the Prouince of *Dascyli*, and to dismisse *Megabates*, that was Gouernour there before : and withall, giues him a Letter to *Pausanias*, which hee commanded him to send ouer to him with speed to *Byzantium*, and to shew him the Seale, and well and faithfully to performe, whatsoeuer in his affaires, he should by *Pausanias* be appointed to doe. *Artabazus*, after hee arriued, hauing in other things done as hee was commanded, sent ouer the Letter, wherein was written this answer.

### The Letter of *Xerxes* to *Pausanias*.

**T**HVS saith King *Xerxes* to *Pausanias*: For the men which thou hast saued, and sent ouer the Sea vnto mee, from *Byzantium*, thy benefit is laid vp in our House, indelebly registred for euer : And I like also of what thou hast propounded : And let neither night nor day make thee remisse in the performance of what thou hast promised vnto mee. Neither bee thou hindred by the expence of Gold and Siluer, or multitude of Souldiers requisite, whithersoever it bee needfull to haue them come : But with *Artabazus*, a good man, whom I haue sent vnto thee, doe boldly both mine and thine owne businesse ; as shall bee most fit, for the dignity and honour of vs both.

*Pausanias* hauing receiued these Letters, whereas he was before in great authority, for his conduct at *Plataea*, became now many degrees more eleuated ; and endured no more to liue after the accustomed manner of his Countrey, but went apparelled at *Byzantium*, after the fashion of *Persia* ; and when hee went through *Thrace*, had a Guard of *Medes* and *Egyptians*, and his Table likewise after the *Persian* manner. Nor was hee able to concale his purpose, but in trifles made apparant before-hand, the greater matters hee had conceiued of the future. Hee became moreouer difficult of accessse, and would bee in such cholericke passions toward all men indifferently, that no man might indure to approach him ; which was also none of the least causes why the Confederates turned from him to the *Athenians*. When the *Lacedaemonians* heard of it, they called him

*Pausanias* groweth proud vpon the receipt of these Letters.

A him home the first time. And when being gone out the second time without their command, in a Gallie of *Hermione*, it appeared that hee continued still in the same practises ; and after hee was forced out of *Byzantium* by siege of the *Athenians*, returned not to *Sparta*, but newes came, that hee had seated himselfe at *Colone*, in the Countrey of *Troy*, practising still with the *Barbarians*, and making his abode there for no good purpose : Then the *Ephori* forbore no longer, but sent vnto him a publique Officer, with the \* *Scytale*, commanding him not to depart from the Officer ; and in case hee refused, denounced Warre against him. But he, desiring as much as he could to decline suspition, and beleeuing that with money hee should bee able to discharge himselfe of his accusations, returned vnto *Sparta* the second time. And first he was by the *Ephori* committed to ward ; (for the *Ephori* haue power to doe this to their King,) but afterwards procuring his enlargement, hee came forth, and exhibited himselfe to Iustice, against such as had any thing to alledge against him. And though the *Spartans* had against him no manifest prooffe, neither his enemies, nor the whole Citie, whereupon to proceed to the punishment of a man, both of the Race of their Kings, and at that present in great authority : for *Phlistarchus* the Sonne of *Leonidas* being King, and as yet in minority, *Pausanias*, who was his Cousin german, had the tuition of him : yet by his licentious behauiour, and affectation of the *Barbarian* customes, hee gaue much cause of suspition, that hee meant not to liue in the equality of the present State. They considered also, that hee differed in manner of life, from the discipline established : amongst other things, by this, that vpon the *Tripode* at *Delphi*, which the *Grecians* had dedicated, as the best of the spoile of the *Medes*, hee had caused to bee inscribed of himselfe in particular, this Elegiaque Verse :

**P A V S A N I A S**, Greeke Generall,  
Hauing the *Medes* defeated,  
To *Phœbus* in record thereof,  
This gift hath consecrated.

\* *Scytale*, properly a Staffe; here, a forme of Letter, used by the *Lacedaemonians*, in this manner ; they had two round staves of one bignesse, whereof the State kept one, and the man whom they employed abroad kept the other ; and when they would write, they wrapped about it a small thong of Parchment ; and hauing thereon writtne, made it off againe, and sent onely that thong, which wrapped likewise about the other staffe, the letters ioynted againe, and might be read. This served in stead of Cypher. It seemes *Pausanias* retained his Staffe, from the time he had charge as *Byzantium*.

*Pausanias* his ambition, in dedication of the *Tripode* at *Delphi*.



*Pausanias* accused of pra-  
ctice with the *Helotes*.

\* *read* *del*, taken both in good  
and bad sense, for a man with  
whom another man is in love.

Hee sends Letters to the  
King, which are opened  
by the way.

*Pausanias*, by the arte of  
the *Ephori*, made to be-  
tray himselfe.

But the *Lacedæmonians* then presently defaced that in- A  
scription of the *Tripode*, and engraued thereon by name,  
all the Cities that had ioyned in the ouerthrow of the  
*Medes*, and dedicated it so. This therefore was num-  
bred amongst the offences of *Pausanias*, and was thought  
to agree with his present designe, so much the rather, for  
the condition hee was now in. They had information fur-  
ther, that hee had in hand some practice with the *Helotes*:  
and so hee had: For hee promised them, not onely manu-  
mission, but also freedome of the Citie, if they would  
rise with him, and coöperate in the whole businesse. But B  
neither thus, vpon some appeachment of the *Helotes*,  
would they proceed against him, but kept the custome  
which they haue in their owne cases, not hastily to giue a  
peremptory Sentence against a *spartan*, without vnquesti-  
onable prooffe. Till at length (as it is reported) purpo-  
sing to send ouer to *Artabazus* his last Letters to the King,  
hee was bewrayed vnto them by a man of *Argilus*, in time  
past, his \* Minion, and most faithfull to him: who be-  
ing terrified with the cogitation, that not any of those  
which had beene formerly sent, had euer returned, got C  
him a Seale like to the Seale of *Pausanias*, (to the end that  
if his iealousie were false, or that hee should need to alter  
any thing in the Letter, it might not bee discouered) and  
opened the Letter, wherein (as he had suspected the addi-  
tion of some such clause) hee found himselfe also written  
downe to bee murdered. The *Ephori*, when these Let-  
ters were by him shewne vnto them, though they belee-  
ued the matter much more then they did before, yet desi-  
rous to heare somewhat themselves from *Pausanias* his  
owne mouth; (the man being vpon designe gone to *Tæ- D*  
*narus* into Sanctnary, and hauing there built him a little  
Roome with a partition, in which hee hid the *Ephori*; and  
*Pausanias* comming to him, and asking the cause of his  
taking Sanctuary,) they plainly heard the whole matter.  
For the man both expostulated with him, for what hee  
had written about him, and from point to point discou-  
ered all the practice: saying, that though hee had neuer  
boasted vnto him these and these seruices concerning the  
King, hee must yet haue the honour, as well as many o-  
ther of his seruants, to bee slaine. And *Pausanias* himselfe E  
both confessed the same things, and also bade the man not

to

A to be troubled at what was past, and gaue him assurance  
to leaue Sanctuary, entreating him to goe on in his jour-  
ney with all speed, and not to frustrate the businesse in  
hand.

Now the *Ephori*, when they had distinctly heard him,  
for that time went their way, and knowing now the cer-  
taine truth, intended to apprehend him in the Citie. It is  
said, that when hee was to bee apprehended in the Street,  
hee perceiued by the countenance of one of the *Ephori*  
comming towards him, what they came for: and when B  
another of them had by a secret becke, signified the mat-  
ter for good will, he ranne into the \* Close of the Temple  
of *Pallas Chalcieca*, and got in before they ouertooke him.  
Now the \* Temple it selfe was hard by, and entring in-  
to a House belonging to the Temple, to auoyd the iniurie  
of the open ayre, there staid. They that pursued him,  
could not then ouertake him: but afterwards they tooke  
off the rooffe and the doores of the house, and watching a  
time when hee was within, beset the House, and mured  
him vp, and leauing a Guard there, famished him. When C  
they perceiued him about to giue vp the Ghost, they car-  
ried him as hee was, out of the House, yet breathing, and  
being out, hee dyed immediately. After hee was dead,  
they were about to throw him into the \* *Cæada*, where  
they vse to cast in Malefactors: yet afterwards they  
thought good to bury him in some place thereabouts:  
But the Oracle of *Delphi* commanded the *Lacedæmonians* af-  
terward, both to remoue the Sepulcher from the place  
where hee dyed, (so that helyes now in the entry of the  
Temple, as is euident by the inscription of the Pillar)  
D and also (as hauing beene a Pollution of the Sanctuary,) to  
render two bodies to the Goddesse of *Chalcieca*, for that  
one. Whereupon they set vp two brazen Statues, and de-  
dicated the same vnto her for *Pausanias*. Now the *Atheni-  
ans* (the God himselfe hauing iudged this a Pollution of  
Sanctuary) required the *Lacedæmonians* to banish out of  
their Citie, such as were touched with the same.

At the same time that *Pausanias* came to his end, the  
*Lacedæmonians* by their Ambassadors to the *Athenians*, ac-  
cused *Themistocles*, for that hee also had medized together  
E with *Pausanias*; hauing discouered it by proofes against  
*Pausanias*, and desired that the same punishment might be  
like-

He dyeth in Sanctuary

\* *Temp.* Both the Temple, &  
the ground consecrated, &er-  
in stands the Temple, &er-  
and ed fies for the use of  
their Religion.  
\* *Tæcad.* The Temple or  
Church of the Goddesse.

\* *Cæada*, a pit nere *Lace-  
demon*.

*Themistocles* in the same  
Reason.

\* A kinde of banishment, wherein the Athenians wrote upon the wall of an Oyster the name of him they would banish: yet principal-ly against great men, whose power or faction they feared might breed alteration in the State: and was but for certaine yeeres. Themistocles, pursued by the Athenians and Peloponnesians, flyeth to Cora.

Thence is put ouer to  
the maine Land, and  
goeth to the King of  
the *Melossians*.

\*  $\tilde{\tau}$   $\mu\tilde{\iota}\delta\alpha$ . Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, saies it was their daughter.

likewise inflicted vpon him. Whereunto consenting, for he was at this time in banishment by \* Ostracisme, and though his ordinary residence was at *Argos*, hee trauelled to and fro in other places of *Peloponnesus*, they sent certaine men in company of the *Lacedaemonians*, who were willing to pursue him, with command to bring him in, wherefoeuer they could finde him. But *Themistocles* hauing had notice of it before-hand, flyeth out of *Peloponnesus* into *Corcyra*, to the people of which Citie, he had formerly benee beneficiall. But the *Corcyraens* alleaging that they durst not keep him there, for feare of displeasing both the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Athenians*, conuey him into the opposite Continent: and being pursued by the men thereto appointed, asking continually which way hee went, hee was compelled at a streight, to turne in vnto *Admetus*, King of the *Molossians*, his enemy. The King himselfe beeing then from home, hee became a suppliant to his Wife, and by her was instructed, to take their \* Sonne with him, and sit downe at the Altar of the House. When *Admetus* not long after returned, hee made himselfe knowne to him, and desired him, that though hee had opposed him in some suite at *Athens*, not to reuenge it on him now, in the time of his flight: saying, that being now the weaker, he must needes suffer vnder the stronger; whereas noble reuenge is of equals, vpon equall termes: and that hee had benee his Aduersary but in matter of profit, not of life; whereas, if hee deliuered him vp (telling him withall, for what, and by whom hee was followed) hee deprived him of all meanes of sauing his life. *Admetus* hauing heard him, bade him arise, together with his Sonne, whom he held as he fate: which is the most submisse (supplication that is.

Not long after came the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*, and though they alledged much to haue him, yet hee deliuered him not, but sent him away by Land to *Pydna*, vpon the \* other Sea (a City belonging to \* *Alexander*) because his purpose was to goe to the \* King: where finding a Ship bound for *Ionia*, hee embarked, and was carried by foule weather vpon the the Fleet of the *Athenians*, that besieged *Naxos*. Being afraid, hee discovered to the Master (for hee was vnknowne) who hee E was, and for what hee fled, and said, that vnlesse hee would

Thence he is conueyed  
to Pydna.  
- The Ægean Sea.  
\* King of Macedonia.  
\* Of Persia.

In danger to be cast vp-  
on the *Athenians* Fleet at  
*Naxos*, he maketh him-  
selfe knowne to the Ma-  
ster of the Ship.

A would saue him, hee meant to say, that hee had hired him to carry him away for money. And that to saue him, there needed no more but this, to let none goe out of the Ship, till the weather serued to bee gone. To which if hee consented, hee would not forget to requite him according to his merit. The Master did so, and hauing lye[n] a day and a night at Sea, vpon the Fleet of the *Athenians*, he arriued afterward at *Ephesus*. And *Themistocles* hauing liberally rewarded him with money, (for hee receiued there, both what was sent him from his friends at *Athens*, and also what he had put out at *Argos*,) hee tooke his iourney vppwards, in company of a certaine *Persian* of the \* Low-Countries, and sent Letters to the King *Artaxerxes*, the Sonne of *Xerxes*, newly come to the Kingdome, wherein was written to this purpose :

He arriueth at *Ephesus*.

\* The Low countries of Asia  
lying to the Aegean Sea.

His Letter to *Artaxerxes*.

**I**THEMISTOCLES *am comming vnto thee, who, of all the Grecians, as long as I was forced to resist thy Father that invaded me, haue done your House the maniest damages; yet the benefits I did him, were more, after once I with safety, bee with danger was to make retreat. And both a good turne is already due vnto mee, (writing here, how hee had forewarned him of the Grecians departure out of Salamis, and ascribing the then not breaking of the Bridge, falsely vnto himselfe.) and at this time to doe thee many other good seruices, I present my selfe, persecuted by the Grecians for thy friendships sake. But I desire to haue a yeeres respite, that I may declare vnto thee the cause of my comming my selfe.*

The King, as is reported, wondred what his purpose might bee, and commanded him to doe as he had said. In this time of respite, hee learned as much as hee could of the Language and fashions of the place; and a yeere after comming to the Court, he was great with the King, more then euer had beene any *Grecian* before; both for his former dignity, and the hope of *Greece*, which hee promised to bring into his subiection; but especially for the tryall hee gaue of his wisdom. For *Themistocles* was a man, in whom most truely was manifested the strength of

The praise of Themistocles.

of naturall iudgement, wherein hee had something worthy admiration, different from other men. For by his naturall prudence, without the helpe of instruction before or after, he was both of extemporary matters, vpon short deliberation, the best discerner, and also of what for the most part would bee their issue, the best coniecturer. What hee was perfect in, hee was able also to explicate: and what hee was vnpractised in, he was not to seeke how to iudge of conueniently. Also hee foresaw, no man better, what was best or worst in any case that was doubtful. And (to say all in few words) this man, by the naturall goodnesse of his wit, and quicknesse of deliberation, was the ablest of all men, to tell what was fit to bee done vpon a sudden. But falling sicke, hee ended his life: some say hee dyed voluntarily by Poyson, because hee thought himselfe vnable to performe what hee had promised to the King. His monument is in \* *Magnesia* in *Asia*, in the Market place: for hee had the gouernment of that Countrey, the King hauing bestowed vpon him *Magnesia*, which yeelded him fifty Talents by yeere for his bread, and *Lampsacus* for his Wine, (for this City was in those dayes thought to haue store of Wine,) and the City of *Mys* for his meate. His bones are said, by his Kindred to haue benee brought home by his owne appointment, and buried in *Attica*, vnknowne to the *Athenians*: for it was not lawfull to bury one there, that had fled for Treason. These were the ends of *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, the most famous men of all the *Grecians* of their time. And this is that which the *Lacedemonians* did command, and were commanded, in their first Ambassage, touching the banishment of such as were vnder the curse.

AFTER THIS, they sent Ambassadors againe to *Athens*, commanding them to leuy the Siege from before *Potidea*, and to suffer *Egina* to bee free; but principally, and most plainly telling them, that the Warre should not bee made, in case they would abrogate the Act concerning the *Megareans*. By which Act, they were forbidden both the *Fayres* of *Attica*, and all Ports within the *Athenian* dominion. But the *Athenians* would not obey them, neither in the rest of their Commands,

nor

His death.

\* There is another Citie of that name in Greece.

\* Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, says that the King gave him these Cities with these words, Magnesia to make him bread, Lampsacus wine, and Mys meat.

The Athenians by Ambassadors command the abrogation of the Act against the Megareans.

A nor in the abrogation of that Act, but recriminated the *Megareans*, for hauing tilled holy ground, and vnset-out with bounds: and for receiuing of their Slaues that reuolted. But at length, when the last Ambassadors from *Lacedemon* were arriued, namely, *Rhamphias*, *Melesippus*, and *Ageander*, and spake nothing of that which formerly they were wont, but onely this, That the *Lacedemonians* desire that there should be Peace, which may bee had, if you will suffer the *Grecians* to bee gouerned by their owne Lawes. The *Athenians* called an Assembly, and propounding their opinions amongst themselues, thought good, after they had debated the matter, to giue them an answer once for all. And many stood forth, and deliuered their mindes on eyther side, some for the Warre, and some, that this Act concerning the *Megareans*, ought not to stand in their way to Peace, but to bee abrogated. And *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanthippus*, the principall man, at that time, of all *Athens*, and most sufficient both for speech and action, gaue his aduice in such manner as followeth.

The last Ambassadors from Lacedemon, require the Athenians to lay down their dominion.

The Athenians consult what to answer.

C

### THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

MEN of Athens, I am still not onely of the same opinion, not to giue way to the *Peloponnesians* (notwithstanding, I know that men haue not the same passions in the Warre it selfe, which they haue when they are incited to it, but change their opinions with the events) but also I see, that I must now aduise the same things, or very neere to what I haue before deliuered. And I require of you, with whom my counsell shall take place, that if wee miscarry in ought, you will eyther make the best of it, as decreed by Common Consent, or if wee prosper, not to attribute it to your owne wisdom onely. For it falleth out with the euents of Actions, no lesse then with the purposes of man, to proceed with uncertainty: which is also the cause, that when any thing happeneth contrary to our expectation, wee vse to lay the fault on Fortune. That the *Lacedemonians*, both formerly, and especially now, take counsell how to doe vs mischief, is a thing manifest. For whereas it is said, [in the Articles] that in our mutuall controuersies, we shall giue and receiue trials of Iudgement, and in the meane time, eyther side hold what they possesse, they neuer yet sought any such tryall themselues, nor will accept of the same offered by vs. They will

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cleer.

deere themselves of their accusations, by Warre rather then by words: A  
and come hither no more now to expostulate, but to command. For they  
command vs to arise from before Potidæa, and to restore the Egina-  
etæ to the liberty of their owne Lawes, and to abrogate the Act con-  
cerning the Megareans. And they that come last, command vs to  
restore all the Grecians to their liberty. Now let none of you con-  
ceiue that wee shall goe to Warre for a trifle, by not abrogating the  
Act concerning Megara, (yet this by them is pretended most, and  
that for the abrogation of it, the Warre shall stay,) nor retain a scru-  
ple in your mindes, as if a small matter moued you to the Warre: for  
euen this small matter containeth the tryall and constancy of your re- B  
solution. Wherein if you giue them way, you shall hereafter bee com-  
manded a greater matter, as men that for feare will obey them like-  
wise in that. But by a stiffe deniall, you shall teach them plainly, to  
come to you hereafter on termes of more equality. Resolue therefore  
from this occasion, eyther to yeeld them obedience, before you receiue  
damage; or if wee must haue Warre, (which for my part I thinke is  
best,) be the pretence weighty or light, not to giue way, nor keepe what  
wee possesse, in feare. For a great and a little claime, imposed by e-  
quals vpon their neighbours, before Iudgement, by way of command,  
hath one and the same vertue to make subiect. As for the Warre, C  
how both wee and they be furnished, and why wee are not like to haue  
the worse, by hearing the particulars, you shall now vnderstand. The  
Peloponnesians are men that liue by their labour, without money,  
eyther in particular, or in common stocke. Besides, in long Warres,  
and by Sea, they are without experience; for that the Warres which  
they haue had one against another, haue bene but short, through po-  
uerty; and \* such men can neither man their Fleets, nor yet send out  
their Armies by Land very often; because they must bee farre from  
their owne wealth, and yet by that be maintained; and be besides bar-  
red the vse of the Sea. It must bee a \* stocke of money, not forced D  
Contributions, that support the Warres, and such as liue by their  
labour, are more ready to serue the Warres with their bodies, then  
with their money. For they make account that their bodies will out-  
liue the danger, but their money they thinke is sure to bee spent; espe-  
cially if the Warre (as it is likely) should last. So that the Pelopon-  
nesians and their Confederates, though for one Battell they bee able  
to stand out against all Greece besides, yet to maintaine a Warre a-  
gainst such as haue their preparations of another kinde, they are not  
able; in as much as not hauing one and the same counsell, they can  
speedily performe nothing vpon the occasion; and hauing equality of E  
Vote, and being of severall \* races, every one will presse his particular  
interest;

\* out of the sea.

\* as liue by their labour.

\* Peloponnesians.

\* Of the Peloponnesians  
and their Confederates, some  
were Dorians, some Æoli-  
ans, some Ionians.

A interest; whereby nothing is like to bee fully executed. For some will  
desire most to take reuenge on some enemy, and others to haue their  
estates least wasted; and being long before they can assemble, they  
take the lesser part of their time to debate the Common businesse, and  
the greater, to dispatch their owne priuate affaires. And every one  
supposeth that his owne neglect of the Common estate, can doe little  
hurt, and that it will bee the care of some body else to looke to that, for  
his owne good: Not obseruing how by these thoughts of every one in  
seuerall, the Common businesse is ioyntly ruined. But their greatest  
hindrance of all, will be their want of money, which being raised slow-  
ly, their actions must bee full of delay, which the occasions of warre B  
will not endure. As for their fortifying here, and their Nauie, they  
are matters not worthy feare. For it were a hard matter for a Citie  
equall to our owne, in time of peace to fortifie in that manner, much  
lesse in the Countrey of an Enemy, and wee no lesse fortified a-  
gainst them. And if they had a Garrison here, though they might by  
excursions, and by the receiuing of our Fugitiues, annoy some part of  
our Territory; yet would not that bee enough both to bessege vs, and  
also to hinder vs from sayling into their Territories, and from taking  
reuenge with our Fleet, which is the thing wherein our strength lyeth.  
C For wee haue more experience in Land-seruice, by vse of the Sea, then  
they haue in Sea-seruice, by vse of the Land. Nor shall they attaine  
the knowledge of nauall affaires easily. For your selues, though fal-  
ling to it immediately vpon the Persian warre, yet haue not attained  
it fully. How then should husbandmen, not Sea-men, whom also wee  
will not suffer to apply themselves to it, by lying continually vpon  
them with so great Fleets, performe any matter of value? Indeed, if  
they should bee opposed but with a few Ships, they might aduenture,  
encouraging their want of knowledge, with store of men; but awed by  
many, they will not stirre that way; and not applying themselves to it,  
D will bee yet more vnskilfull, and thereby more cowardly. For know-  
ledge of Nauall matters, is an Art as well as any other, and not to be  
attended at idle times, and on the \* by; but requiring rather, that  
whilest it is a learning, nothing else should bee done on the by. But say  
they should take the money at Olympia and Delphi, and there-  
with, at greater wages, goe about to draw from vs the Strangers em-  
ployed in our Fleet; this indeed, if going aboard both our selues, and  
those that dwell amongst vs, wee could not match them, were a dange-  
rous matter. But now, wee can both doe this, and (which is the prin-  
cipall thing) wee haue Steeresmen, and other necessary men for the  
E seruice of a Ship, both more and better of our owne Citizens, then are  
in all the rest of Greece. Besides that, not any of these Strangers,  
L 3 vpon

\* en τῷ παρόντι.

\* That is, of victory by Sea, where they were to be employed.

upon tryall, would bee found content to fly his owne Countrey, and A  
withall vpon lesse \* hope of victory, for a few dayes increase of wa-  
ges, take part with the other side. In this manner, or like to this,  
seemeth vnto mee to stand the case of the Peloponnesians: Whereas  
ours is both free from what in theirs I haue reprehended, and hath ma-  
ny great aduantages besides. If they innade our Territory by Land,  
wee shall innade theirs by Sea. And when wee haue wasted part of  
Peloponnesus, and they all Attica, yet shall theirs bee the greater  
losse. For they, vnlesse by the sword, can get no other Territory in  
stead of that wee shall destroy: Whereas for vs, there is other Land,  
both in the Ilands, and Continent: For the dominion of the Sea is a B  
great matter. Consider but this; If we dwelt in the Ilands, whether  
of vs then were more inexpugnable? Wee must therefore now, draw-  
ing as neere as can bee to that imagination, lay aside the care of Fields  
and Villages, and not for the losse of them, out of passion, giue battell to  
the Peloponnesians, farre more in number then our selues; (for  
though wee giue them an ouerthrow, wee must fight againe with as  
many more: and if wee bee ouerthrowne, we shall lose the helpe of our  
Confederates, which are our strength; for when we cannot warre vp-  
on them, they will revolt) nor-bewaile yee the losse of Fields or Houses,  
but of mens bodies: for men may acquire these, but these cannot ac- C  
quire men. And if I thought I should preuaile, I would aduise you to  
goe out, and destroy them your selues, and shew the Peloponnesians,  
that you will neuer the sooner obey them for such things as these. There  
be many other things that giue hope of victory, (\* in case you doe not,  
whilest you are in this Warre, strue to enlarge your dominion, and vn-  
dergoe other voluntary dangers; for I am afraid of our owne errors,  
more then of their designes,) but they shall bee spoken of at another  
time, in prosecution of the warre it selfe. For the present, let vs send  
away these men with this Answer: That the Megareans shall D  
haue the liberty of our Fayres and Ports, if the Lacedæmo-  
nians will also make no banishment of vs nor of our Confe-  
derates, as of Strangers. For neither our Act concerning  
Megara, nor their banishment of Strangers, is forbidden in  
the Articles. Also, that we will let the Grecian Cities be  
free, if they were so when the Peace was made; and if the  
Lacedæmonians will also giue leaue vnto their Confederates,  
to vse their freedome, not as shall serue the turne of the  
Lacedæmonians, but as they themselues shall euery one  
thinke good. Also, that wee will stand to Iudgement ac-  
cording to the Articles, and will not beginne the Warre, E  
but bee reuenged on those that shall. For this is both iust,  
and

\* Thucydides hath his mind here, upon the Defeat in Sicily, which fell out many years after the death of Pericles. He thereby it seems, he fructifies his speech more to what Pericles might haue said, then to what he did say. It is also he profiteth in ge-  
nerall of his course in setting downe speeches. Besides, he maketh Pericles here to an-  
swer point by point to the Ora-  
tion of the Corinthians at Lacedæmon, as if hee had bene by, which it was deliue-  
red and with the same man-  
ner in all opposite Orations.

A and for the dignity of the City to answer. Neuerthelesse, you must  
know, that of necessity Warre there will bee; and the more wil-  
lingly wee embrace it, the lesse pressing we shall haue our enemies;  
and that out of greatest dangers, whether to Cities or priuate men,  
arise the greatest honours. For our Fathers, when they vnderooke  
the Medes, did from lesse beginnings, nay abandoning the little  
they had, by wisdom rather then Fortune, by courage rather then  
strength, both repell the Barbarian, and aduance this State to the  
height it now is at. Of whom wee ought not now to come short,  
but rather to reuenge vs by all meanes vpon our enemies, and doe  
B our best to deliuer the State vnimpayred by vs, to posterity.

Thus spake Pericles.

The Athenians liking best of his aduice, decreed as hee  
would haue them, answering the Lacedæmonians according  
to his direction, both in particular as hee had spoken, and  
generally, That they would doe nothing on command, but were  
ready to answer their accusations vpon equall termes, by way of  
arbitrement. So the Ambassadors went home, and after  
these, there came no more.

The Answer of the Athe-  
nians to the Ambassa-  
dours of Lacedæmon.

C These were the Quarels and differences on eyther side,  
before the Warre: which Quarels beganne presently vp-  
on the businesse of Epidamnus and Corcyra. Neuerthelesse,  
there was still commerce betwixt them, and they went  
to each other without any Herald, though not with-  
out ieaiousie. For the things that had passed,  
were but the confusion of the Articles,  
and matter of the Warre  
to follow.

FINIS.



THE  
SECOND BOOK  
OF  
THE HISTORY OF  
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

*The entry of the Theban Souldiers into Plataea, by the Treason of some within. Their repulse and slaughter. The irruption of the Peloponnesians into Attica. The wasting of the Coast of Peloponnesus by the Athenian Fleet. The Publike Funerall of the first slaine. The second invasion of Attica. The Pestilence in the City of Athens. The Ambraciotes warre against the Amphiloichi. Plataea assaulted. Besieged. The Peloponnesian Fleet beaten by Phormio, before the Straight of the Gulfe of Crissa. The same Fleet repaired, and re-inforced and beaten againe by Phormio, before Naupactus. The attempt of the Peloponnesians on Salamis. The fruitlesse expedition of the Thracians against the Macedonians. This in the first 3. yeeres of the Warre.*

**D** **T**HE Warre between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians beginnieth now, from the time they had no longer commerce one with another without a Herald, and that hauing once begun it, they warred without intermission. And it is written in order by Summers and Winters, according as from time to time the seuerall matters came to passe.

**E** The Peace, which after the winning of *Enhga*, was concluded

THE FIRST YEERE  
OF THE WARRE.

M



\* Priest. sic of immo. By whose Priesthood they reckoned their yeeres.  
\* The Athenians began their yeeres about the Summer Solstice.  
Plataea repulsd by the Thebans by Treason.

\* Pericles. There were 111. of them in all, and had the absolute command of the Boeotians in their Warres, &c.

\* Soldiers. &c. &c. &c.  
The Thebans execute not the designe of the Traytors.

But offer composition.

The Plataeans accept it.

The Plataeans take heart.

concluded for thirty yeeres, lasted foureteene yeeres; but A  
in the fifteenth yeere, being the forty eighth of the Priest-  
hood of \* *Chrysis*, in *Argos*; *Aenesias* being the *Ephore* at *Sparta*,  
and *Pythadorus* *Archon* of *Athens*, hauing then \* two moneths  
of his gouernment to come, in the sixth moneth after the  
Battell at *Potidea*, and in the beginning of the Spring, three  
hundred and odde *Thebans*, led by *Pythagoras* the Sonne of  
*Philides*, and *Diemporus*, the sonne of *Oenotridas*, \* *Boeotian*  
Rulers, about the first Watch of the night, entred with  
their Armes into *Plataea*, a Citie of *Boeotia*, and Confederate  
of the *Athenians*. They were brought in, and the Gates B  
opened vnto them, by *Naucides* and his Complices, men  
of *Plataea*, that for their owne priuate ambition, intended  
both the destruction of such Citizens as were their ene-  
mies, and the putting of the whole City vnder the sub-  
iection of the *Thebans*. This they negotiated with one  
*Eurymachus*, the Sonne of *Leontidas*, one of the most po-  
tent men of *Thebes*. For the *Thebans* foreseeing the Warre,  
desired to praecipitate *Plataea*, (which was alwayes at  
variance with them) whilest there was yet Peace, and the  
Warre not openly on foot. By which meanes, they more C  
easily entred vndiscovered, there being no order taken be-  
fore for a Watch. And \* making a stand in their Armes  
in the Market place, did not (as they that gaue them en-  
trance would haue had them) fall presently to the busi-  
nesse, and enter the Houses of their Aduersaries, but re-  
solved rather to make fauourable Proclamation, and to in-  
duce the Cities to composition and friendship. And the  
Herald proclaimed, That if any man, according to the ancient  
custome of all the *Boeotians*, would enter into the same league of  
Warre with them, hee should come, and bring his Armes to D  
theirs: supposing the Citie by this meanes, would easily  
be drawne to their side. The *Plataeans*, when they perceiued  
that the *Thebans* were already entred, and had surprized the  
Citie, through feare, and opinion that more were entred  
then indeed were, (for they could not see them in the  
night) came to composition; and accepting the condi-  
tion, rested quiet; and the rather, for that they had  
yet done no man harme. But whilest that these things  
were treating, they obserued that the *Thebans* were not  
many, and thought that if they should set vpon them, E  
they might easily haue the victory. For the *Plataean* Com-  
mons

A mones were not willing to haue revolted from the *Atheni-  
ans*. Wherefore it was thought fit to vndertake the mat-  
ter; and they vnited themselues, by digging through the  
Common Wallles, betweene house and house, that they  
might not be discovered as they passed the Streets. They  
also placed Carts in the Streets (without the Cattell that  
drew them) to serue them in stead of a Wall; and euery  
other thing they put in readinesse, as they feuerally seem-  
ed necessary for the present enterprize. When all things  
according to their meanes, were ready, they marched from  
B their Houses, towards the enemies; taking their time  
whilest it was yet night, and a little before breake of day;  
because they would not haue to charge them, when they  
should bee emboldned by the light, and on equall termes,  
but when they should by night bee terrified, and inferiour  
to them in knowledge of the places of the Citie. So they  
forthwith set vpon them, and came quickly vp to hand-  
stroakes. And the *Thebans* seeing this, and finding they  
were deceived, cast themselues into a round figure, and  
beat them backe in that part where the assault was made: C  
and twice or thrice they repulsd them: But at last,  
when both the *Plataeans* themselues charged them with  
a great clamour, and their Wiues also and Families  
shouted, and screeched from the Houses, and withall  
threw stones and Tyles amongst them; the night hauing  
beene also very wet, they were afraid, and turned their  
backes, and fled heere and there about the Cittie; ig-  
norant for the most part, in the darke and durt, of the  
wayes out, by which they should haue beene saued (for  
this accident fell out vpon the change of the Moone) D  
and pursued by such as were well acquainted with the  
wayes to keepe them in; insomuch as the greatest part  
of them perished. The Gate by which they entred,  
and which onely was left open, a certaine *Plataean* shut  
vp againe, with the head of a Iaueline, which hee  
thrust into the Staple, in stead of a bolt: so that this  
way also their passage was stopped. As they were  
chafed vp and downe the City, some climbed the Wallles,  
and cast themselues out, and for the most part dyed;  
some came to a desert Gate of the City, and with a  
E Hatchet giuen them by a Woman, cut the staple, and  
got forth vnseens: but these were not many: for the  
M<sub>2</sub> thing

And vnite themselves by  
digging through the  
Common Wallles of  
their Houses.

They assault the Thebans.

The Thebans fly, but can-  
not get out.

The *Thebans* penned vp in a House, which they entred into, by mistaking the doore for the City Gate.

They yeeld to discretion

The whole power of *Thebes* come to rescue their Fellowes.

The *Thebans* seeke to intercept the *Plataeans* in the Villages.

The *Plataeans* send to the *Thebans*, to be gone, and promise to release their prisoners.

thing was soone discovered: others againe were slaine, A  
dispersed in severall parts of the Citie. But the greatest part, and those especially who had cast themselves before into a Ring, happened into a great Edifice, adioyning to the Wall, the doores whereof being open, they thought had beene the Gates of the Citie, and that there had beene a direct way through to the other side. The *Plataeans* seeing them now pend vp, consulted whether they should burne them as they were, by firing the House, or else resolve of some other punishment. At length, both these, and all the rest of the *Thebans* that were straggling in the Citie, agreed to yeeld themselves and their Armes to the *Plataeans*, at discretion. And this successe had they that entred into *Plataea*. B

But the rest of the *Thebans*, that should with their whole power haue beene there before day, for feare the surprize should not succeed with those that were in, came so late with their ayde, that they heard the newes of what was done, by the way. Now *Plataea* is from *Thebes*, 70. Furlongs, and they marched the slowlier, for the raine which had falne the same night. For the Riuer *Asopus* was swolne so high, that it was not easily passable; so that what by the foulness of the way, and what by the difficulty of passing the Riuer, they arriued not, till their men were already some slaine, and some taken prisoners. When the *Thebans* vnderstood how things had gone, they lay in waite for such of the *Plataeans* as were without: (for there were abroad in the Villages, both men, and household stufte, as was not vnlikely, the euill happening vnexpectedly, and in time of peace;) desiring, if they could take any Prisoners, to keepe them for exchange for those of theirs within, which (if any were so) were sau'd alieue. This was the *Thebans* purpose. But the *Plataeans*, whilst they were yet in Councell, suspecting that some such thing would bee done, and fearing their case without, sent a Herald vnto the *Thebans*, whom they commanded to say, That what they had already done, attempting to surprize their Citie in time of Peace, was done wickedly, and to forbid them to doe any iniury to those without, and that otherwise they would kill all those men of theirs that they had alieue; which, if they would withdraw their forces out of their Territory, they would againe restore vnto them. Thus the *Thebans* say, and that the

A the *Plataeans* did sweare it. But the *Plataeans* confesse not that they promised to deliuer them presently, but vpon treaty, if they should agree, and deny that they swore it. Vpon this the *Thebans* went out of their Territory; and the *Plataeans*, when they had speedily taken in whatsoever they had in the Countrey, immediately slew their Prisoners. They that were taken were 180. and *Eurymachus*, with whom the Traytors had practised, was one. When they had done, they sent a Messenger to *Athens*, and gaue truce to the *Thebans* to fetch away the bodies of their dead, B and ordered the City as was thought conuenient for the present occasion.

The newes of what was done, comming straightway to *Athens*, they instantly laid hands on all the *Bæotians* then in *Attica*, and sent an Officer to *Plataea*, to forbid their further proceeding with their *Theban* Prisoners, till such time as they also should haue aduised of the matter: for they were not yet aduertised of their putting to death. For the first Messenger was sent away when the *Thebans* first entred the Towne; and the second, when they were ouercome, C and taken prisoners. But of what followed after, they knew nothing. So that the *Athenians* when they sent, knew not what was done, and the Officer arriuing, found that the men were already slaine. After this, the *Athenians* sending an Armie to *Plataea*, victualled it, and left a Garrison in it, and tooke thence both the Women and Children, and also such men as were vnseruiceable for the Warre.

This action falling out at *Plataea*, & the Peace now cleerly dissolued, the *Athenians* prepared themselves for Warre; D so also did the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates; intending on either part to send Ambassadors to the \* King, and to other Barbarians, wheresoever they had hope of succours; and contracting Leagues with such Cities as were not vnder their owne command. The \* *Lacedæmonians*, besides those Gallies which they had in *Italy* and *Sicily*, of the Cities that tooke part with them there, were ordered to furnish, proportionably to the greatness of their severall Cities, so many more, as the whole number might amount to 500. Sayle, and to prouide a Summe of money E assessed, and in other things not to stirre farther, but to receiue the *Athenians*, comming but with one Gally at once,

The *Thebans* goe off, and the *Plataeans* sech in their men and goods, and kill their prisoners.

The *Athenians* lay hands on such *Bæotians* as were in *Attica*.

The *Athenians* victualled *Plataea*, and left a Garrison in it, and tooke thence both the Women and Children, and also such men as were vnseruiceable for the Warre.

The *Athenians* victualled *Plataea*, and put a Garrison into it, and take out their vnecessary people.

Preparation of both sides for the Warre.

\* of Persia.

\* The *Lacedæmonian* League, or *Lacedæmonian* party, not particularly that State.

once, till such time as the same should be ready. The Athenians on the other side, suruayed their present Confederates, and sent Ambassadors to those places that lay about Peloponnesus, as Coreyra, Cephalonia, Acarnania, and Zacynthus, knowing that as long as these were their friends, they might with the more security make Warre round about vpon the Coast of Peloponnesus.

Neither side conceiued small matters, but put their whole strength to the Warre. And not without reason. For all men in the beginnings of enterprises, are the most eager. Besides, there were then in Peloponnesus many youngmen, and many in Athens, who for want of experience, not vnwillingly vndertooke the Warre. And not onely the rest of Greece stood at gaze, to behold the two principall States in Combate, but many \* Prophecies were told, and many \* sung by the Priests of the Oracles, both in the Cities about to warre, and in others.

There was also a little before this, an Earthquake in Delos, which in the memory of the Grecians, neuer shooke before; and was interpreted for, and seemed to bee a signe of what was to come afterwards to passe. And whatsoever thing then chanced of the same nature, it was all sure to bee enquired after. But mens affections for the most part went with the Lacedaemonians; and the rather, for that they gaue out, they would recouer the Grecians liberty. And euery man, both priuate and publike person, endeououred as much as in them lay, both in word and deede to assise them; and thought the businesse so much hindred, as himself was not present at it. In such passio were most men against the Athenians; some for desire to be deliuered from vnder their gouernment, and others for feare of falling into it. And these were the preparations and affections brought vnto the Warre.

But the Confederates of either party, which they had when they began it, were these: The Lacedaemonians had all Peloponnesus within the Isthmus, except the Argiues and Achaens: (for these were in amity with both, saue that the Pelonians at first, onely of all Achaia, tooke their part; but afterwards all the rest did so likewise) and without Peloponnesus, the Megareans, Locrians, Boeotians, Phocaeans, Ambraciotes, Leucadians, and Anaetorians. Of which the Corinthians, Megareans, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Eleans, Ambraciotes, and

Prophecies and Oracles  
preceding the Warre.  
\* Argia Prophecies in Prose.  
\* Boer, Sung. For those Prophecies which the Oracles deliuered by their Priests, were in verse, and were not called *Argia*, but *Boer*.

The affections of the  
Grecians to wards the  
combatant States.

The Confederates of the  
Lacedaemonians.

A and Leucadians found Shipping. The Boeotians, Phocaeans, and Locrians, Horsemen; and the rest of the Cities, Footmen. And these were the Confederates of the Lacedaemonians. The Athenian Confederates were these: The Chians, Lesbians, Plateans, the Messenians in Naupactus, most of the Acarnanians, the Corcyreans, Zacynthians, and other Cities their Tributaries amongst those Nations. Also that part of Caria which is on the Sea Coast, and the Doreans adioyning to them, Ionia, Hellespont, the Cities bordering on Thrace, all the Ilands from Peloponnesus to Crete on the East, and all the rest of the Cyclades, except Melos and Thera. Of these the Chians, Lesbians, and Corcyreans found Gallies, the rest Footmen and money. These were their Confederates, and the preparation for the Warre on both sides.

The Lacedaemonians, after the businesse of Plataea, sent Messengers presently vp and downe Peloponnesus, and to their Confederates without, to haue in readinesse their Forces, and such things as should bee necessary for a Forraigne expedition, as intending the inuasion of Attica. And when they were all ready, they came to the Rendezvous in the Isthmus, at a day appointed, two thirds of the Forces of euery Citie. When the whole Army was gotten together, Archidamus, King of the Lacedaemonians, General of the Expedition, called together the Commanders of the seuerall Cities, and such as were in authority, and most worthy to bee present, and spake vnto them as followeth.

### THE ORATION OF ARCHIDAMVS.

D Men of Peloponnesus, and Confederates, not onely our Fathers haue had many Warres, both within and without Peloponnesus, but wee our selues also, such as are any thing in yeeres, haue beene sufficiently acquainted therewith; yet did wee neuer before set forth with so great a preparation as at this present. And now, not onely wee are a numerous and puissant Armye that inuade, but the State also is puissant, that is inuaded by vs. Wee haue reason therefore to shew our selues, neither worse then our Fathers, nor worse of the opinion conceiued of our selues. For all Greece, is vp in this Commotion, observing vs: and through their hatred to the Athenians, doe wish that we may accomplish whatsoeuer

The Confederates of the  
Athenians.

The Lacedaemonians long  
meete in the Isthmus,  
inuaide Attica.

The Oration of Archidamus  
in the Councell of  
Warre, in the Army of  
the League.

whatsoever we intend. And therefore though we seeme to invade them with a great Army, and to haue much assurance, that they will not come out against vs, to battell, yet we ought not for this, to march the lesse carefully prepared, but of euery City, as well the Capitaine, as the Souldier, to expect alwayes some danger or other, in that part wherein hee himselfe is placed. For the accidents of Warre are vncertaine; and for the most part the Onset begins from the lesser number, and vpon passion. And oftentimes the lesser number, being afraid, hath beaten backe the greater with the more ease, for that through contempt they haue gone vnprepared. And in the Land of an Enemy, though the Souldiers ought alwaies to haue bold hearts, yet for action, they ought to make their preparations, as if they were afraid. For that will giue them both more courage to goe vpon the enemy, and more safety in fighting with him. But wee invade not now a Citie that cannot defend it selfe, but a City euery way well appointed. So that wee must by all meanes expect to be fought withall, though not now, because we be not yet there, yet hereafter, when they shall see vs in their Countrey, wasting and destroying their possessions: For all men, when in their owne fight, and on a sudden, they receiue any extraordinary hurt, fall presently into choler; and the lesse they consider, with the more stomach they assault. And this is likely to hold in the Athenians somewhat more then in others; for they thinke themselves worthy to haue the command of others, and to invade and waste the territory of their neighbours, rather then to see their neighbours waste theirs. Wherefore, as being to Warre against a great Citie, and to procure, both to your Ancestours and your selues, a great fame, eyther good or bad, as shall bee the event; follow your Leaders in such sort, as about all things you esteeme of order and watchfulnesse. For there is nothing in the world more comely, nor more safe, then when many men are seene to obserue one and the same order.

Archidamus hauing thus spoken, and dismissed the Councell, first sent Melesippus, the Sonne of Diacritus, a man of Sparta, to Athens, to try if the Athenians, seeing them now on their iourney, would yet in some degree remit of their obstinacy. But the Athenians neither receiued him into their Citie, nor presented him to the State: for the opinion of Pericles had already taken place, not to receiue from the Lacedaemonians neither Herald nor Ambassadour, as long as their Armie was abroad. Therefore they sent him backe without audience, with commandment to be out of their

Archidamus sends before him an Ambassadour to the Athenians.

And tries all other meanes to right his Country, before Warre.

A their borders the selfe-same day; and that hereafter if they would any thing with them, they should returne euery one to his home, and send their Ambassadours from thence. They sent with him also certaine persons, to conuoy him out of the Countrey, to the end that no man should conferre with him: who when hee came to the limits, and was to bee dismissed, vttered these words: *This day is the beginning of much euill vnto the Grecians*: and so departed.

When hee returned to the Campe, Archidamus perceiving that they would not relent, dislodged, and marched on with his Armie into their Territory. The Boeotians with their appointed part, and with Horsemen, ayded the Peloponnesians; but with the rest of their Forces, went and wasted the Territorie of Plataea.

Whilest the Peloponnesians were comming together in the Isthmus, and when they were on their March, before they brake into Attica, Pericles the sonne of Xanthippus, (who with nine others was Generall of the Athenians) when he saw they were about to breake in, suspecting that Archidamus, either of priuate courtesie, or by command of the Lacedaemonians, to bring him into ieaousie (as they had before for his sake commanded the excommunication) might oftentimes leaue his Lands vntouched, told the Athenians before-hand in an Assembly, That though Archidamus had bene his guest, it was for no ill to the State, and howsoever, if the Enemy did not waste his Lands and Houses, as well as the rest, that then hee gaue them to the Common-wealth. And therefore desired That for this hee might not bee suspected. Also hee aduised them concerning the businesse in hand, the same things hee had done before, That they should make preparation for the Warre, and receiue their goods into the City; that they should not goe out to Battell, but come into the City, and guard it. That they should also furnish out their Navy, wherein consisted their power, and hold a carefull hand ouer their Confederates, telling them, how that in the money that came from these, lay their strength, and that the Victory in Warre consisted wholly in Counsell, and store of money. Further, hee bade them bee confident, in that there was yeerely comming in to the State, from the Confederates, for Tribute, besides other reuennue \* 600. Talents, and remaining yet then in the Citadell \* 6000. Talents of siluer coine. (for the greatest summe there had bene, was \* 10000. Talents, wanting 300. but of which

The Ambassadours from Archidamus conveyed backe without Conference.

Archidamus marcheth forward.

Pericles imagining Archidamus might spare his grounds, promisseth, if he did, to giue them to the State.

The speech of Pericles to the Assembly at Athens, touching the meanes of the Warre, &c.

The Treasure of the people of Athens.

\* 600. Talents, of our money about 112500. pounds.  
\* 6000 Talents, of our money about 1125000. pounds.  
\* 9700. Talents, 1818750. pounds sterling.

which was taken that which had beene expended vpon A the Gate-houses of the Cittadell, and vpon other buildings, and for the charges of Potidea.) Besides the unconyoned gold and siluer of priuate and publike Offerings; and all the dedicated Vessels, belonging to the Shewes and Games, and the spoiles of the Persian, and other things of that nature, which amounted to no lesse then \* 500. Talents. Hee added further, that much money might bee had out of other Temples without the Citie, which they might vse; And if they were barred the vse of all these, they might yet vse the ornaments of gold about the \* Goddesse herselfe; and said, that the Image had about it, the weight of \* 40. Talents of most pure Gold, and B which might all bee taken off; but hauing made vse of it for their safety, hee said, they were to make restitution of the like quantity againe. Thus hee encouraged them, touching matter of money. Men of Armes he said they had 13000. besides the 16000. that were employed for the guard of the Citie, and vpon the Walles, (for so many at the first kept watch at the comming in of the Enemy, young and old together, and Strangers that dwelt amongst them, as many as could beare Armes.) For the length of the Phalerian Wall, to that part of the circumference of the Wall of the City where it ioyned, was C 35. Furlongs; and that part of the circumference which was guarded (for some of it was not kept with a Watch, namely the part betweene the Long Walles and the Phalerian) was 43. Furlongs: and the length of the Long-Walles downe to Pireus, (of which there was a Watch onely on the outmost) was 40. Furlongs: and the whole compasse of Pireus, together with Munychia, was 60. Furlongs, (whereof that part that was watched, was but halfe.) He said further, they had of Horsemen, accounting Archers on horse-backe, 1200, and 1600. Archers, and of Gallies fit for the Sea, D 300. All this and no lesse had the Athenians, when the invasion of the Peloponnesians was first in hand, and when the warre beganne. These and other words spake Pericles, as hee vsed to doe, for demonstration, that they were likely to outlast this Warre.

When the Athenians had heard him, they approued of his words, and fetcht into the Citie their Wiues and Children, and the furniture of their houses, pulling downe the very Timber of the houses themselues. Their sheepe and Oxen they sent ouer into Eubœa, and into the Ilands ouer E against them. Neuerthelesse this remouall, in respect they

\* 500. Talents. 93750. pound.

\* Minerva.

\* The weight of 40. Talents in gold, at 24. pound the ounce, comes to 9600. pound.

The length of the wall to which the Watchmen were appointed.

Their Gallies.

The Athenians fetch in their Wiues and Children and substance into the Citie.

A they had most of them beene accustomed to the Countrey life, grieved them very much.

This custome was from great antiquity, more familiar with the Athenians, then any other of the rest of Greece. For in the time of Cecrops, and the first Kings, downe to Theseus, the Inhabitants of Attica had their seuerall \* Bourghes, and therein their \* Common-Halles, and their Gouvernours; and vnlesse they were in feare of some danger, went not together to the King for aduice, but euery City administred their owne affaires, and deliberated by themselues. And B some of them had also their particular Warres, as the Eleusinians, who ioyned with Eumolpus against \* Eretheus. But

after Theseus came to the Kingdome, one who besides his wisdom, was also a man of very great power; hee not onely set good order in the Countrey in other respects, but also dissolued the Councils and Magistracies of the rest of the Townes; and assigning them all one Hall, and one Councell-house, brought them all to cohabite in the Citie that now is; and constrained them, enioying their owne as before, to \* vse this one for their Citie, which (now, C when they all paid their duties to it) grew great, and was by Theseus so deliuered to posterity. And from that time to this day, the Athenians keepe a holiday at the publike charge to the \* Goddesse, and call it \* Synœcia. That which is now the Cittadell, and the part which is to the South of the Cittadell, was before this time the Citie. An argument whereof is this, That the Temples of the Gods are all set either in the Cittadell it selfe; or, if without, yet in that quarter. As, that of Iupiter Olympius, and of Apollo Pythius, and of Tellus, and of Bacchus in Lymnae, (in honour of D whom, the old \* Bacchanals were celebrated on the twelfth day of the moneth of \* Anthesterion, according as the Ionians, who are deriued from Athens, doe still obserue them) besides other ancient Temples situate in the same part. Moreouer, they serued themselues with water for the best vses, of the Fountaine, which, now the Nine-pipes, built so by the Tyrants, was formerly, when the Springs were open, called Callirœe, and was neere. And from the old custome, before Marriages, and other holy Rites, they ordaine the vse of the same water to this day. And the E Cittadell, from the ancient habitation of it, is also by the Athenians still called the Citie.

The Athenians were accustomed to live in the Countrey.

\* Synœcia.

\* Synœcia. Child-Holles, pla es where they that administered the State did meete: were also, for humours cause and seruice, were a limited dyet, and wherein Vestia was worshipped, and a light continually burning, so that some thence deriue the name, making Synœcia quasi nuptias nuptiarum.

\* King of the Athenians. Theseus first brought the inhabitants of Attica to make Athens their capital Citie.

\* Not that they must needs dwell in it, but make it the seat of the government, and pay their duties to it. This could the Citie to grow both populous and potent, because now the whole Nation united into one Citie, made use of the Sea, which deuided they could not haue done.

\* Minerva.

\* Cohabitation. Synœcia. The Athenians were accustomed to live in the Countrey.

\* There were in Athens 3. Bacchanals; whereof that of Bacchus in Lymnae (that is, in the Marshes) was principally; another were the Rural Bacchanals, and the third the City Bacchanals.

\* This Moneth fell about our January, and was the second of their Winter quarter.



The Athenians remoued out of the Boeogh into the Citie, vnder the City.

\* Athens, Chappels, Houfes, &c.

Athenians thronged with the remaining in of the Country.

\* Men, should be taken care of, & the Mortality, & the excess of the City, & the many digress in Magnanimity.

\* Eleusium, a Temple in Athens, & the most religious.

\* Pelasgicum, a place by the City, where the Pelasgians were settled themselves, & the Athenians, & the cause there was a dispute, & the habitation of it. Paul in Attica.

An old Prophecy against dwelling in the Pelasgic.

The Athenians make ready 100. Gallies to send about Peloponnesus.

The Peloponnesians Armie assault Oenoe, a frontier Towne of Attica, in vain.

The Athenians therefore had liued a long time, gouerned A by Lawes of their owne in the Country Townes; and after they were brought into one, were neuertheless both for the custome which most had, as well of the ancient time, as since, till the Persian Warre, to liue in the Country with their whole families; and also especially; for that since the Persian Warre, they had already repayed their Houses and furniture) vnwilling to remoue. It pressed them likewise, and was heauily taken, besides their Houses, to leaue the \* things that pertained to their Religion, (which, since their old forme of gouernment, were become patriall,) and to change their manner of life, and to bee no better then banished euery man his Citie. After they came into Athens, there was habitation for a few, and place of retire, with some friends or kindred. But the greatest part seated themselues in the empty places of the City, and in Temples, and in all the Chappells of the <sup>b</sup> Hercees, (sauiug in such as were in the Cittadell, and the <sup>c</sup> Eleusium, and other places strongly shut vp.) The <sup>d</sup> Pelasgicum also, vnder the Cittadell, though it were a thing accursed to dwell in it, and forbidden by the end of a verse <sup>C</sup> in a Pythian Oracle, in these words, — Best is the Pelasgicon empty, was neuertheless for the present necessity inhabited. And in my opinion, this Prophecie now fell out contrary to what was lookt for. For the vnlawfull dwelling there, caused not the calamities that befell the Citie, but the Warre caused the necessity of dwelling there: which Warre the Oracle not naming, foretold onely, that it should one day bee inhabited vnfortunatly. Many also furnished the Turrets of the Walles, and whatsoever other place they could any of them get. For when they <sup>D</sup> were come in, the Citie had not place for them all: But afterwards they had the Long-Walles diuided amongst them, and inhabited there, and in most parts of Piræus. Withall they applyed themselues to the businesse of the Warre, leuying their Confederates, and making ready a hundred Gallies to send about Peloponnesus. Thus were the Athenians preparing.

The Armie of the Peloponnesians marching forward, came first to Oenoe, a Towne of Attica, the place where they intended to breake in; and encamping before it, prepared with Engines, and by other meanes, to assault the <sup>E</sup> Wall.

A Wall. For Oenoe lying on the Confines betweene Attica and Boeotia, was walled about, and the Athenians kept a Garrison in it for defence of the Country, when at any time there should bee Warre. For which cause they made preparation for the assault of it, and also spent much time about it otherwise.

And Archidamus for this was not a little taxed, as thought to haue bin both slow in gathering together the forces for the Warre, and also to haue fauoured the Athenians, in that he encouraged not the Army to a forwardnesse in it. And <sup>B</sup> afterwards likewise, his stay in the Isthmus, and his slownesse in the whole iourney, was laid to his charge, but especially his delay at Oenoe. For in this time the Athenians retired into the Citie: whereas it was thought, that the Peloponnesians marching speedily, might but for his delay, haue taken them all without. So passionate was the Armie of Archidamus, for his stay before Oenoe. But expecting that the Athenians, whilst their Territory was yet vnhurt, would relent, and not endure to see it wasted, for that cause (as it is reported) hee held his hand. But after, when they had assaulted Oenoe, and tryed all meanes, but could not take it, and seeing the Athenians sent no Herald to them, then at length arising from thence, about 80. dayes after that which happened to the Thebans that entred Plataea, the Summer, and Come being now at the highest, they fell into Attica; led by Archidamus, the Sonne of Zeuxidamus, King of the Lacedaemonians. And when they had pitched their Campe, they fell to wasting of the Country, first about Eleusis, and then in the plaine of Thriasia; and put to flight a few Athenian Horlemen, at the Brookes called <sup>C</sup> Rheiti. After this, leauing the Egaleon on the right hand, they passed through Cecropia, till they came vnto Acharnas, which is the greatest towne in all Attica, of those that are called \* Demoi; and pitching there, both fortified their Campe, and staid a great while wasting the Country thereabout.

Archidamus was said to haue staid so long at Acharnas, with his Armie in Battell array, and not to haue come downe all the time of his invasion, into the Champaigne, with this intention: Hee hoped that the Athenians flourishing in number of young men, and better furnished for Warre, then euer they were before, would perhaps haue come

Archidamus taxed of backwardnesse, and fauour to the Athenians.

Archidamus with his Army cutteth into Attica.

And comes to Acharnas, and stayes there long, cutting downe their Come and Trees.

The Designe of Archidamus in staying so long at Acharnas.



come forth against him, and not endured to see their fields A cut downe and wasted; and therefore seeing they met him not in *Thriasia*, hee thought good to try if they would come out against him lying now at *Acharnas*. Besides, the place seemed vnto him commodious for the Army to lye in; and it was thought also that the *Acharnans* being a great piece of the Citie (for they were 3000. men of Armes) would not haue suffered the spoiling of their Lands, but rather haue vrged all the rest to goe out and fight. And if they came not out against him at this inuasion, they might hereafter more boldly, both waste the B Champaign Countrey, and come downe euen to the Walles of the Citie. For the *Acharnans*, after they should haue lost their owne, would not bee so forward to hazard themselves for the goods of other men: But there would bee thoughts of Sedition in one towards another in the Citie. These were the cogitations of *Archidamus*, whilest he lay at *Acharnas*.

The *Athenians*, as long as the Armie of the Enemie lay about *Eleufis*, and the Fields of *Thrius*, and as long as they had any hope it would come on no further, (remembring C that also *Plistoanax* the sonne of *Pausanias*, King of *Lacedaemon*, when 14. yeeres before this Warre, hee entred *Attica* with an Armie of the *Peloponnesians*, as farre as *Eleufis*, and *Thriasia*, retired againe, and came no further; for which hee was also banished *Sparta*, as thought to haue gone backe for money) they stirred not. But when they saw the Army now at *Acharnas*, but 60. Furlongs from the Citie, then they thought it no longer to bee endured; and when their Fields were wasted (as it was likely) in their fight, (which the yonger sort had neuer scene before, nor D the elder, but in the *Persian* Warre) it was taken for a horrible matter; and thought fit, by all, especially by the youth, to goe out, and not to endure it any longer. And holding Councils apart one from another, they were at much contention, some to make a sally, and some to hinder it. And the Priests of the Oracles, giuing out Prophecies of all kindes, euery one made the interpretation according to the sway of his owne affection. But the *Acharnans* conceiuing themselves to bee no small part of the *Athenians*, were they that whilest their owne Lands were wasting, E most of all vrged their going out. Infomuch as the Citie was

The *Athenians* hardly containe themselves from going out to fight.

A was euery way in tumult, and in choler against *Pericles*, remembring nothing of what hee had formerly admonished them; but reuiled him, for that being their Generall, hee refused to leade them into the Field, and imputing vnto him the cause of all their euill: but *Pericles* seeing them in passion for their present losse, and ill aduised, and being confident hee was in the right touching not sallying, assembled them not, nor called any Councell, for feare lest being together, they might vpon passion rather then iudgement commit some error: But looked to the guarding of the Citie, and as much as hee could, to keepe it in quiet. Neuerthelesse he continually sent out Horse-men, to keepe the Scowts of the Armie from entring vpon, and doing hurt to the Fields neere the Citie. And there happened at *Phrygi* a small Skirmish, between one troope of Horse of the *Athenians* (with whom were also the *Thessalians*) and the Horsemen of the *Baotians*; wherein the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* had not the worfe, till such time as the *Baotians* were ayded by the comming in of their men of Armes, and then they were put to flight, and a few of C the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* slaine; whose bodies notwithstanding they fetcht off the same day, without leaue of the Enemie: and the *Peloponnesians* the next day erected a Trophie. This ayde of the *Thessalians* was vpon an ancient League with the *Athenians*, and consisted of *Larissians*, *Pharalians*, *Parasians*, *Cranonians*, *Peirasians*, *Gyrtonians*, *Pheraans*. The Leaders of the *Larissians*, were *Polymedes* and *Aristonius*, men of contrary factions in their Citie. Of the *Pharalians*, *Meno*. And of the rest, out of the seuerall Cities, seuerall Commanders.

D The *Peloponnesians* seeing the *Athenians* would not come out to fight, dislodging from *Acharnas*, wasted certaine other Villages, betwene the Hills *Parnethus*, and *Brelissus*. Whilest these were in *Attica*, the *Athenians* sent the hundred Gallies which they had prouided, and in them 1000. men of Armes, and 400. Archers, about *Peloponnesus*; the Commanders whereof were *Charcinus*, the sonne of *Xenotimus*; *Proteus*, the sonne of *Epicles*; and *Socrates*, the sonne of *Antigenes*: who thus furnished, weighed Anchor, and went their way.

E The *Peloponnesians*, when they had staid in *Attica* as long as their prouision lasted, went home through *Baotia*, not the

A Skirmish betwene the *Athenians* and *Baotian* Horse.

*Archidamus* remoues from *Acharnas*.

The *Athenians* send 100. Gallies to infect the Sea-Coast of *Peloponnesus*.

The *Peloponnesians* goe home.

the way they came in; but passing by *Oropus*, wasted the A Country (called *Peiraice* which is of the tillage of the *Oropians*, Subiects to the People of *Athens*; and when they were come backe into *Peloponnesus*, they disbanded, and went euery man to his owne Citie.

When they were gone, the *Athenians* ordained Watches both by Sea and Land, such as were to continue to the end of the Warre. And made a Decree, to take out a thousand Talents of the money in the Cittadell, and set it by, so as it might not bee spent, but the charges of the Warre bee borne out of other monies; and made it capitall for any B man to moue, or giue his vote for the stirring of this money, for any other vse, but onely (if the Enemy should come with an Armie by Sea to inuade the Citie) for necessity of that defence. Together with this money, they likewise set apart 100. Gallies, and those to be euery yeere the best; and Captaines to be appointed ouer them, which were to bee employed for no other vse then the money was, and for the same danger, if need should require.

The *Athenians* that were with the 100. Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, and with them the *Corcyreans* with the ayde C of 50. Sayle more, and certaine others of the Confederates thereabout, amongst other places which they infested in their course, landed at *Methone*, a Towne of *Laconia*, and assaulted it, as being but weake, and few men within. But it chanced that *Brasidas*, the sonne of *Tellus*, a *Spartan*, had a Garrison in those parts, and hearing of it, succoured those of the Towne with 100. men of Armes: wherewith running through the *Athenian* Army, disperfed in the Fields, directly towards the Towne, hee put himselfe into *Methone*; and with the losse of few of his men in the passage, D hee saued the place, and for this aduventure, was the first that was praised at *Sparta*, in this Warre. The *Athenians* putting off from thence, sailed along the Coast, and put in at *Pheia*, of *Elis*, where they spent two dayes in wasting the Countrey, and in a Skirmish ouerthrew 300. choice men of the lower *Elis*, together with other *Eleans* thereabouts, that came forth to defend it. But the Wind arising, and their Gallies being tossed by the weather, in a harbourlesse place, the most of them imbarqued, and sayled about the Promontory called *Ichthys*, into the Hauen E of *Pheia*. But the *Messenians* and certaine others that could

The *Athenians* set by 1000 Talents and 100. Gallies, for defence against an inuasion by Sea.

The *Athenians* assault *Methone*.

*Brasidas* defendeth it.

They take *Pheia*, a Towne of *Elis*.

not

A not get aboard, went by Land to the Towne of *Pheia*, and rifled it: and when they had done, the Gallies that now were come about tooke them in, and leauing *Pheia*, put forth to Sea againe: by which time a great Army of *Eleans* was come to succour it; but the *Athenians* were now gone away, and wasting some other Territory.

About the same time the *Athenians* sent likewise thirty Gallies about \* *Locris*, which were to serue also for a Watch about *Eubœa*. Of these, *Cleopompus* the sonne of *Clinias* had the conduct, and landing his Souldiers in diuers B parts, both wasted some places of the Sea-coast, and won the Towne of *Thronium*, of which hee tooke Hostages; and ouercame in fight at *Alope*, the *Locrians* that came out to ayde it.

The same Summer, the *Athenians* put the *Ægineta*, man, woman, and childe, out of *Ægina*, laying to their charge, that they were the principall cause of the present Warre. And it was also thought the safer course to hold *Ægina*, being adjacent to *Peloponnesus*, with a Colonie of their own people; and not long after they sent Inhabitants into the C same. When the *Ægineta* were thus banished, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue them *Thyrea* to dwell in, and the occupation of the Lands belonging vnto it, to liue on; both vpon hatred to the *Athenians*, and for the benefits receiued at the hands of the *Ægineta*, in the time of the Earthquake, and insurrection of their *Helotes*. This Territory of *Thyrea*, is in the border betweene *Argolica* and *Laconica*, and reacheth to the Sea side. So some of them were placed there, and the rest disperfed into other parts of *Greece*.

Also the same Summer, \* on the first day of the Month, according to the Moone, (at which time it seemes onely possible) in the afternoone, happened an Eclipse of the Sunne; the which after it had appeared in the forme of a crescent, and withall some Starres had been discerned, came afterwards againe to the former brightnesse.

The same Summer also the *Athenians* made *Nymphodorus* the sonne of *Pythos*, of the Citie of *Abdera*, (whose Sister was married to *Sitalces*, and that was of great power with him) their \* Host, though before they tooke him for an Enemy, and sent for him to *Athens*, hoping by his meanes E to bring *Sitalces* the sonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, into their League. This *Teres*, the Father of *Sitalces*, was the

\* That *Locris* is the same which is called *Locri Epizephiri*, and is situated in the Locri Oionian.

The inhabitants of *Ægina* removed by the *Athenians*.

And receiued by the *Peloponnesians*.

Eclipse of the Sunne and Starres discerned. \* *Pythos* is the sonne of *Pythos*, the first day of the month, according to the Moone, is distinguished by the name of *Pythos*, though their names are the same, yet was it not so exactly at the time of the change of the first day.

The *Athenians* seek the fauour of *Sitalces* King of *Thrace*, and *Penthes*, King of *Macedonia*.

\* That is, the man at whose house, and by whom any publick possession is to be entertained, that came from *Athens* to *Abdera*.

\* See the Tables of Teres  
and Procne in Ovids  
Metam.

\* King of Macedon.

Sadocus the Sonne of Si-  
talces, King of Thrace,  
made a Citizen of Athens.  
\* The Name about Potidea.

The Athenians take Solium  
and the Palireses, and the Ile  
of Cephalonia.

The Athenians invade Me-  
gara.

first that advanced the Kingdome of the *Odrysians*, about A  
the power of the rest of *Thrace*. For much of *Thrace* con-  
sisteth of free States; And \* *Tereus* that tooke to wife  
(out of *Athens*) *Procne* the Daughter of *Pandion*, was no  
kinne to this *Tereus*, nor of the same part of *Thrace*. But  
that *Tereus* was of the Citie of *Daulia*, in the Countrey now  
called *Phocis*, then inhabited by the *Thracians*. (And the  
fact of the Women concerning *Irys* was done there; and  
by the Poets, where they mention the Nightingall, that  
Bird is also called *Daulias*. And it is more likely that *Pan-*  
*dion* matched his Daughter with this man for vicinity, and B  
mutuall succour, then with the other, that was so many  
dayes iourney off, as to *Odrysia*.) And *Tereus*, which is al-  
so another name, was the first that seized on the King-  
dome of *Odrysia*. Now *Sitalces*, this mans sonne, the *Athe-*  
*nians* got into their League, that they might haue the  
Townes lying on *Thrace*, and \* *Perdiccas* to bee of their  
party. *Nymphodorus*, when hee came to *Athens*, made this  
League betweene them and *Sitalces*, and caused *Sadocus*,  
the sonne of *Sitalces*, to bee made free of *Athens*, and also C  
perswade *Sitalces* to send vnto the *Athenians*, a *Thracian* Ar-  
mie of Horsemen and Targettiers. Hee likewise reconcil-  
ed *Perdiccas* to the *Athenians*, and procured of him the re-  
stitution of *Therme*. And *Perdiccas* presently ayded the *A-*  
*thenians* and *Phormio*, in the Warre against the *Chalcideans*.  
Thus were *Sitalces*, the sonne of *Tereus*, King of *Thrace*, and  
*Perdiccas* the sonne of *Alexander*, King of *Macedonia*, made  
Confederates with the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* being yet with their hundred Gallies a-  
bout *Peloponnesus*, tooke *Solium*, a Towne that belonged to D  
the *Corinthians*, and put the *Palireses* onely of all the *Acar-*  
*nani*ns, into the possession both of the Towne and Terri-  
torie. Hauing also by force taken *Astacus*, from the Ty-  
rant *Euarchus*, they draue him thence, and ioyned the place  
to their League. From thence they sayled to *Cephalonia*,  
and subdued it without battell. This *Cephalonia* is an I-  
land lying ouer against *Acarmania*, and *Leucas*, and hath in  
it these foure Cities, the *Pallenses*, *Cranij*, *Samei*, and *Pronai*.  
And not long after returned with the Fleet to *Athens*.

About the end of the Autumne of this Summer, the E  
*Athenians*, both themselves, and the Strangers that dwelt  
amongst

A amongst them, with the whole power of the Citie, vnder  
the conduct of *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanthippus*, inuaded the  
Territory of *Megara*. And those *Athenians* likewise that  
had bene with the hundred Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, in  
their returne (being now at *Agina*) hearing that the whole  
power of the Citie was gone into \* *Megara*, went and ioyn-  
ed with them. And this was the greatest Armie that e-  
uer the *Athenians* had together in one place before; the  
Citie being now in her strength, and the Plague not yet a-  
mongst them; (For the *Athenians* of themselves were no  
lesse then 10000. men of Armes, besides the 3000. at *Po-*  
*tidea*) and the Strangers that dwelt amongst them, and ac-  
companyed them in this inuasion, were no fewer then  
3000. men of Armes more, besides other great numbers  
of light-armed Souldiers. And when they had wasted the  
greatest part of the Countrey, they went backe to *Athens*.  
And afterwards, yeere after yeere, during this Warre, the  
*Athenians* often inuaded *Megara*, sometimes with their  
Horsemen, and sometimes with their whole Armie, vntill  
such time as they had wonne \* *Nisaea*.

C Also in the end of this Summer, they fortified *Atalante*,  
an Iland lying vpon the *Locrians* of *Opus*, desolate till then,  
for a Garrison against Theeues, which passing ouer from  
*Opus*, and other parts of *Locris*, might annoy *Eubaea*. These  
were the things done this Summer, after the retreat of the  
*Peloponnesians* out of *Attica*.

The Winter following, *Euarchus* of *Acarmania*, desirous  
to returne to *Astacus*, preuaileth with the *Corinthians*,  
to goe thither with 40. Gallies, and 1500. men of Armes,  
to re-establish him; to which he hired also certaine other  
D Mercenaries for the same purpose. The Commanders of  
this Armie were *Euphamidas* the sonne of *Aristonymus*, *Ti-*  
*moxenes* the sonne of *Timocrates*, and *Eumachus* the sonne of  
*Chrysis*. When they had re-established him, they ende-  
uoured to draw to their party some other places on the  
the Sea-Coast of *Acarmania*, but missing their purpose, they  
set sayle homeward. As they passed by the Coast of *Ce-*  
*phalonia*, they disbarqued in the Territory of the *Cranij*,  
where, vnder colour of Composition, they were deceiued,  
and lost some part of their Forces. For the assault made  
E vpon them by the *Cranij*, being vnexpected, they got off,  
with much adoe, and went home.

\* The Territory of Megara.  
The Athenians greatest  
Armie.

The Athenians drew once  
a yeere inuade Megara.

\* The Assault of Megara.

The end of the first  
Summer.

*Euarchus* the Tyrant re-  
couereth *Astacus*.

The manner of the *disposal*, in laying the bones of the first slain in the Warres.

The manner was when a man died, to be interred, and the Buriall after was only of the bones, or the powder of the bones.

Offerings, Incense, and musicke.

To his owne friends slain.

The Ceramium.

The first slain in the Warre.

The first slain in the Warre is understood either the first enemy slain in the Warre, or the first slain of his owne side.

The first slain in the Warre.

The first slain in the Warre.

The first slain in the Warre.

The same Winter the Athenians, according to their ancient custome, solemnized a publike Funerall of the first slaine in this Warre, in this manner: Having set vp a Tent, they put into it the \* bones of the dead, three dayes before the Funerall, and euery one bringeth \* whatsoeuer he thinks good to his \* owne. When the day comes of carrying them to their buriall, certaine Cypressse Coffins are carried along in Carts, for euery Tribe one, in which are the bones of the men of euery Tribe by themselves. There is likewise borne an empty Hearse couered ouer, for such as appeare not, nor were found amongst the rest B when they were taken vp. The Funerall is accompanied by any that will, whether Citizen or Stranger; and the Women of their Kindred are also by at the buriall, lamenting and mourning. Then they put them into a publike Monument, which standeth in the fairest \* Suburbs of the Citie, (in which place they haue euer interred all that dyed in the Warres, except those that were slaine in the Fields of Marathon; who, because their vertue was thought extraordinary, were therefore buried there-right) and when the earth is throwne ouer them, some one, thought to exceede the rest in wisdom and dignity, chosen by the Citie, maketh an Oration, wherein hee giueth them such praises as are fit: which done, the Companie depart: And this is the forme of that Buriall; and for the \* whole time of the Warre, whensoever there was occasion, they obserued the same. For these first, the man chosen to make the Oration, was Pericles, the sonne of Xanthippus, who when the time serued, going out of the place of buriall into a high Pulpit, to be heard the further off by the multitude D about him, spake vnto them in this manner:

### THE FUNERALL ORATION made by PERICLES.

Though most that haue spoken formerly in this place, haue commended the man that added this Oration to the Law, as honourable for those that dye in the Warres; yet to mee it seemeth sufficient, that they who haue shewed their valour by action, should also by an action haue their honour, as now you see they haue, in this their sepulture performed by the State; and not to haue the vertue of many E

A many hazarded on one, to be beleeued as that one shall make a good or bad Oration. For, to speake of men in a iust measure, is a hard matter: and though one do so yet he shall hardly get the truth firmly beleued. the fauourable hearer, and hee that knowes what was done, will perhaps thinke what is spoken, short of what hee would haue it; and what it was; and hee that is ignorant, will finde somewhat on the other side, which hee will thinke too much extolled; especially if hee heare ought about the pitch of his owne nature. For to heare another man praised, findes patience so long onely, as each man shall thinke he could himselfe haue done somewhat of that hee heares. And if one exceed in their praises, the hearer presently through enuie thinks it false. B But since our Ancestors haue so thought good, I also, following the same ordinance, must endeuour to bee answerable to the desires and opinions of euery one of you, as farre forth as I can. I will beginne at our Ancestours, being a thing both iust and honest, that to them first bee giuen the honour of remembrance in this kinde: For they hauing beene alwayes the inhabitants of this Region, by their valour haue deliuered the same to succession of posterity, hitherto, in the state of liberty: For which they deserue commendation; but our Fathers deserue yet more; for that besides what descended on them, not C without great labour of their owne, they haue purchased this our present Dominion, and deliuered the same ouer to vs that now are. Which in a great part also, wee our selues, that are yet in the strength of our age here present, haue enlarged; and so furnished the Citie with euery thing, both for peace and warre, as it is now all sufficient in it selfe. The actions of Warre, whereby all this was attained, and the deedes of Armes, both of our selues and our Fathers, in valiant opposition to the Barbarians, or Grecians, in their Warres against vs, an ought you that are well acquainted with the summe, to aside prolixity, I will passe ouer. But by what institutions wee arrived at this, by what D forme of government, and by what meanes we haue aduanced the State to this greatnesse, when I shall haue laide open this, I will then descend to these mens praises. For I thinke they are things both fit for the purpose in hand, and profitable to the whole company, both of Citizens and Strangers, to heare related. Wee haue a forme of government, not fetched by imitation from the Lawes of our neighbouring States, (nay, wee are rather a patterne to others, then they to vs) which, because in the administration, it hath respect, not to a few, but to the multitude, is called a Democraticke. Wherein though there be an equality amongst all men in point of Law, for their priuate controuersies; yet in conferring of dignities, one man is preferred before E another to publike charge, and that according to the reputation, not of

Government of the Athenians not only in the Warre, but in the peace.

Democraticke was it.

\* *part*, and part. But here he means a part or family in the Common wealth. Coping secretly at the Lacedæmonians, that had none came to the supreme Office, but the Hæraclides.

\* *He glanceth againe at the Lacedæmonians, because they ever looked severely on soft and loose behaviour.*

The Athenians had Sacrifices and Games, publique or priuate, for every day of the yeere.

\* *This is spoken with enuie towards the Lacedæmonians that prohibited Strangers to dwell amongst them.*

of his \* House, but of his Vertue, and is not put backe through pauer- A  
tic, for the obscurity of his person, as long as hee can doe good seruice  
to the Common wealth. And we line not onely free in the administra-  
tion of the State, but also one with another, voyd of ielousie, touching  
each others daily course of life; not offended at any man for following  
his owne humour, nor casting on any man \* censorious looks, which  
though they be no punishment, yet they griene. So that conuersing  
one with another for the priuate without offence, wee stand chiefly in  
feare to transgresse against the publique; and are obedient alwayes to  
those that gouerne, and to the Lawes, and principally to such Lawes as  
are written for protection against iniurie, and such unwritten, as B  
bring vnderiable shame to the transgressours. Wee haue also found  
out many wayes to giue our mindes recreation from labour, by publike  
institution of Games and Sacrifices for all the dayes of the yeere, with  
a decent pompe and furniture of the same by priuate men; by the daily  
delight whereof, wee expell sadnesse. Wee haue this further, by the  
greatnesse of our City, that all things, from all parts of the Earth are  
imported hither; whereby we no lesse familiarly enioy the commodities  
of all other Nations, then our owne. Then in the studies of Warre,  
wee excell our Enemies in this: wee leaue our Citie open to all men,  
nor was it euer seene, that by \* banishing of strangers, we denied them C  
the learning or sight of any of those things, which if not hidden, an E-  
nemie might reape aduantage by, not relying on secret preparation and  
deceit, but vpon our owne courage in the action. They in their dis-  
cipline hunt after valour, presently from their youth, with laborious  
exercise, and yet wee that line remissely, vnder take as great dangers  
as they. For example, the Lacedæmonians inuade not our domi-  
nion by themselves alone, but with the ayde of all the rest. But when  
wee inuade our neighbours, though wee fight in hostile ground, a-  
gainst such as in their owne ground, fight in defence of their  
owne substance, yet for the most part wee get the victorie. D  
Newer Enemie yet fell into the hands of our whole Forces at  
once, both because wee apply our selues much to Nauigation, and  
by Land also send many of our men into diuers Countries abroad. But  
when fighting with a part of it, they chance to get the better, they boast  
they haue beaten the whole; and when they get the worse, they say  
they are beaten by the whole. And yet when from ease, rather then  
studious labour, and vpon naturall, rather then doctrinall valour, wee  
come to vnder take any danger, wee haue this oddes by it, that we shall  
not faint before-hand with the meditation of future trouble, and in  
the action wee shall appeare no lesse confident then they that are euer E  
toying, procuring admiration to our Citie, as well in this, as in  
diuers

A diuers other things. For we also giue our selues to brauery, and yet  
with thrift; and to Philosophy, and yet without mollification of the  
minde. And we vse riches rather for opportunities of action, then  
for verball ostentation: And hold it not as shame to confesse pauer-  
ty, but not to haue auoided it. Moreover there is in the same men,  
a care, both of their owne, and of the publique affaires, and a suffi-  
cient \* knowledge of State matters, euen in those that labour with  
their hands. For we onely thinke one that is utterly ignorant there-  
in, to be a man not that meddles with nothing, but that is good for  
nothing. We likewise weigh what we vnder take, and apprehend it  
B perfectly in our mindes; not accounting words for a hindrance of  
action, but that it is rather a hindrance to action, to come to it with-  
out instruction of words before. For also in this we excell others;  
daring to vnder take as much as any, and yet examining what wee  
vnder take; whereas with other men, ignorance makes them dare,  
and consideration, daunts; and they are most rightly reputed vili-  
ant, who though they perfectly apprehend, both what is dangerous,  
and what is easie, are neuer the more thereby diuerted from aduen-  
turing. Again, we are contrary to most men in matter of bounty.  
For we purchase our friends, not by receiuing, but by bestowing bene-  
fits. And he that bestoweth a good turne, is euer the most constant  
C friend, because hee will not lose the thanks due vnto him, from him  
whom he bestowed it on. Whereas the friendship of him that ow-  
neth a benefit is dull and flat, as knowing his benefit not to be taken  
for a fauor, but for a debt; So that we onely, doe good to others,  
not vpon computation of profit, but freenesse of trust. In summe, it  
may be said, both that the City is in generall a Schoole of the Gre-  
cians, and that the men here, haue euery one in particular, his per-  
son disposed to most diuersity of actions, and yet all with grace and  
decency. And that this is not now, rather a brauery of words, vpon  
D the occasion, then reall truth, this power of the Citie, which by these  
institutions we haue obtained, maketh eident. For it is the onely  
power now found greater in prooffe, then fame; and the onely power,  
that neither grieneth the invader when he miscarries, with the qua-  
lity of those he was hurt by, nor giueth cause to the subiected States  
to murmure, as being in subiection to men unworthy. For both  
with present and future Ages we shall be in admiration for a power,  
not without testimony, but made eident by great arguments, and  
which needeth not either a Homer to praise it, or any other such,  
whose Poems may indeed for the present, bring delight, but the truth  
E will after wards confute the opinion conceiued of the actions. For  
we haue opened vnto vs by our courage, all Seas, and Lands, and

\* In Athens no man so poor, but was a Statesman. So S. Luke. AG. 1. 10. All the Athenians used the time in raising of a man, and telling of newes, and the Character of politicians without employment.

Hee magnifies the Ath-  
nian power above that  
which the Grecians had  
at Troy, which needed Ho-  
mer to make it there  
great, but this power  
would seeme great by  
Trophies and reall me-  
asements of their ac-  
tions.



set vp eternall Monuments on all sides, both of the euill we haue done A  
to our enemies, and the good wee haue done to our friends. Such is the  
Citie for which these men (thinking it no reason to lose it) valiantly  
fighting, haue dyed. And it is fit that euery man of you that bee left,  
should bee like minded, to vndergoe any travell for the same. And I  
haue therefore spoken so much concerning the Citie in generall, as well  
to shew you, that the stakes betweene vs and them, whose Citie is not  
such; are not equall; as also to make knowne by effects, the worth of  
these men I am to speake of; the greatest part of their praises being  
therein already deliuered. For what I haue spoken of the Citie, hath  
by these and such as these beene atchieued: Neither would praises B  
and actions appeare so leuelly concurrent in many other of the Greci-  
ans, as they doe in these; the present revolution of these mens liues  
seeming vnto mee an argument of their vertues, noted in the first act  
thereof, and in the last confirmed. For euen such of them as were  
worse then the rest, doe neuerthelesse deserue that for their valour  
shewne in the Warres for defence of their Countrey, they should bee  
preferred before the rest. For hauing by their good actions abolished  
the memory of their euill, they haue profited the State thereby, more  
then they haue hurt it by their priuate behauiour. Yet there was none  
of these, that preferring the further fruition of his wealth, was there- C  
by growne cowardly, or that for hope to ouercome his pouerty at length,  
and to attaine to riches, did for that cause withdraw himselfe from the  
danger. For their principall desire was not wealth, but reuenge on  
their Enemies, which esteeming the most honourable cause of danger,  
they made account through it, both to accomplish their reuenge, and to  
purchase wealth withall; putting the vncertainty of successe, to the  
a count of their hope; but for that which was before their eyes, rely-  
ing vpon themselves in the Action; and therein chusing rather to  
fight and dye, then to shrink and bee saued. They fled from shame,  
but with their bodies, they stood out the Battell; and so in a moment, D  
whilest Fortune inclineth neither way, left their liues not in feare, but  
in opinion of victory. Such were these men, worthy of their Country;  
and for you that remaine, you may pray for a safer fortune; but you  
ought not to bee lesse venturously minded against the enemy; not  
weighing the profit by an Oration onely, which any man amplifying,  
may recount, to you that know as well as hee, the many commodities  
that arise by fighting valiantly against your enemies but contemplating  
the power of the Citie in the actions of the same from day to day per-  
formed, and thereby becomming enamoured of it. And when this po-  
wer of the Citie shall seeme great to you, consider then, that the same E  
was purchased by valiant men, and by men that know their duty, and  
by

A by men that were sensible of dishonour when they were in fight; and  
by such men, as though they failed of their attempt, yet would not bee  
wanting to the Citie with their vertue, but made vnto it a most ho-  
nourable contribution. For hauing euery one giuen his body to the  
Common-wealth, they receiue in place thereof, an vndecaying commen-  
dation, and a most remarkeable Sepulcher, not wherein they are buri-  
ed so much, as wherein their glory is laid vp, vpon all occasions, both  
of speech and action, to bee remembred for euer. For to famous men,  
all the earth is a Sepulcher: and their vertues shall bee testified, not  
onely by the inscription in stone at home, but by an vnwritten record of  
B the minde, which more then of any Monument, will remaine with  
euery one for euer. In imitation therefore of these men, and placing hap-  
pinesse in liberty, and liberty in valour, bee forward to encounter the  
dangers of Warre. For the miserable and desperate men, are not they  
that haue the most reason to bee prodigall of their liues, but rather such  
men, as if they liue, may expect a change of fortune, and whose losses  
are greatest, if they miscarry in ought. For to a man of any spirit,  
Death, which is without sense, arriuing whilest hee is in vigour, and  
common hope, is nothing so bitter, as after a tender life to bee brought  
into miserie. Wherefore I will not so much bewaile, as comfort you  
C the parents, that are present, of these men. For you know that whilest  
they liued, they were obnoxious to manifold calamities, whereas  
whilest you are in grieffe, they onely are happy, that dye honourably, as  
these haue done: and to whom it hath beene granted, not only to liue  
in prosperity, but to dye in it. Though it bee a hard matter to dissuade  
you from sorrow, for the losse of that, which the \* happinesse of others,  
wherein you also when time was, reioyced your selues, shall so often  
bring into your remembrance (for sorrow is not for the want of a good  
neuer tasted, but for the priuation of a good wee haue beene vsed to)  
yet such of you as are of the age to haue children, may beare the losse  
D of these, in the hope of more. For the later children will both draw on  
with some the obliuion of those that are slaine, and also doubly conduce  
to the good of the Citie, by population and strength. For it is not like-  
ly that they should equally giue good counsell to the State, that haue not  
children to bee equally exposed to danger in it. As for you that are past  
hauing of children, you are to put the former and greater part of your  
life, to the account of your gaine, and supposing the remainder of it will  
bee but short, you shall haue the glory of these for a consolation of the  
same. For the loue of honour neuer groweth old, nor doth that vnpro-  
fitable part of our life take delight (as some haue said) in gathering of  
E wealth, so much as it doth in being honoured. As for you that are the  
children or brethren of these men, I see you shall haue a difficult taske  
P  
of

\* Children.



*The children of such as were the first slain in the Warre, were kept at the charge of the Citie, till they came to mans estate.*

THE SECOND  
YEERE.  
The second invasion of  
Attica, by the Lacedæ-  
monians.

The plague at Athens.

It began in Æthiopia.

\* of Persia.

of emulation. For every man useth to praise the dead; so that A  
with odds of vertue, you will hardly get an equall reputation; but  
still be thought a little short. For men envy their Competitors in  
glory, while they live, but to stand out of their way, is a thing honou-  
red with an affection free from opposition. And since I must say  
somewhat also of feminine vertue; for you that are now Widdowes:  
I shall expresse it all in this short admonition. It will bee much for  
your honour; not to recede from your Sexe; and to giue as little occa-  
sion of rumour amongst the men, whether of good or euill, as you can.  
Thus also haue I, according to the prescript of the Law, deliuered in  
word what was expedient; and those that are here interred, haue in B  
fact beene already honoured; and further, their children shall bee  
maintained till they be at mans estate, at the charge of the Citie;  
which hath therein propounded both to these, and them that live, a  
profitable Garland in their matches of valour. For where the re-  
wards of vertue are greatest, there liue the worthiest men. So now  
hauiug lamented every one his owne, you may be gone. Such was  
the Funerall made this Winter, which ending, ended the  
first yeere of this Warre.

In the very beginning of Summer, the Peloponnesians, and C  
their Confederates, with two thirds of their forces, as before  
inuaied Attica, vnder the conduct of Archidamus, the sonne  
of Zeuxidamas, King of Lacedæmon, and after they had en-  
camped themselues, wasted the countrey about them.

They had not beene many dayes in Attica, when the  
plague first began amongst the Athenians; said also to haue  
seized formerly on diuers other parts, as about Lemnos, and  
elsewhere; but so great a plague, and mortality of men,  
was neuer remembered to haue hapned in any place before.  
For at first, neither were the Physicians able to cure it, D  
through ignorance of what it was, but dyed fastest them-  
selues, as being the men that most approached the sicke,  
nor any other art of man auailed whatsoeuer. All suppli-  
cations to the Gods, and enquiries of Oracles, and whatsoeuer  
other meanes they vsed of that kind, proued all vnprofita-  
ble, inso much as subdued with the greatnesse of the euill,  
they gaue them all ouer. It began (by report) first, in  
that part of Æthiopia that lyeth vpon Egypt, and thence  
fell downe into Egypt and Arique, and into the greatest part  
of the Territories of the \* King. It inuaied Athens on a E  
sudden; and touched first vpon those that dwelt in  
Piræus;

A Pyraus; inso much as they reported that the Peloponnesians  
had cast poyson into their Welles, for Springs there were  
not any in that place. But afterwards it came vp into the  
high City, and then they dyed a great deale faster. Now  
let every man Physitian, or other, concerning the ground  
of this sicknesse, whence it sprung, and what causes hee  
thinkes able to produce so great an alteration, speake ac-  
cording to his owne knowledge, for my owne part, I will  
deliuer but the manner of it, and lay open onely such  
things, as one may take his marke by, to discouer the same  
B if it come againe, hauing beene both sicke of it my selfe,  
and seene others sicke of the same. This yeere, by confesi-  
on of all men, was of all other, for other diseases, most free  
and healthfull. If any man were sicke before, his disease  
turned to this; if not, yet suddenly, without any apparant  
cause preceding, and being in perfect health, they were ta-  
ken first with an extreame ache in their heads, rednesse and  
inflammation of the eyes; and then inwardly, their throats  
and tongues, grew presently bloody, and their breath noy-  
some, and vnlauiory. Vpon this, followed a sneezing and  
C hoarsenesse, and not long after, the paine, together with a  
mighty cough, came downe into the breast. And when  
once it was settled in the \* stomacke, it caused vomit, and  
with great torment came vp all manner of bilious pur-  
gation that Physitians euer named. Most of them had  
also the Hickeye, which brought with it a strong con-  
vulsion, and in some ceased quickly, but in others was long  
before it gaue ouer. Their bodies outwardly to the touch,  
were neither very hote nor pale, but reddish liuid, and be-  
flowred with little pimples and whelkes; but so burned in-  
D wardly, as not to endure any the lightest cloathes or linnen  
garment, to be vpon them, nor any thing but meere naked-  
nesse, but rather, most willingly, to haue cast themselues  
into the cold water. And many of them that were not  
looked to, possessed with insatiate thirst, ranne vnto the  
Welles, and to drinke much, or little, was indifferent, be-  
ing still, from ease, and power to sleepe, as farre as euer.  
As long as the disease was at the height, their bodies wa-  
sted not, but resisted the torment beyond all expectation,  
inso much, as the most of them either dyed of their inward  
E burning, in nine or seuen dayes, whilst they had yet  
strength, or if they escaped that, then the disease falling  
P 2 downe

The Peloponnesians sup-  
posed to haue poysoned  
their Welles

The Author here of this  
disease.

The description of the  
Disease.

Ache of the head.

Rednesse of the eyes.  
Sore throat.  
Vnlauiory breath.

Vomitings.  
\* xgōdia, not taken for the  
stomach.

Hickeye

Extremie heate of their  
bodies.  
Liuid pustules.

Insatiate thirst.

Want of sleepe.

After 7. or 9. dayes,  
death.

in the belly.  
sickenesse.

of the parts where  
the diseases brake out.

Oblivion of all things  
came before their sick-  
nesse.

Birds and Beasts perished  
that fed on Carcasses.

Want of attendance.

Dejection of mind.

downe into their bellies, and causing there great exulcera- A  
tions, and immoderate loosenesse, they dyed many of them  
afterwards through weakenesse. For the disease ( which  
tooke first the head ) began aboue, and came downe, and  
passed through the whole body; and he that ouer-  
came the worst of it, was yet marked with the losse of his  
extreme parts; for breaking out both at their priuy  
members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the  
losse of these escaped. There were also some that lost  
their eyes, and many that presently vpon their recou-  
ry, were taken with such an obliuion of all things B  
whatsoeuer, as they neither knew themselves, nor their ac-  
quaintance. For this was a kind of sicknesse which farre  
surmounted all expresseion of words, and both exceeded hu-  
mane nature, in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one,  
and appeared also otherwise to be none of those diseases  
that are bred amongst vs, and that especially by this. For  
all both birds and beasts, that vse to feed on humane flesh,  
though many men lay abroad vnburied, either came not  
at them, or tasting perished. An argument whereof as  
touching the birds, is the manifest defect of such fowle, C  
which were not then seene, neither about the Carcasses, or  
any where else; But by the dogges, because they are fa-  
miliar with men, this effect was seene much cleerer. So  
that this disease ( to passe ouer many strange particulars, of  
the accidents, that some had differently, from others ) was  
in generall such as I haue showne, and for other vsuall  
sickenesses, at that time, no man was troubled with any.  
Now they died, some for want of attendance, and some  
againe with all the care and Physick that could be vsed.  
Nor was there any, to say, certaine medicine, that applied D  
must haue helped them; for if it did good to one, it did  
harme to another; nor any difference of body, for strength  
or weakenesse that was able to resist it; but it carried all  
away, what Physicke soeuer was administred. But the  
greatest misery of all was, the deiection of mind, in such as  
found themselves beginning to be sicke ( for they grew  
presently desperate, and gaue themselves ouer without  
making any resistance ) as also their dying thus like  
sheepe, infected by mutuall visitation; for the greatest  
mortality proceeded that way. For if men forbore to vi-  
site them, for feare, then they dyed forlorne, whereby ma-  
ny

Any Families became empty, for want of such as should  
take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died  
themselves, and principally the honestest men. For out of  
shame, they would not spare themselves, but went in vnto  
their friends, especially after it was come to this passe, that  
euen their domestiques, wearied with the lamentations of  
them that died, and overcome with the greatnesse of the  
calamity, were no longer moued therewith. But those that  
were recouered, had much compassion both on them that  
died, and on them that lay sicke, as hauing both knowne  
B the misery themselves, and now no more subiect to the  
danger. For this disease neuer tooke any man the second  
time, so as to be mortall. And these men were both by  
others counted happy, and they also themselves, through  
excesse of present ioy, conceived a kind of light hope, ne-  
uer to die of any other sicknesse hereafter. Besides the pre-  
sent affliction, the reception of the country people, and of  
their substance into the Citie, oppressed both them, and  
much more the people themselves that so came in. For ha-  
uing no houses, but dwelling at that time of the yeere in  
C sisting boothes, the mortality was now without all  
forme; and dying men lay tumbling one vpon another in  
the streetes, and men halfe dead, about euery Conduit  
through desire of water. The Temples also where they  
dwelt in Tents, were all full of the dead that died with-  
in them; for oppressed with the violence of the Calami-  
tie, and not knowing what to doe, men grew careless both  
of holy, and prophane things alike. And the Lawes  
which they formerly vsed touching Funerals, were all  
now broken; euery one burying where hee could finde  
D roome. And many for want of things necessary, after so  
many deaths before, were forced to become impudent in  
the Funerals of their friends. For when one had made a Fu-  
neral Pile, another getting before him, would throw on his  
dead, and giue it fire. And when one was in burning, ano-  
ther would come, and hauing cast thereon him whom he  
carried, goe his way againe. And the great licentious-  
nesse, which also in other kindes was vsed in the Citie, be-  
gan at first from this disease. For that which a man before  
would dissemble, and not acknowledge to be done for vo-  
luptuousnesse, he durst now doe freely, seeing before his  
eyes such quick revolution; of the rich dying; and men  
worth

No man sicke of it mor-  
tally the second time.

Men dyed in the streets.

Disorder in their Func-  
erals.

\* A pile of wood, which when  
they had laid the Corps on it,  
they fired, and afterwards  
buried the bones.

Licentiousnesse of life  
iustified.

worth nothing, inheriting their estates; inſomuch as they A  
juſtified a ſpeedy fruition of their goods, euen for their  
pleaſure; as men that thought they held their liues  
but by the day. As for paines, no man was forward in any  
action of honour, to take any, becauſe they thought it vn-  
certaine whether they ſhould dye or not, before they at-  
chieued it. But what any man knew to bee delightfull,  
and to bee profitable to pleaſure, that was made both pro-  
fitable and honourable. Neither the feare of the Gods,  
nor Lawes of men, awed any man. Not the former, be-  
cauſe they concluded it was alike to worſhip or not wor- B  
ſhip, from ſeeing that alike they all periſhed: nor the lat-  
ter, becauſe no man expected that liues would laſt, till he  
receiued puniſhment of his crimes by iudgement. But  
they thought there was now ouer their heads, ſome farre  
greater Iudgement decreed againſt them; before which  
fell, they thought to enioy ſome little part of their liues.  
Such was the miſery into which the Athenians being ſalne,  
were much oppreſſed; hauing not onely their men killed  
by the Diſeaſe within, but the enemy alſo laying waſte  
their Fields and Villages without. In this ſickneſſe alſo, C  
(as it was not vnlikely they would) they called to minde  
this Verſe, ſaid alſo of the elder ſort to haue bene vttered  
of old:

*A Dorique Warre ſhall fall,  
And a great \* Plague withall.*

Now were men at variance about the word, ſome ſay-  
ing it was not λοιμός, (.i. the Plague) that was by the An-  
cients, mentioned in that verſe, but λιμός, (.i. Famine.) But D  
vpon the preſent occaſion the word λοιμός, deſeruedly ob-  
tained. For as men ſuffered, ſo they made the Verſe to  
ſay. And I thinke, if after this, there ſhall euer come an-  
other Dorique Warre, and with it a Famine, they are like  
to recite the Verſe accordingly. There was alſo reported  
by ſuch as knew, a certaine answer giuen by the Oracle to  
the Lacedæmonians, when they enquired whether they  
ſhould make this Warre, or not, *That if they warred with all  
their power, they ſhould haue the Victorie, and that the \* God him-  
ſelfe would take their parts:* and thereupon they thought E  
the preſent miſery to bee a fulfilling of that Prophecie.

The

Neglect of Religion and  
Law.

Predictions called to  
minde.

\* λοιμός.

An ambiguous Prophe-  
cie expounded by the  
quents.

\* Apollo, to whom the Hea-  
then attributed the immiſſion  
of all epidemicke or ordinary  
dyeases.

A The Peloponneſians were no ſooner entred Attica, but the  
ſickneſſe preſently began, and neuer came into Peloponneſus,  
to ſpeake of, but raigned principally in Athens, and in ſuch  
other places afterwards as were moſt populous. And thus  
much of this Diſeaſe.

After the Peloponneſians had waſted the Champaigne  
Country, they fell vpon the Territory called \* Paralos,  
as farre as to the Mountaine Laurium, where the Athenians  
had Siluer Mines, and firſt waſted that part of it which  
looketh towards Peloponneſus; and then that alſo which ly-  
eth toward Andros and Eubœa: and Pericles, who was alſo  
then Generall, was ſtill of the ſame minde hee was of in  
the former inuaſion, that the Athenians ought not to goe  
out againſt them to battell.

Whiſt they were yet in the Plaine, & before they entred  
into the Maritime Country, he furniſhed an hundred Gal-  
lies to goe about Peloponneſus, and as ſoone as they were  
ready, put to Sea. In theſe Gallies hee had foure thou-  
ſand men of Armes; and in Veſſels then purpoſely firſt  
made to carry Horſes, three hundred Horſemen. The Chi-  
ans and Leſbians ioyned likewiſe with him with fiftie Gal-  
lies. This Fleet of the Athenians, when it ſet forth, left  
the Peloponneſians ſtill in Paralia, and comming before Epidau-  
rus, a Citie of Peloponneſus, they waſted much of the Coun-  
try therabout, and aſſaulting the Citie, had a hope to take it,  
though it ſucceeded not. Leauing Epidaurus, they waſted  
the Territories about of Trezene, Haliaſ, and Hermione, places  
all on the Sea-coaſt of Peloponneſus. Putting off from hence,  
they came to Præſia, a ſmall maritime Citie of Læonica, and  
both waſted the Territory about it, and tooke and razed  
the Towne it ſelfe: and hauing done this, came home, and  
found the Peloponneſians not now in Attica, but gone backe.

All the while the Peloponneſians were in the Territorie  
of the Athenians, and the Athenians abroad with their Fleet,  
the ſickneſſe, both in the Armie and Citie, deſtroyed ma-  
ny, in ſo much as it was ſaid, that the Peloponneſians, fea-  
ring the ſickneſſe (which they knew to bee in the Citie,  
both by fugitiues, and by ſeeing the Athenians burying their  
dead) went the ſooner away out of the Country. And  
yet they ſtayed there longer in this inuaſion, then they  
E had done any time before; and waſted euen the whole  
Territory: for they continued in Attica almoſt forty daies.

The

\* by the Sea.

Pericles with 100. Gallies  
Athenians, about Peloponneſus.

The Peloponneſians depart  
out of Attica.

The Athenian Fleet returned from Peloponnesus, to Potidea with ill success, by reason of the sicknesse.

The same Summer, *Agnon* the sonne of *Nicias*, and *Cleopompus* the Sonne of *Clinias*, who were ioynt Commanders with *Pericles*, with that Armie which hee had employed before, went presently and made Warre vpon the *Chalcidians* of *Thrace*, and against *Potidea*, which was yet besieged. Arriuing, they presently applyed Engins, and tryed all meanes possible to take it; but neither the taking of the Citie, nor any thing else, succeeded worthy so great preparation. For the sicknesse comming amongst them, afflicted them mightily indeed, and euen deuoured the Army. And the Athenian Souldiers which were there before, and in health, caught the sicknesse from those that came with *Agnon*. As for *Phormio*, and his 1600. they were not now amongst the *Chalcidians*; and *Agnon* therefore came backe with his Fleet, hauing of 4000 men in lesse then 40. dayes, lost 1050. of the plague. But the Souldiers that were there before, staid vpon the place, and continued the siege of *Potidea*.

The Athenian people vexed at once both with the Warre & Pestilence, grow impatient toward *Pericles*.

After the second inuasion of the *Peloponnesians*, the Athenians (hauing their fields now the second time wasted, and both the sicknesse, and warre, falling vpon them at once) changed their mindes, and accused *Pericles*, as if by his meanes they had been brought into these calamities, and desired earnestly to compound with the *Lacedaemonians*, to whom also they sent certaine Ambassadors, but they returned without effect. And being then at their wits end, they kept a stirre at *Pericles*. And hee, seeing them vexed with their present calamity, and doing all those things which he had before expected, called an Assembly (for he was yet Generall) with intention to put them againe into heart, and asswaging their passion, to reduce their mindes to a more calme, and lesse dismayed temper; and standing forth, he spake vnto them, in this manner.

### THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

Your anger towards me, commeth not vnlooked for, (for the causes of it I know) and I haue called this Assembly therefore, to remember you, and reprobend you, for those things, wherein you haue either bene angry with me, or giuen way to your aduersity, without reason. For I am of this opinion, that the publike prosperity of the Citie,

A Citie, is better for priuate men, then if the priuate men themselves were in prosperity, and the publike wealth in decay. For a priuate man, though in good estate, if his Countrey come to ruine, must of necessity be ruined with it; whereas hee that miscarrieth, in a flourishing Common-wealth, shall much more easily be preserued. Since then the Common-wealth is able to beare the calamities of priuate men, and euery one cannot support the calamities of the Common-wealth, why should not euery one strue to defend it? and not (as you now, astonished with domestique misfortune) forsake the common safety, and fall a censuring both me that counselled the Warre, and your selues, that decreed the same as well as I. And it is I you are angry withall, one, as I thinke my selfe, inferiour to none, either in knowing what is requisite, or in expressing what I know, and a louer of my Countrey, and superior to money. For he that hath good thoughts, and cannot cleerely expresse them, were as good to haue thought nothing at all. He that can do both, and is ill affected to his Countrey, will likewise not giue it faithfull counsell. And he that will doe that to, yet if he be superable by mony, will for that alone set all the rest to sale. Now if you followed my aduice in making this Warre, as esteeming these vertues to bee in mee, somewhat about the rest, there is sure no reason I should now be accused of doing you wrong. For though so such as haue it in their owne election (being otherwise in good estate) it were madnesse to make choicce of Warre; yet when we must of necessitie, either giue way, and so without more adoe, be subiect to our Neighbours, or else saue our selues from it by danger, he is more to be condemned that declineth the danger, then he that standeth to it. For mine owne part, I am the man I was, and of the minde I was, but you are changed, wonne to the Warre, when you were entire, but repenting it vpon the dammage, and condemning my counsell, in the weakenesse of your owne iudgement. The reason of this is, because you feele already euery one in particular, that which afflicts you, but the euidence of the profit to accrew to the Citie in generall, you see not yet. And your mindes deiection with the great and sudden alteration, cannot constantly maintaine what you haue before resolved. For that which is sodaine and vnexpected, and contrary to what one hath deliberated, enslaveeth the spirit; which by this disease principally, in the necke of the other incommodities, is now come to passe in you. But you that are borne in a great Citie, and with education futeable, how great soeuer the affliction be, ought not to shrink at it, and eclipse your reputation (for men doe no lesse condemne those that through cowardize lose the glory they haue, then hate those that through impudence, arrogate the glory they haue not) but to set aside the griefe of your priuate losses, and lay your hands to the common safety.

safety. As for the toyle of the Warre, that it may perhaps be long, A  
 and we in the end neuer the nearer to the victory; though that may  
 suffice which I haue demonstrat:ed at other times, touching your  
 causelesse suspicion that way; yet this I will tell you moreouer, tou-  
 ching the greatnesse of your meanes for dominion, which neither you  
 your selues seeme to haue euer thought on, nor I touched in my for-  
 mer Orations; nor would I also haue spoken it now, but that I see  
 your mindes delected more then there is cause for. That though you  
 take your dominion to extend onely to your Confederates, I affirme  
 that of the twoparts of the world of manifest vse, the Land and the  
 Sea, you are of the one of them, entire Masters, both of as much of it, B  
 as you make vse of, and also of as much more as you shall thinke fit  
 your selues. Neither is there any King or Nation whatsoever, of  
 those that now are, that can impeach your Nauigation, with the Fleet  
 and strength you now goe. So that you must not put the vse of  
 Houses, and Lands, (wherein you now thinke your selues deprived  
 of a mighty matter) into the ballance with such a power as this, nor  
 take the losse of these things heauily in respect of it; but rather let lit-  
 tle by them, as but a light ornament and embelishment of wealth, and  
 thinke, that our libertie, as long as we hold fast that, will easily reco-  
 uer vnto vs, these things againe; whereas subiected once to others, C  
 euen that which we possesse besides will be diminished. Shew not  
 your selues both wayes inferiour to your Ancestors, who not onely  
 held this (gotten by their owne labours, not lest them) but haue also  
 preferred, and deliuered the same vnto vs, (For it is more dishonour  
 to lose what one possesseth, then to miscarrie in the acquisition of it)  
 and encounter the enemy not onely with magnanimitie, but also with  
 disdain: for a coward may haue a high minde, vpon a prosperous  
 ignorance, but he that is confident vpon iudgement to be superiour  
 to his enemy, doth also disdain him, which is now our case. And con-  
 rage (in equall fortune) is the safer for our disdain of the enemy, D  
 where a man knowes what he doth. For he trusteth lesse to hope,  
 which is of force onely in vncertainties, and more to iudgement vpon  
 certainties, wherein there is a more sure foresight. You haue reason  
 besides to maintaine the dignitie the Citie hath gotten for her Domi-  
 nion, (in which you all triumph) and either not decline the paines, or  
 not also pursue the honour. And you must not thinke the question  
 is now of your liberty, and seruitude onely; Besides the losse of your  
 rule ouer others, you must stand the danger you haue contracted, by  
 offence giuen in the administration of it. Nor can you now giue it  
 ouer (if any fearing at this present, that that may come to passe, en-  
 courage himselfe with the intention of not to meddle hereafter) for  
 already

A already your gouernment is in the nature of a tyranny, which is both vn-  
 iust for you to take vp, and vn safe to lay downe. And such men as these, if  
 they could perswade others to it, or liued in a free Citie by themselves,  
 would quickly ouerthrow it. For the quiet life can neuer be preferred,  
 if it be not ranged with the active life; nor is it a life conducing to a  
 Citie that reigneth, but to a subiect Citie, that it may safely serue. Be  
 not therfore seduced by this sort of men, nor angry with me, to-  
 gether with whom your selues did decree this Warre, because the ene-  
 my inuading you hath done what was likely he would, if you obeyed  
 him not. And as for the sicknesse (the onely thing that exceeded  
 B the imagination of all men) it was vnllooked for, and I know you hate  
 me somewhat the more for that, but vniustly, vnlesse when any thing  
 falleth out aboue your expectation fortunate, you will also dedicate vn-  
 to me that. Euils that come from heauen, you must beare necessarily,  
 and such as proceed from your enemies valiantly; for so it hath beene  
 the custome of this Citie to doe heretofore, which custome let it not bee  
 your part to reuerse: Knowing that this Citie hath a great name  
 amongst all people, for not yeelding to aduersity, and for the mighty  
 power it yet hath, after the expence of so many liues, and so much la-  
 bour in the Warre; the memory whereof, though we should now at  
 C length miscarry (for all things are made with this Law, to decay  
 againe) will remaine with posterity for euer. How that being Gre-  
 cians, most of the Grecians were our subiects; That we haue abidden  
 the greatest Warres against them, both vniuersally and singly, And  
 haue inhabited the greatest and wealthiest Citie, Now this,  
 bee with the quiet life will condemne, the active man will emulate,  
 and they that haue not attained to the like, will enuy. But to be hated,  
 and to displease, is a thing that happeneth for the time to whosoever bee  
 be that hath the command of others; and he does well that vndergoeth  
 hatred, for matters of great consequence. For the hatred lasteth not,  
 D and is recompenced both with a present splendor, and an immortall glo-  
 ry hereafter. Seing then you foresee both what is honourable for the fu-  
 ture, and not dishonourable for the present, procure both the one, and  
 the other by your courage now. Send no more Heraulds to the Lace-  
 daemonians, nor let them know that the euill present does any  
 way afflict you; for they whose mindes least feeble, and whose actions  
 most oppose a calamity, both amongst States, and priuate persons are  
 the best.

In this speech did Pericles endeauour to appease the an-  
 E ger of the Athenians towards himselfe, and withall to with-  
 draw their thoughts from the present affliction; But  
 they,

they, though for the State in generall, they were won, and A  
sent to the *Lacedæmonians* no more, but rather enclined to  
the Warre; yet they were euery one in particular, grieved  
for their seuerall losses. The poore, because entering the  
Warre with little, they lost that little, and the rich, be-  
cause they had lost faire possessions, together with good-  
ly houses, and costly furniture in them, in the Countrey;  
but the greatest matter of all was, that they had Warre  
in stead of Peace. And altogether, they depose not their  
anger, till they had first fined him in a summe of money.  
Neuerthelesse, not long after, (as is the fashion of the B  
multitude) they made him Generall againe, and commit-  
ted the whole State to his administration. For the sense  
of their domestique losses was now dulled, and for the need  
of the Common-wealth, they prized him more then any  
other whatsoever. For as long as he was in authority  
in the Citie, in time of Peace, he gouerned the same with  
moderation, and was a faithfull watchman of it, and in his  
time it was at the greatest. And after the Warre was on  
foot, it is manifest that he therein also fore-saw what it  
could doe. Hee liued after the Warre began, two yeeres C  
and sixe moneths. And his foresight in the Warre was  
best knowne after his \* death. For he told them, that if  
they would be quiet, and looke to their Nauy, and during  
this Warre, seeke no further dominion, nor hazzard the  
Citie it selfe, they should then haue the vpper hand. But  
they did contrary in all, and in such other things besides,  
as seemed not to concerne the Warre, managed the State,  
according to their priuate ambition and couetousnesse, per-  
nitiously both for themselues, and their Confederates.  
What succeeded well, the honour and profit of it, came D  
most to priuate men; and what miscarried, was to the  
Cities detriment in the Warre. The reason whereof was  
this, that being a man of great power, both for his dignity  
and wisdom, & for bribes, manifestly the most incorrupt,  
he freely controuled the multitude, and was not so much  
led by them, as he led them. Because (having gotten his  
power by no euill Artes) he would not humour them in  
his speeches, but out of his authority, durst anger them  
with contradiction. Therefore whensoever he saw them  
out of season insolently bold; he would with his Orations E  
put them into a feare, and againe when they were afraid  
without

*Pericles fined in a summe  
of money.*

*Athen at the greatest in  
the time of Pericles.*

*The death of Pericles.  
\* Plutarch says, he dyed of  
the Plague.*

*The commendation of  
Pericles.*

A without reason, he would likewise erect their spirits, and  
imbolden them. It was in name a State *Democraticall*, but  
in fact, *A gouernment of the principall Man*. But they that  
came after, being more equall amongst themselues, and af-  
fecting euery one to be the chiefe, applied themselues to  
the people, and let goe the care of the Common-wealth.  
From whence, amongst many other errors, as was like-  
ly in a great and dominant Citie, proceeded also the voyage  
into *Sicily*, which was not so much vpon mistaking those  
whom they went against, as for want of knowledge in the  
B senders, of what was necessary for those that went the  
voyage. For through priuate quarrels about, who should  
beare the greatest sway with the people, they both abated  
the vigour of the Armie, and then also first troubled the  
State at home with diuision. Being ouerthrowne in *Sici-  
ly*, and hauing lost, besides other ammunition, the greatest  
part of their Nauy, and the Citie being then in sedition, yet  
they held out 3 yeeres, both against their first enemies,  
and the *Sicilians* with them, and against most of their reuol-  
ted Confederates besides, and also afterwards against *Cyrus*  
C the *Kings* sonne, who tooke part with, and sent money to  
the *Peloponnesians*, to maintaine their Fleet; and neuer  
shrunke till they had ouerthrowne themselues with pri-  
uate dissentions. So much was in *Pericles* about other  
men at that time, that he could foresee by what meanes the  
Citie might easily haue out-lasted the *Peloponnesians* in this  
Warre.

The *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, made Warre  
the same Summer with 100 Gallies, against *Zacynthus*, an  
Iland lying ouer against *Eli*. The Inhabitants whereof  
D were a Colony of the *Achaans* of *Peloponnesus*, but Confede-  
rates of the people of *Athens*. There went in this Fleet,  
1000 men of Armes, and *Cnemus* a *Spartan* for Admirall,  
who landing, wasted the greatest part of the Territory.  
But they of the Iland not yeelding, they put off againe, and  
went home.

In the end of the same Summer, *Aristæus* of *Corinth*, and  
*Anaristus*, *Nicolaus*, *Pratodemus*, and *Timagoras* of *Tegea*, Am-  
bassadors of the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Polis* of *Argos*, a pri-  
uate man, as they were traouelling into *Asia* to the King, to  
E get mony of him, and to draw him into their league, tooke  
*Thrace* in their way, and came vnto *Sitalces* the sonne of  
*Teres*.

*The Lacedæmonians Warre  
against Zacynthus.  
Zante.*

*The Lacedæmonian Amba-  
sadors taken by the Athe-  
nian Ambassadors in  
Thrace and wents to  
Athens.*



Teres, with a desire to get him also, if they could, to forsake the league with *Athens*, and to send his forces to *Potidea*, which the *Athenian Army* now besieged, and not to aide the *Athenians* any longer: and withall to get leaue to passe through his Countrey to the other side of *Hellepont*, to goe, as they intended, to *Pharnabazus*, the sonne of *Pharnaces*, who would conuoy them to the King. But the Ambassadors of *Athens*, *Learchus*, the sonne of *Callimachus*, and *Ameinades* the sonne of *Philemon*, then resident with *Sitalces*, perswaded *Sadocus* the sonne of *Sitalces*, who was now a Citizen of *Athens*, to put them into their hands, that they might not goe to the King, and doe hurt to the Citie, whereof hee himselfe was now a member. Whereunto condiscending, as they journeyed thorow *Thrace*, to take ship to crosse the *Hellepont*,\* he apprehended them before they got to the ship, by such others as he sent along with *Learchus*, and *Ameinades*, with command to deliuer them into their hands; And they, when they had them, sent them away to *Athens*. When they came thither, the *Athenians* fearing *Aristeus*, lest escaping, he should doe them further mischief, (for he was manifestly the authour of all the businesse of *Potidea*, and about *Thrace*) the same day put them all to death, vniudged, and desirous to haue spoken, and threw them into the Pits, thinking it but iust, to take reuenge of the *Lacedaemonians* that began it, and had slaine and throwne into Pits, the Merchants of the *Athenians*, and their Confederates, whom they tooke sayling in \* Merchants ships, about the Coast of *Peloponnesus*. For in the beginning of the Warre, the *Lacedaemonians* slew, as enemies, whomsoever they tooke at Sea, whether Confederates of the *Athenians*, or neutrall, all alike.

About the same time, in the end of Summer, the *Ambraciotes*, both they themselves, and diuers *Barbarian Nations* by them raised, made Warre against *Argos* of *Amphilochia*, and against the rest of that Territory. The quarrell betweene them and the *Argiues*, arose first from hence. This *Argos* and the rest of *Amphilochia*, was planted by *Amphilochus* the sonne of *Amphirau*, after the *Troian Warre*; who at his returne, misliking the then State of *Argos*, built this Citie in the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, and called it *Argos*, after the name of his owne Countrey. And it was the greatest Citie, and had the most wealthy Inhabitants of all *Amphilochia*.

\* *Aristeus*, of *Sadocus*, to gratifie the *Athenians*, because they had made him free of their Citie.

The *Athenians* put them to death.

\* *Boxed* ships of the round forme of building, for the use of Merchants, not for the use of warre, as were Gallies, and other vessels of the long forme of building.

The *Ambraciotes* warre on *Acanania*.

*Amphilochia*. But many generations after, being fallen into misery, they communicated their Citie with the *Ambraciotes*, bordering vpon *Amphilochia*. And then they first learned the Greeke language now vsed, from the *Ambraciotes*, that liued among them. For the rest of the *Amphilochians*, were *Barbarians*. Now the *Ambraciotes* in procelle of time, draue out the *Argiues* and held the Citie by themselves. Whereupon the *Amphilochians* submitted themselves to the *Acaranians*, and both together called in the *Athenians*, who sent 30 Gallies to their aide, and *Phormio* for Generall. *Phormio* being arriued, tooke *Argos* by assault, and making slaues of the *Ambraciotes*, put the Towne into the ioynt possessions of the *Amphilochians* and *Acaranians*; and this was the beginning of the League betweene the *Athenians* and *Acaranians*. The *Ambraciotes* therefore deriuing their hatred to the *Argiues* from this their captiuitie, came in with an Armie partly of their owne, and partly raised amongst the *Chaonians*, and other neighbouring *Barbarians* now in this Warre. And comming to *Argos*, were masters of the field; but when they could not take the Citie by assault, they returned, and disbanding, went euery Nation to his owne. These were the Acts of the Summer.

In the beginning of Winter, the *Athenians* sent 20 Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Phormio*, who comming to lie at \* *Naupactus*, guarded the passage that none might goe in, or out, from *Corinth*, and the *Crissean Gulfe*. And other 6 Gallies, vnder the Conduct of *Melesander*, they sent into *Caria*, and *Lycia*, as well to gather tribute in those parts, as also to hinder the *Peloponnesian* Pirates, lying on those Coasts, from molesting the Nauigation of such \* Merchant-ships as they expected to come to them from *Phaselis*, *Phoenicia*, and that part of the Continent. But *Melesander* landing in *Lycia*, with such forces of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, as he had aboard, was ouercome in battaile, and slaine, with the losse of a part of his Army.

The same Winter, the *Potidaans* vnable any longer to endure the siege, seeing the inuasion of *Attica* by the *Peloponnesians*, could not make them rise, and seeing their victuall failed, and that they were forced, amongst diuers other things done by them, for necessity of food, to eat one another, propounded at length to *Xenophon* the sonne of *Eurypides*,

The end of the second Summer.

\* *Lepanto*.

\* *Naupactus*.

*Potidea* rendred to the *Athenians*.

375000. pound sterling.

THE THIRD  
YEERE.  
The siege of Plataea.The Plataean Speech to  
Archidamus.

Euripedes, Hestiodorus, the sonne of Aristoclidus, and Pheno-  
machus, the sonne of Callimachus, the Athenian Commanders  
that lay before the Citie, to giue the same into their hands.  
And they, seeing both that the Armie was already afflic-  
ted by lying in that cold place, and that the State had  
already spent \* 2000. Talents vpon the Siege, accepted of  
it. The conditions agreed on, were these: To depart, they  
and their Wines and Children, and their auxiliar Souldiers, euery man  
with one sute of cloathes, and euery woman with two; and to take  
with them euery one certaine summe of money for his charges by the  
way. Hereupon a Truce was granted them to depart; and  
they went, some to the Chalcideans, and others to other pla-  
ces, as they could get to. But the people of Athens called  
the Commanders in question, for compounding without  
them; conceiuing that they might haue gotten the Citie  
to discretion. And sent afterwards a Colonie to Totidea  
of their owne Citizens. These were the things done in  
this Winter. And so ended the second yeere of this War,  
written by Thucydides.

The next Summer, the Peloponnesians and their Confe-  
derates came not into Attica, but turned their Armes a-  
gainst Plataea, led by Archidamus the sonne of Zeuxidamus,  
King of the Lacedaemonians, who hauing pitched his Campe  
was about to waste the Territory thereof. But the Pla-  
teans sent Ambassadors presently vnto him, with words  
to this effect: Archidamus, and you Lacedaemonians,  
you doe neither iustly, nor worthy your selues and Ancestours, in ma-  
king Warre vpon Plataea. For Pausanias of Lacedaemon, the  
sonne of Cleombrotus, hauing (together with such Grecians as  
were content to vndergoe the danger of the battell that was fought in  
this our Territory) deliuered all Greece from the slavery of the  
Persians, when hee offered Sacrifice in the Market place of Plataea,  
to Iupiter the deliuerer, called together all the Confederates, and  
granted to the Plataeans this priuiledge; That their Citie and  
Territory should bee free: That none should make any  
vniust Warre against them, nor goe about to subiect  
them; and if any did, the Confederates then present, should  
to their vtmost ability, reuenge their quarell. These  
priuiledges your Fathers granted vs for our valour, and zeale in those  
dangers. But now doe you the cleane contrary; for you ioyne with our  
greatest enemies, the Thebans, to bring vs into subiection. There-  
fore calling to witnesse the Gods then sworne by, and the Gods both of  
your

A your and our Countrey, we require you, that you doe no dammage to the  
Territory of Plataea, nor violate those Oathes; but that you suffer vs  
to enioy our libertie in such sort as was allowed vs by Pausanias.

The Plataeans hauing thus said, Archidamus replied, and  
said thus. Men of Plataea, If you would doe as ye say, you say what  
is iust. For as Pausanias hath granted to you, so also bee you free;  
and helpe to set free the rest, who hauing beene partakers of the same  
dangers then, and being comprized in the same oath with your selues,  
are now brought into subiection by the Athenians. And this so great  
preparation and Warre is only for the deliuerance of them, and others:  
B of which if you will especially participate, keepe your oathes, at least (as  
we haue also aduised you formerly) be quiet, and enioy your owne, in  
neutrality; receiuing both sides in the way of friendship, neither side in  
the way of faction. Thus said Archidamus. And the Ambassa-  
dours of Plataea, when they had heard him returned to the  
Citie, and hauing communicated his answer to the peo-  
ple, brought word againe to Archidamus, That what hee had  
aduised, was impossible for them to performe, without leaue of the  
Athenians, in whose keeping were their wines and children; and  
that they feared also, for the whole Citie, lest when the Lacedaemo-  
nians were gone, the Athenians should come and take the custody  
of it out of their hands; or that the Thebans comprehended in the  
oath of receiuing both sides, should againe attempt to surprize it. But  
Archidamus to encourage them, made this answer: Deliuer  
you vnto vs Lacedaemonians, your Citie and your houses, shew vs  
the bounds of your Territory, giue vs your trees by tale, and whatso-  
euer else can be numbred, and depart your selues whither you shall think  
good, as long as the Warre lasteth, and when it shall be ended, we will  
deliuer it all vnto you againe: in the meane time, we will keepe them  
as deposited, and will cultivate your ground, and pay you rent for it,  
D as much as shall suffice for your maintenance.

Hereupon the Ambassadors went againe into the Ci-  
ty, and hauing consulted with the people, made answer,  
That they would first acquaint the Athenians with it, and if they  
would consent they would the accept the condition: till then they desired  
a suspension of armes, and not to haue their Territory wasted. Vpon  
this he granted them so many dayes truce as was requisite  
for their returne, and for so long, forbore to waste their  
Territory. When the Plataean Ambassadors were arri-  
ued at Athens, and had aduised on the matter with the A-  
E thenians, they returned to the City with this answer: The A-  
thenians say thus: That neither in former times, since wee were  
their

The Answer of Archi-  
damus to the Plataeans.

The reply of the Plataeans.

The answer of Archida-  
mus to their reply.The Plataeans reply again,  
and desire to know the  
pleasure of the people of  
Athens.The Athenians message to  
the Plataeans.

their Confederates, did they ever abandon vs to the iniuries of any, A nor will they now neglect vs, but give vs their utmost assistance. And they conuince vs by the oath of our Fathers, not to make any alienation touching the league.

When the Ambassadors had made this report, the Plateans resolved in their counsels, not to betray the Athenians, but rather to endure, if it must be, the wasting of their Territory before their eyes, and to suffer whatsoever misery could befall them; and no more to goe forth, but from the Wallles to make this Answer: That it was impossible for them to doe as the Lacedæmonians had required. B When they had answered so, Archidamus the King, first made a protestation to the Gods and Heroes of the Countrey, saying thus: All ye Gods and Heroes, protectors of Plateis, be witnesses, that wee neither invade this Territory, wherein our Fathers, after their voyes vnto you, ouercame the Medes, and which you made propitious for the Grecians to fight in, vniustly now in the beginning; because they haue first broken the League they had sworn: nor what wee shall further doe will be any iniury, because, though we haue offered many and reasonable conditions, they haue yet beene all refused. Assent ye also to the punishment of the beginners of iniury, C and to the reuenge of those that beare lawfull armes.

Having made this protestation to the Gods, hee made ready his Armie for the Warre. And first hauing felled Trees, he therewith made a Palizado about the Towne, that none might goe out. That done, he raised a Mount against the Wall, hoping with so great an Armie all at worke at once, to haue quickly taken it. And hauing cut downe Wood in the Hill Cithæron, they built a Frame of Timber, and watled it about on either side, to serue in stead of Wallles, to keepe the Earth from falling too much D away, and cast into it stones, and earth, and whatsoever else would serue to fill it vp: 70. dayes and nights continually they powred on, diuiding the worke betweene them for rest in such manner: as some might be carrying, whilest others tooke their sleepe and foode. And they were vrged to labour, by the Lacedæmonians that commanded the Mercenaries of the severall Cities, and had the charge of the worke. The Plateans seeing the Mount to rise, made the frame of a Wall with Wood, which hauing placed on the Wall of the Citie; in the place where E the Mount touched, they built it within full of Bricks,

The Plateans last answer to Archidamus from the Wall.

Archidamus protestation.

A mount raised against Plateas.

The Plateans raise their Wall higher against the mount, by a frame of Timber, in which they layed their Bricks.

A taken from the adioyning Houses, for that purpose demolished, the Timber seruing to binde them together, that the building might not be weakened by the height. The same was also couered with Hides and Quilts, both to keepe the Timber from shot of wilde-fire, and those that wrought, from danger. So that the height of the Wall was great on one side, and the Mount went vp as fast on the other. The Plateans vsed also this deuice; they brake a hole in their owne Wall, where the Mount ioyned, and drew the earth from it into the Citie. But the Peloponnesians, when they found it out, tooke clay, and therewith daubing Hurdles of Reeds, cast the same into the chinke, which mouldring not, as did the earth, they could not draw it away. The Plateans excluded heere, gaue ouer that Plot, and digging a secret mine, which they carried vnder the mount from within the Citie by coniecture, fetched away the earth againe, and were a long time vndiscovered; so that still casting on, the Mount grew still lesse, the earth being drawne away below, and settling ouer the part where it was voyded. The Plateans neuerthelesse, fearing C that they should not be able euen thus to hold out, being few against many, deuised this further: they gaue ouer working at the high Wall, against the Mount, and beginning at both ends of it, where the Wall was low, built another Wall in forme of a Crescent, inward to the Citie, that if the great Wall were taken, this might resist, and put the Enemy to make another Mount; and by comming further in, to be at double paines, and withall, more encompassable with shot. The Peloponnesians, together with the raising of their Mount, brought to the Citie their Engines of battery; one of which, by helpe of the Mount, they applied to the high Wall, wherewith they much shooke it, and put the Plateans into great feare; and others D to other parts of the Wall, which the Plateans partly turned aside, by casting Ropes about them, and partly with great beames, which being hung in long iron chaines, by either end vpon two other great beames, letting ouer, and enclining from aboue the Wall, like two hornes, they drew vp to them athwart, and where the Engine was about to light, slackning the chaines, and letting their hands E goe, they let fall with violence, to breake the beake of it. After this, the Peloponnesians seeing their Engines a-

The Plateans deuice to draw the earth from the Mount throught the Wall. The Peloponnesians endeavoured that euill.

The Plateans fetch the earth away from vnder the Mount by a Mine.

The Plateans make another Wall within that which was to the Mount.

The Peloponnesians assault the Wall with Engines.

The Plateans defence against the Engines.

The Peloponnesians throw  
Faggots and fire into the  
Towne, from the Mount.

A great Fire.

\* In the beginning of Sep-  
tember.  
The siege laid to Plataea.

uailed not, and thinking it hard to take the City by any A  
present violence, prepared themselves to besiege it. But  
first they thought fit to attempt it by fire, being no great  
Citie, and when the Wind should rise, if they could, to  
burne it. For there was no way they did not thinke on, to  
haue gained it without expence and long siege. Hauing  
therefore brought Faggots, they cast them from the  
Mount, into the space betweene it and their new Wall,  
which by so many hands was quickly filled; and then in-  
to as much of the rest of the Citie, as at that distance they  
could reach: and throwing amongst them fire, together B  
with Brimstone and Pitch, kindled the Wood, and raised  
such a flame, as the like was neuer seene before, made by the  
hand of man. For as for the woods in the Mountaines, the  
trees haue indeed taken fire, but it hath bin by mutuall at-  
trition, and haue flamed out of their own accord. But this  
fire was a great one, and the Plataeans that had escaped o-  
ther mischiefes, wanted little of being consumed by this.  
For neere the Wall they could not get by a great way:  
and if the Wind had beene with it (as the enemy hoped  
it might) they could neuer haue escaped. It is also repor- C  
ted, that there fell much raine then, with great Thunder,  
and that the flame was extinguished, and the danger cea-  
sed by that. The Peloponnesians, when they failed like-  
wise of this, retayning a part of their Armie, and dismis-  
sing the rest, enclosed the Citie about with a Wall; diui-  
ding the circumference thereof to the charge of the seue-  
rall Cities. There was a Ditch both within and without  
it, out of which they made their Bricks; and after it was  
finished, which was about the \* rising of *Arcturus*, they  
left a guard for one halfe of the Wall, (for the other was D  
guarded by the *Boeotians*) and departed with the rest of  
their Armie, and were dissolved according to their Cities.  
The Plataeans had before this, sent their Wiues and Chil-  
dren, and all their vnserviceable men to *Athens*. The rest  
were besieged, beeing in number, of the Plataeans them-  
selves, 400. of *Athenians*, 80. and 100. Women to dresse  
their meate. These were all when the Siege was first  
laid, and not one more, neither free nor bond in the Citie.  
In this manner was the Citie besieged.

The same Summer, at the same time that this Journey E  
was made against Plataea, the Athenians with 2000. men of  
Armes

A Armes of their owne Citie, and 200. Horsemen, made  
Warre upon the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and the *Bottians*,  
when the Corne was at the highest, vnder the conduct of  
*Xenophon* the sonne of *Eurypides*, and two others. These  
comming before *Spartolus* in *Bottia*, destroyed the Corne,  
& expected that the Town should haue bin rendred by the  
practice of some within. But such as would not haue it  
so hauing sent for aid to *Olynthus* before, there came into the  
Citie for safeguard thereof, a supply both of men of Armes,  
and other Souldiers from thence. And these issuing forth  
B of *Spartolus*, the Athenians put themselves into order of Bat-  
tell vnder the Towne it selfe. The men of Armes of the  
*Chalcideans*, and certaine auxiliaries with them, were ouer-  
come by the Athenians, and retired within *Spartolus*. And  
the Horsemen of the *Chalcideans*, and their light-armed  
Souldiers, ouercame the Horsemen, and light-armed of  
the Athenians; but they had some few Targettiers besides,  
of the Territory called *Chrusis*. When the Battell was  
now begun, came a supply of other Targettiers from *O-*  
*lynthus*, which the light armed Souldiers of *Spartolus* per-  
ceiuing, emboldned both by this addition of strength, and  
also as hauing had the better before, with the *Chalcidean*  
Horse, and this new supply, charged the Athenians afresh.  
The Athenians heereupon retired to two companies they  
had left with the Carriages; and as oft as the Athenians  
charged, the *Chalcideans* retired; and when the Athenians  
retired, the *Chalcideans* charged them with their shot. E-  
specially the *Chalcidean* Horsemen rode vp; and charging  
them where they thought fit, forced the Athenians in ex-  
treme affright, to turne their backs, and chased them a  
great way. The Athenians fled to *Potidea*, and hauing af-  
terwards fetched away the bodies of their dead vpon trace,  
returned with the remainder of their Armie, to *Athens*.  
Foure hundred and thirty men they lost, and their chiefe  
Commanders all three. And the *Chalcideans* and *Bottians*,  
when they had set vp a Trophie, and taken vp their dead  
bodies, disbanded and went every one to his Citie.

Not long after this, the same Summer, the *Ambraciotes*  
and *Chaonians*, desiring to subdue all *Aeacania*, and to make  
it reuolt from the Athenians, perswaded the *Lacedaemonians*  
E to make ready a Fleet our of the Confederate Cities; and  
to send 1000. men of Armes into *Aeacania*; laying, that  
if

The Athenians send an  
Armie against the *Chalci-*  
*deans*.

The Athenians foughten  
with by the *Chalcideans* at  
*Spartolus*.

And ouerthrowne, with  
the losse of 3. Comman-  
ders.

The *Ambraciotes* invade  
*Aeacania*, together with  
the *Lacedaemonians*.

if they ayded them both with a Fleet, and a Land Armie A  
at once, the *Acarnanians* of the Sea-coast being thereby dis-  
abled to assift the rest, hauing easily gained *Acarnania*, they  
might be Masters afterward both of *Zacynthus* and *Cephalo-*  
*nia*, and the *Athenians* hereafter lesse able to make their voy-  
ages about *Peloponnesus*; and that there was a hope besides  
to take *Naupactus*. The *Peloponnesians* assenting, sent thi-  
ther *Cnemus*, who was yet Admirall, with his men of  
Armes, in a few Gallies immediately; and withall sent  
word to the Cities about, as soone as their Gallies were  
ready, to sayle with all speed to *Leucas*. Now the *Corin-* B  
*thians* were very zealous in the behalfe of the *Ambraciotes*,  
as being their owne Colony. And the Gallies which  
were to goe from *Corinth*, *Sicyonia*, and that part of the  
Coast, were now making ready; and those of the *Leucadi-*  
*ans*, *Anactorians*, and *Ambraciotes*, were arriued before, and  
stayed at *Leucas* for their comming. *Cnemus* and his 1000  
men of Armes, when they had crossed the Sea vndiscryed  
of *Phormio*, who commanded the 20. *Athenian* Gallies that  
kept watch at *Naupactus*, presently prepared for the War  
by Land. He had in his Army, of *Grecians*, the *Ambraci-* C  
*otes*, *Leucadians*, *Anactorians*, and the thousand *Peloponnesi-*  
*ans* he brought with him; and of *Barbarians*, a thousand  
*Chaonians*, who haue no King, but were led by *Photius* and  
*Nicanor*, which two being of the Families eligible had  
now the annuall gouernment. With the *Chaonians* came  
also the *Thesprotians*, they also without a King. The *Mo-*  
*lossians*, and *Amisanians* were led by *Sabylinthus*, protector of  
*Tharups* their King, who was yet in minority. The *Para-*  
*ueans* were led by their King *Orædus*; and vnder *Orædus*,  
serued likewise, by permission of *Antiochus* their King, a D  
thousand *Orestians*. Also *Perdiccas* sent thither; vn-  
knowne to the *Athenians*, a thousand *Macedonians*; but these  
last were not yet arriued. With this Armie began *Cnemus*  
to march, without staying for the Fleet from *Corinth*.  
And passing through *Argia*, they destroyed *Limnea*, a  
Towne vnwalled. From thence they marched towards  
*Stratus*, the greatest Citie of *Acarnania*; conceiuing that if  
they could take this first, the rest would come easily in.  
The *Acarnanians* seeing a great Army by Land was entred  
their Countrey already, and expecting the enemy also by E  
Sea, ioynd not to succour *Stratus*, but guarded euery one  
his

Lepanto.

The Armie of the *Ambraciotes* and their Con-  
federates.They goe toward *Stratus*,  
the greatest Citie  
of *Acarnania*.

A his owne, and sent for ayde to *Phormio*. But he answered  
them, that since there was a Fleet to bee set forth from  
*Corinth*, he could not leaue *Naupactus* without a garrison.  
The *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates, with their Ar-  
mie diuided into three, marched on towards the Citie of  
the *Stratians*, to the end that being encamped neere it, if  
they yeelded not on parley, they might presently assault  
the Walles. So they went on, the *Chaonians* and other  
*Barbarians* in the middle; the *Leucadians*; and *Anactorians*;  
and such others as were with these, on the right hand;  
B and *Cnemus*, with the *Peloponnesians*, and *Ambraciotes* on the  
left; each Armie at great distance, and sometimes out of  
sight one of another. The *Grecians* in their march, kept  
their order, and went warily on, till they had gotten a  
conuenient place to encampe in. But the *Chaonians* confi-  
dent of themselves, and by the inhabitants of that Conti-  
nent accounted most warlike, had not the patience to take  
in any ground for a Campe, but carried furiously on, toge-  
ther with the rest of the *Barbarians*; thought to haue taken  
the Towne by their clamour, and to haue the Action as-  
cribed onely to themselves. But they of *Stratus*, aware of C  
this, whilst they were yet in their way, and imagining, if  
they could ouercome these, thus deuised from the other  
two Armies, that the *Grecians* also would be the lesse for-  
ward to come on, placed diuers Ambushes not farre from  
the Citie, and when the enemies approached, fell vpon  
them, both from the Citie, and from the Ambushes at  
once, and putting them into affright, slew many of the  
*Chaonians* vpon the place. And the rest of the *Barbarians*  
seeing these to shrink, staid no longer, but fled outright.  
D Neither of the *Grecian* Armies had knowledge of this  
Skirmish, because they were gone so farre before, to chuse  
(as they then thought) a commodious place to pitch in.  
But when the *Barbarians* came backe vpon them running,  
they receiued them, and ioyning both Campes together,  
stirred no more for that day. And the *Stratians* assaulted  
them not, for want of the ayde of the rest of the *Acarnani-*  
*ans*, but vsed their slings against them, and troubled them  
much that way. For without their men of Armes, there  
was no stirring for them. And in this kinde the *Acarnani-*  
E *ans* are held excellent. When night came, *Cnemus* withdrew his Armie to the  
Riuer

Wariness of the *Grecians*.Rashness of the *Chaoni-*  
*ans*.Stratagem of the *Stratians*.



The Peloponnesians and  
Ambracioten retire without  
effect.

Phormio with 20 Gallies  
of Athens, overcommeth  
47 of the Peloponnesian  
Gallies.

The order of the Pe-  
loponnesian Gallies.

The order of the Atheni-  
an Gallies, and the Stra-  
tagem of Phormio.

Riuer Anapus, from *Stratus* 80. Furlongs, and fetched off A the dead bodies vpon truce, the next day. And, whereas the Citie *Oeniades* was come in of it selfe, he made his retreat thither, before the *Acarnanians* should assemble with their succours; and from thence went euery one home. And the *Stratians* set vp a Trophie of the Skirmish against the *Barbarians*.

In the meane time the Fleet of *Corinth*, and the other Confederates, that was to set out from the *Crissæan* Gulfe, and to ioyne with *Cnemus*, to hinder the lower *Acarnani-ans* from ayding the vpper, came not at all; but were B compelled to fight with *Phormio*, and those twenty *Athenian* Gallies that kept watch at *Naupactus*, about the same timethat the Skirmish was at *Stratus*. For as they sayled along the shore, *Phormio* waited on them till they were out of the streight, intending to set vpon them in the open Sea. And the *Corinthians* and their Confederates went not as to fight by Sea, but furnished rather for the Land-ser- uice in *Acarmania*; and neuer thought that the *Athenians* with their twenty Gallies, durst fight with theirs, that were seuen and forty. Neuerthelesse, when they saw that C the *Athenians*, as themselves sayled by one shore, kept ouer against them on the other, and that now when they went off from *Patra* in *Achaia*, to goe ouer to *Acarna- nia* in the opposite Continent, the *Athenians* came towards them from *Chalcis*, and the Riuer *Euenus*, and also knew that they had come to anchor there the night before, they found they were then to fight of necessity, directly against the mouth of the Straight. The Commanders of the Fleet were such as the Cities that set it foorth, had seuerally appointed; but of the *Corinthians*, these; *Machon*, *Isocra- D tes*, and *Agatharchidas*. The *Peloponnesians* ordered their Fleet in such manner, as they made thereof a Circle, as great as, without leauing the spaces so wide as for the *Athenians* to passe through, they were possibly able; with the stemmes of their Gallies outward, and sternes inward, and into the midst thereof, receiued such small Vessels as came with them; and also five of their swiftest Gallies, the which were at narrow passages to come forth in what- soeuer part the Enemy should charge.

But the *Athenians* with their Gallies ordered one after E one in file, went round them, and shrunke them vp to- gether,

A ther, by wiping them euer as they past, and putting them in expectation of present fight. But *Phormio* had before forbidden them to fight, till he himselfe had giuen them the signall. For he hoped that this order of theirs would not last long, as in an Army on Land, but that the Gallies would fall foule of one another, and be troubled also with the smaller vessels in the midst. And if the wind should also blow out of the Gulfe, in expectation whereof he so went round them, and which usually blew there euery morning, hee made account they would then instantly be B disordered. As for giuing the onset, because his Gallies were more agile then the Gallies of the enemy, he thought it was in his owne election, and would bee most oppor- tune on that occasion. When this wind was vp, and the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* being already contracted into a narrow compasse, were both waies troubled, by the wind, and withall by their owne lesser vessels that encumbered them; and when one Gallie fell foule of another, and the Mariners laboured to set them cleere with their poles, and through the noyse they made, keeping off, and reuiling C each other, heard nothing, neither of their charge, nor of the Gallies direction; and through want of skill, vnable to keepe vp their Oares in a troubled Sea, rendred the Gal- lie vntractable to him that sat at the Helme. Then, and with this opportunity he gaue the signall. And the *Athe- nians* charging, drowned first one of the Admirall Gallies, and diuers others after it, in the seuerall parts they assaul- ted; and brought them to that passe at length, that not one applying himselfe to the fight, they fled all towards *Patra* and *Dyme*, Cities of *Achaia*. The *Athenians*, after they D had chased them, and taken twelue Gallies, and slain most of the men that were in them, fell off, and went to *Moly- ctrium*; and when they had there set vp a Trophie, and consecrated one Gallie to *Neptune*, they returned with the rest to *Naupactus*. The *Peloponnesians* with the remainder of their Fleet, went presently along the Coast of *Cyllene*, the Arsenall of the *Eleans*; and thither, after the Battell at *Stratus*, came also *Cnemus*, from *Leucas*, and with him those Gallies that were there, and with which this other Fleet should haue bene ioyned.

E After this, the *Lacedemonians* sent vnto *Cnemus* to the Fleet, *Timocrates*, *Brasidas*, and *Lycophron* to be of his Coun- cell,

A sea wind which blew e-  
uery morning therefrom: the  
East, caused, as it seemed, by  
the approach of the Sun.

The Peloponnesians fly.

Preparation for another  
fight.



cell; with command to prepare for another better fight, A  
and not to suffer a few Gallies to deprive them of the use  
of the Sea. For they thought this accident (especially  
being their first proofe by sea) very much against reason;  
and that it was not so much a defect of the Fleet, as of  
their courage: neuer comparing the long practice of the *Athe-  
nians*, with their own short study in these businesses. And  
therefore they sent these men thither in passion: who be-  
ing arrived with *Cnemus*, intimated to the Cities about, to  
provide their Gallies, and caused those they had before, to  
be repayed. *Phormio* likewise sent to *Athens*, to make B  
known both the Enemies preparation, and his owne for-  
mer victory; and withall to will them to send speedily  
unto him, as many Gallies as they could make ready; be-  
cause they were every day in expectation of a new fight.  
Hereupon they sent him twenty Gallies, but comman-  
ded him that had the charge of them, to goe first into  
*Crete*.

Twenty saile of *Athenians*,  
sent to ayde *Phormio*, stay  
in *Crete*.

For *Nicias* a *Cretan* of *Gortys*, the publike Host of the *A-  
thenians*, had perswaded them to a voyage against *Cydonia*,  
telling them they might take it in, being now their En- C  
emie. Which he did, to gratifie the *Polichnita*, that bor-  
dered vpon the *Cydonians*. Therefore with these Gallies  
hee sayled into *Crete*, and together with the *Polichnita*, wa-  
sted the Territory of the *Cydonians*; where also, by reason  
of the Winds, and weather unfit to take Sea in, hee wa-  
sted not a little of his time.

The *Peloponnesians* saile by  
the Coast of *Lauprimus*.

In the meane time, whilest these *Athenians* were Wind-  
bound in *Crete*, the *Peloponnesians* that were in *Cyllene*, in or-  
der of Battell sayled along the Coast to *Panormus* of *Achaia*,  
to which also were their Land-forces come to ayde them. D  
*Phormio* likewise sayled by the shore to *Rhium* *Molychricum*,  
and anchored without it, with twenty Gallies, the same  
hee had vsed in the former Battell. Now this *Rhium* was  
of the *Athenians* side, and the other *Rhium* in *Peloponnesus*,  
lies on the opposite shore, distant from it at the most but  
seuen furlongs of Sea; and these two make the mouth of  
the *Crissæan* Gulfe. The *Peloponnesians* therefore came to  
an anchor at *Rhium* of *Achaia*, with 77. Gallies, not farre  
from *Panormus*, where they left their Land Forces. After  
they saw the *Athenians*, and had lye fixe or seuen daies one E  
against the other, meditating and providing for the Battell,  
the

A the *Peloponnesians* not intending to put off without *Rhium*  
into the wide Sea, for feare of what they had suffered by it  
before; nor the other to enter the Streight, because to  
fight within, they thought to be the Enemies aduantage.  
At last, *Cnemus*, *Brasidas*, and the other Commanders  
of the *Peloponnesians*, desiring to fight speedily, before a new  
supply should arrive from *Athens*, called the Soldiers toge-  
ther, and seeing the most of them to be fearefull through  
their former defeat, and not forward to fight againe, en-  
couraged them first with words to this effect.

B

## THE ORATION OF C N E M V S.

M En of *Peloponnesus*, If any of you be afraid of the Bat-  
tell at hand, for the succeſſe of the Battell past, his feare is  
without ground. For you know, wee were inferiour to  
them then in preparation, and set not forth as to a fight at Sea, but  
rather to an expedition by Land. Fortune likewise crossed vs in  
many things; and somewhat wee miscarried by unskilfulnesse: so  
C as the losse can no way be ascribed to cowardise. Nor is it iust, so  
long as we were not overcome by meere force, but haue somewhat  
to alledge in our excuse, that the mind should bee dejected for the  
calamity of the euent. But we must thinke, that though Fortune  
may faile men, yet the courage of a valiant man can neuer faile:  
and not that we may iustifie cowardise in any thing, by pretending  
want of skill, and yet bee truly valiant. And yet you are not  
so much short of their skill, as you exceede them in valour. And  
though this knowledge of theirs, which you so much feare, ioyned  
with courage, will not bee without a memory also, to put what they  
D know in execution, yet without courage, no act in the world is of  
any force in the time of danger. For feare confoundeth the memo-  
ry, and skill without courage availeth nothing. To their oddes  
therefore of skill, oppose your oddes of valour; and to the feare  
caused by your overthrow, oppose your being then unprouided. You  
haue further now, a greater Fleet, and to fight on your owne shore;  
with your aydes at hand, of men of Armes: and for the most part,  
the greatest number, and best provided, get the victory. So that  
wee can neither see any one cause in particular, why wee should  
E miscarry; and whatsoever were our wants in the former Battell,  
supplied in this, will now turne to our instruction. With cou-  
rage therefore, both Masters and Mariners, follow every man in  
his

his order, not forsaking the place assigned him. And for vs, wee A  
shall order the battaile as well as the former Commanders; and  
leauē no excuse to any man of his cowardize. And if any will needes  
be a coward, hee shall receiue condigne punishment, and the valiant  
shall be rewarded according to their merit. Thus did the Com-  
manders encourage the Peloponnesians.

Phormio doubteth of the  
courage of his Soldiers.

And Phormio, he likewise doubting that his Souldiers  
were but faint-hearted, and obseruing they had con-  
sultations apart, and were afraid of the multitude of the  
enemies Gallies, thought good, hauing called them toge- B  
ther, to encourage, and admonish them vpon the pre-  
sent occasion. For though he had alwayes before told  
them, and predisposed their mindes to an opinion, that  
there was no number of Gallies so great, which setting  
vpon them, they ought not to vndertake, and also most of  
the Souldiers had of long time assumed a conceit of them-  
selues, that being Athenians, they ought not to decline, any  
number of Gallies whatsoever, of the Peloponnesians; yet  
when he saw that the sight of the enemy present had de-  
iected them, he thought fit to reuiue their courage, and C  
hauing assembled the Athenians, said thus.

And encourageth them.

### THE ORATION OF PHORMIO.

Souldiers, hauing obserued your feare of the enemies number, I  
haue called you together, not enduring to see you terrified with  
things that are not terrible. For first, they haue prepared this  
great number, and oddes of Gallies, for that they were ouercome before,  
and because they are euen in their owne opinions too weake for vs. And D  
next, their present boldnesse proceeds onely from their knowledge in  
Land-service, in confidence whereof (as if to be valiant, were peculiar  
vnto them) they are now come vp; wherein hauing for the most part pro-  
spered, they thinke to doe the same in service by Sea. But in reason the  
oddes must be ours in this, as well as it is theirs in the other kinde.  
For in courage they exceed vs not, and as touching the aduantage of  
either side, we may better be bold now, then they. And the Lacedæ-  
monians, who are the leaders of the Confederates, bring them to  
fight for the greatest part (in respect of the opinion they haue of vs) a-  
gainst their wills. For else they would neuer haue vndertaken a new E  
battaile, after they were once so cleerely ouerthrowne. Feare not there-  
fore

Afore any great boldnesse on their part. But the feare which they haue  
of you, is farre, both greater, and more certaine, not onely for that you  
haue ouercome them before, but also for this, that they would neuer be-  
leeue you would goe about to resist, vnlesse you had some notable thing  
to put in practice vpon them. For when the enemy is the greater  
number as these are now, they invade chiefly vpon confidence of their  
strength. But they that are much the fewer must haue some great  
and sure designe when they dare fight vnconstrained. Wherewith  
these men now amazed, feare vs more for our vnlkely preparation,  
then they would if it were more proportionable. Besides, many great  
B Armies haue beene ouercome by the lesser, through vnskillfulnesse,  
and some also by timorousnesse, both which we our selues are free from.  
As for the battaile, I will not willingly fight it in the Gulfe, nor goe in  
thither; seeing that to a few Gallies with nimblenesse and art, against  
many without art, streightnesse of roome is disaduantage. For neither  
can one charge with the beake of the Gallie as is fit, vnlesse hee haue  
fight of the enemy a farre off, or if he be himselfe ouer-pressed, againe  
get cleere. Nor is there any getting through them, or turning to and  
fro, at ones pleasure, which are all the workes of such Gallies, as haue  
their aduantage in agility; but the Sea-fight would of necessity be the  
C same with a battaile by Land, wherein the greater number must haue  
the better. But of this, I shall my selfe take the best care I am able.  
In the meane time keepe you your order well in the Gallies, and every  
man receiue his charge readily; and the rather because the enemy is  
at Anchor so neere vs. In the fight, haue in great estimation, order  
and silence, as things of great force in most Military actions, especially  
in a fight by Sea; and charge these your enemies according to the  
worth of your former Acts. You are to fight for a great wager, ei-  
ther to destroy the hope of the Peloponnesian Nauies, or to bring  
the feare of the Sea neerer home to the Athenians. Again, let mee  
tell you, you haue beaten them once already; and men once ouercome,  
will not come againe to the danger so well resolved as before. Thus  
did Phormio also encourage his Souldiers.

The Peloponnesians, when they saw the Athenians would  
not enter the Gulfe, and Streight, desiring to draw them  
in against their willes, weighed Anchor, and betime in the  
morning hauing arranged their Gallies by foure and foure  
in a ranke, sayled along their owne Coast, within the  
Gulfe, leading the way, in the same order as they had lien  
E at Anchor with their right wing. In this wing they had  
placed 20 of their swiftest Gallies, to the end that if Phor-  
mio,

The stratagem of the  
Peloponnesians.

The Peloponnesians give  
the onier.

*Phormio*, thinking them going to *Naupactus*, should for safeguard A of the Towne, sayle along his owne Coast likewise, with- in the Straight, the *Athenians* might not be able to get be- yond that wing of theirs, and auoyd the impressiō, but be enclosed by their Gallies on both sides. *Phormio*, fear- ing (as they expected) what might become of the Towne now without guard, as soone as he saw them from Anchor, against his will, and in extreme haste, went a- board, and sayled along the Shoare, with the Land forces of the *Messenians*, marching by to ayde him. The *Pelo-* *ponnesians*, when they saw them sayle in one long File, B Gally after Gally, and that they were now in the Gulfe, and by the Shoare, (which they most desired) vpon one signe giuen, turned suddenly, euery one as fast as he could vpon the *Athenians*, hoping to haue intercepted them eu- ry Gallie. But of those, the eleuen formost, auoyding that wing, and the turne made by the *Peloponnesians*, got out in- to the open Sea. The rest they intercepted, and driuing them to the Shoare, sunke them.

The men, as many as swamme not out, they slew, and the Gallies, some they tyed to their owne, and towed C them away empty, and one with the men and all in her they had already taken. But the *Messenian* succours on Land, entring the Sea with their Armes, got aboard of some of them, and fighting from the Deckes, recovered them againe, after they were already towing away. And in this part, the *Peloponnesians* had the victory, and ouer- came the Gallies of the *Athenians*. Now the 20 Gallies that were their right wing, gaue chase to those eleuen *Athenian* Gallies, which had auoyded them when they turned, and were gotten into the open Sea. These flying D toward *Naupactus*, arriued there before the enemies, all saue one, and when they came vnder the Temple of *Apollo*, turned their beake heads, and put themselves in readinesse for defence, in case the enemy should follow them to the Land. But the *Peloponnesians* as they came after, were \* *Pæranizing*, as if they had already had the victory; and one Gallie which was of *Leucas*, being farre before the rest, gaue chase to one *Athenian* Gallie, that was behind the rest of the *Athenians*. Now it chanced that there lay out into the Sea, a certaine Ship at Anchor, to which the *Athenian* E Gally first comming, fetcht a compasse about her, and came

\* Singing the hymns of vi-  
ctory.

A came backe full butt against the *Leucadian* Gallie that gaue her chase, and sunke her. Vpon this vnexpected and vnlikly accident they began to feare, and hauing also fol- lowed the chase, as being victors, disorderly, some of them let downe their Oares into the water, and hindred the way of their Gallies (a matter of very ill consequence, seeing the enemy was sincere) and staid for more company. And some of them through ignorance of the Coast, ranne vpon the Shelues. The *Athenians* seeing this, tooke heart againe, and together with one clamour, set vpon them; B who resisted not long, because of their present errours committed, and their disarray, but turned, and fled to *Pa-* *normus* from whence at first they set forth. The *Atheni-* *ans* followed, and tooke from them sixe Gallies, that were hindmost, and recovered their own which the *Peloponnesi-* *ans* had sunke by the Shoare, and tyed a sterne of theirs. Of the men, some they slew, and some also they tooke aliae. In the *Leucadian* Gally that was sunke neere the ship, was *Timocrates*, a *Lacedæmonian*, who, when the Gally was lost, ranne himsef thorow with his sword, and his C body draue into the Hauen of *Naupactus*. The *Athenians* falling off, erected a Trophy in the place from whence they set forth to this victory, & took vp their dead, and the wracke, as much as was on their own shore, and gaue truce to the enemy to doe the like. The *Peloponnesians* also set vp a Trophy, as if they also had had the victory, in re- spect of the flight of those Gallies which they sunke by the Shoare; and the Gally which they had taken, they consecrated to *Neptune*, in *Rhium* of *Achaia*, hard by their Trophy. After this, fearing the supply which was ex- D pected from *Athen*, they sayled by night into the *Crissæan* Gulfe, and to *Corinth*, all but the *Leucadians*. And those *Athenians*, with twenty Gallies out of *Crete*, that should haue beene with *Phormio* before the battaile, not long af- ter the going away of the Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, arriued at *Naupactus*; And the Summer ended.

But before, the Fleet gone into the *Crissæan* Gulfe, and to *Corinth*, was disperfed. *Cnemus*, and *Brasidas*, and the rest of the Commanders of the *Peloponnesians*, in the beginning of Winter, instructed by the *Megareans*, thought good to E make an attempt vpon *Piræus*, the Hauen of the *Atheni-* *ans*. Now it was without guard, or barre, and that vpon very

The Athenians haue the  
victory.

*Timocrates* a *Lacedæmonian*  
Commander slayeth  
himselfe.

The end of the third  
Summer.

The *Peloponnesians* resolute  
to attempt the surprize  
of *Piræus*.

\* It may be hence gathered, that in the Gallies of old, there was but one man to one Oare.  
\* γερουλός, a piece of Leather wherein their Oare intred.

The Peloponneſians dare not execute their deſigne, but turne to Salamis.

\* Fires lifted up, ſignifying the comming of enemies, were lifted vp towards Athens, ſignifying friends comming, if ſwathed, enemies. Scholiaſtes.

very good cauſe, conſidering how much they exceeded others in the power of their Nauy. And it was reſolued, that euery Mariner with \*his Oare, his Cuſhion, and \* one Thong for his Oare to turne in, ſhould take his way by Land from *Corinth*, to the other Sea, that lyeth to *Athens*, and going with all ſpeed to *Megara*, lanch forty Gallies out of *Niſea*, the Arſenall of the *Megareans*, which then were there, and ſayle preſently into *Piræus*. For at that time, there neither ſtood any Gallies for a watch before it, nor was there any imagination, that the enemies would on ſuch a ſudden come vpon them. For they durſt not haue attempted it openly, though with leaſure; nor if they had had any ſuch intention, could it but haue been diſcouered. As ſoone as it was reſolued on; they ſet preſently forward, and arriuing by night, lanchd the ſaid Gallies of *Niſea*, and ſet Sayle, not now towards *Piræus*, as they intended, fearing the danger, and a wind was alſo ſaid to haue riſen, that hindred them, but toward a Promontory of *Salamis*, lying out towards *Megara*.

Now, there was in it, a little Fort, and vnderneath in the Sea, lay three Gallies that kept watch, to hinder the importation and exportation of any thing, to or from the *Megareans*. This Fort they aſſaulted, and the Gallies they towed empty away after them. And being come vpon the *Salaminiens*, vnawares, waſted alſo other parts of the Iland.

By this time the fires \* ſignifying the comming of enemies, were lifted vp towards *Athens*, and affrighted them more then any thing that had happened in all this Warre. For they in the Citie thought the enemies had been already in *Piræus*. And they in *Piræus* thought the Citie of the *Salaminiens* had been already taken, and that the enemy would inſtantly come into *Piræus*. Which, had they not been afraid, nor been hindred by the wind, they might alſo eaſily haue done. But the *Athenians*, as ſoone as it was day, came with the whole ſtrength of the Citie, into *Piræus*, and lanchd their Gallies, and imbarcking in haſte, and tumult, ſet ſayle toward *Salamis*, leaving for the guard of *Piræus*, an Army of Foot. The *Peloponneſians* vpon notice of thoſe ſuccours, hauing now ouer-runne moſt of *Salamis*, and taken many priſoners, and much other booty, beſides the three Gallies from the Fort of *Budorus*, went

A went backe in all haſte to *Niſea*. And ſomewhat they feared the more, for that their Gallies had lyen long in the water, and were ſubiect to leaking. And when they came to *Megara*, they went thence to *Corinth* againe by Land. The *Athenians* likewise, when they found not the Enemy at *Salamis*, went home; and from that time forward, looked better to *Piræus*, both for the ſhutting of the Ports, and for their diligence otherwaies.

About the ſame time, in the beginning of the ſame Winter, *Syralces* an *Odryſian*, the ſonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, made Warre vpon *Perdiccas* the ſonne of *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, and vpon the *Chalcideans* bordering on *Thrace*; vpon two promiſes; one of which hee required to be performed to him, and the other hee was to performe himſelfe. For *Perdiccas* had promiſed ſomewhat vnto him, for reconciling him to the *Athenians*, who had formerly oppreſſed him with Warre, and for not reſtoring his Brother *Philip* to the Kingdome, that was his Enemy, which hee neuer paid him; And *Syralces* himſelfe had couenanted with the *Athenians*, when he made League with them, that he would end the Warre which they had againſt the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*. For theſe cauſes therefore hee made this Expedition; and tooke with him both *Amyntas*, the ſonne of *Philip*, (with purpoſe to make him King of *Macedonia*) and alſo the *Athenian* Ambaſſadours then with him for that buſineſſe, and *Agnon* the *Athenian* Commander. For the *Athenians* ought alſo to haue ioyned with him againſt the *Chalcideans*, both with a Fleet, and with as great Land-forces as they could prouide.

D Beginning therefore with the *Odryſians*, he leuied firſt thoſe *Thracians* that inhabite on this ſide the Mountaines *Æmus* and *Rhodope*, as many as were of his owne dominion, downe to the ſhore of the *Euxine* Sea, and the *Helleſpont*. Then beyond *Æmus* he leuied the *Getes*, and all the Nations betweene *Iſter* and the *Euxine* Sea. The *Getes*, and people of thoſe parts, are borderers vpon the *Scythians*, and furniſhed as the *Scythians* are, all Archers on Horſebacke. He alſo drew forth many of thoſe *Scythians* that inhabite the Mountaines, and are free-States, all Sword-men, and are called *Dij*, the greateſt part of which are on the Mountaine *Rhodope*; whereof ſome he hyred, and ſome went as

The King of Thrace maketh Warre on the King of Macedonia.

The description of  
Thrace.

Voluntaries. He leuied also the *Agrianes* and *Leaans*, and A all other the Nations of *Paonia*, in his owne Dominion. These are the vtmost bounds of his Dominion, extending to the *Graans* and *Leaans*, Nations of *Paonia*, and to the Riuer *Strymon*; which rising out of the Mountaine *Scomius*, passeth through the Territories of the *Graans* and *Leaans*, who make the bounds of his Kingdome toward *Paonia*, and are subiect onely to their owne Lawes. But on the part that lyeth to the *Triballians*, who are also a free people, the *Treres* make the bound of his Dominion, and the *Tilataans*. These dwell on the North side of the B Mountaine *Scomius*, and reach Westward, as farre as to the Riuer *Oscius*, which commeth out of the same Hill *Nessus* and *Hebrus* doth; a great and desart Hill adioyning to *Rhodope*.

The Dimension of the Dominion of the *Odrysians* by the Sea side, is from the Citie of the *Abderites*, to the mouth of *Ister* in the *Euxine* Sea; and is, the neereft way, foure dayes, and as many nights Sayle for a \* round Ship, with a continuall fore-wind. By Land likewise, the neereft way, it is from the Citie *Abdera*, to the mouth of *Ister*, C eleuen dayes iourney for an expedite Footman. Thus it lay in respect of the Sea.

Now for the Continent; from *Byzantium* to the *Leaans*, and to the Riuer *Strymon* (for it reacheth this way farthest into the maine Land) it is for the like Footman, thirteene dayes iourney. The Tribute they receiued from all the Barbarian Nations, and from the Cities of *Greece*, in the reigne of *Seuthes*, (who reigned after *Sitalces*, and made the most of it) was in gold and siluer, by estimation, \* 400. Talents by yeere. And Presents of gold and siluer came D to as much more. Besides Vestures, both wrought and plaine, and other furniture, presented not onely to him, but also to all the men of authority; and *Odrysian* Nobility about him. For they had a custome, which also was generall to all *Thrace*, contrary to that of the Kingdome of *Persia*, to receiue rather then to giue: and it was there a greater shame to be asked and deny, then to aske and goe without. Neuerthelesse they held this custome long, by reason of their power: for without gifts, there was nothing to be gotten done amongst them. So that this Kingdome arriued thereby to great power: for of all the Nations E

\* A Ship that receiue onely  
Sailes, of the round forme of  
building, and seruing for bur-  
then, in distinction to Gallies,  
and all other vessels of the  
long forme of building, ser-  
uing for the Warres.

\* 75000. pound sterling.

A tions of *Europe*, that lye betweene the \* *Ionian* Gulfe, and the *Euxine* Sea, it was, for reuenue of money, and other wealth, the mightiest; though indeed for strength of an Army, and multitudes of Souldiers, the same be farre short of the *Scythians*: For there is no Nation, nor to say of *Europe*, but neither of *Asia*, that are comparable to this, or that as long as they agree, are able, one Nation to one, to stand against the *Scythians*: and yet in matter of counsell and wisdom in the present occasions of life, they are not like to other men.

B *Sitalces* therefore, King of this great Countrey, prepared his Armie, and when all was ready, set forward, and marched towards *Macedonia*. First, through his owne Dominion; then ouer *Cercine*, a desart Mountaine diuiding the *Sintians* from the *Paonians*, ouer which he marched the same way himselve had formerly made with Timber, when he made Warre against the *Paonians*. Passing this Mountaine, out of the Countrey of the *Odrysians*, they had on their right hand the *Paonians*, and on the left, the *Sinti-ans* and *Medes*, and beyond it, they came to the Citie of *Do-berus* in *Paonia*. His Army, as hee marched, diminished C not any way, except by sicknesse, but encreased, by the accession of many free Nations of *Thrace*, that came in vncalled, in hope of Booty. Insomuch as the whole number is said to haue amounted to no lesse then 150000. men. Wherof the most were foot, the Horse being a third part, or thereabouts. And of the Horse, the greatest part were the *Odrysians* themselues, and the next most, the *Getes*. And of the Foot, those Sword-men, a free Nation, that came downe to him out of the Mountaine *Rhodope*, were most D warlike. The rest of the promiscuous multitude, were formidable onely for their number. Being all together at *Doberus*, they made ready to fall in, from the Hilles side, into the lower *Macedonia*, the dominion of *Perdiccas*. For there are in *Macedonia*, the *Lyncestians*, and the *Helimio-tes*, and other High-land Nations, who though they bee Confederates, and in subiection to the other, yet haue their feuerall Kingdomes by themselues. But of that part of the now *Macedonia* which lyeth toward the Sea, *Alexander*, the E Father of this *Perdiccas*, and his Ancestors, the *Temenides*, who came out of *Argos*, were the first possessors, and raigned in the same; hauing first driuen out of *Pieria* the *Pieri-*

\* The Adriatique Sea.  
*Mar Maggiore*.

The great power of the  
*Scythians*.

The beginning of the  
Kingdome of *Macedonia*.  
The *Macedonian* Kings  
descended of the *Temeni-*  
*des*, a Family in *Argos*, of  
the *Peloponnesians*.



ans, (which afterwards seated themselves in *Phagres*, and other Townes beyond *Strymon*, at the foot of *Pangeum*; From which cause, that Countrey is called the Gulfe of *Pieria* to this day, which lyeth at the foot of *Pangeum*, and bendeth toward the Sea) and out of that which is called *Bottia*, the *Bottians*, that now border vpon the *Chalcideans*. They possessed besides a certaine narrow portion of *Peonia*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Axius*, reaching from aboue downe to *Pella*, and to the Sea. Beyond *Axius* they possessed the Countrey called *Mygdonia*, as farre as to *Strymon*, from whence they haue driuen out the *Eidonians*. Furthermore they draue the *Eordians* out of the Territory, now called *Eorda*, (of whom the greatest part perished, but there dwell a few of them yet about *Physca*) and the *Almopians* out of *Almopia*. The same Macedonians subdued also other Nations, and hold them yet, as *Anthemus*, *Grestonia*, and *Bisaltia*, and a great part of the Macedonians themselves. But the whole is called *Macedonia*, and was the Kingdome of *Perdiccas* the sonne of *Alexander*, when *Sitalces* came to inuade it. The Macedonians vnable to stand in the Field against so huge an Armie, retired all within their strong Holds, and walled Townes, as many as the Countrey afforded; which were not many then; but were built afterwards by *Archelaus* the sonne of *Perdiccas*, when he came to the kingdome, who then also laid out the high wayes straight, and tooke order both for matter of Warre, as Horses and Armes, and for other prouision, better then all the other 8. Kings that were before him. The *Thracian* Army arising from *Doberus*, invaded that Territory first, which had bene the Principality of *Philip*, and tooke *Eidomene* by force; but *Gortynia*, *Atalanta*, and some other Townes he had yeelded to him, for the loue of *Amyntas* the sonne of *Philip*, who was then in the Armie. They also assaulted *Europus*, but could not take it. Then they went on further into *Macedonia*, on the part that lyes on the right hand of *Pella*, and *Cyrrhus*; but within these, into *Bottia* and *Pieria* they entred not, but wasted *Mygdonia*, *Grestonia*, and *Anthemus*. Now the Macedonians had neuer any intention to make head against them with their Foot, but sending out their Horsemen, which they had procured from their Allyes of the higher *Macedonia*, they assaulted the *Thracian* Armie, in such places, where few against many,

The Macedonians retire into their walled towns.

*Archelaus* the sonne of *Perdiccas*, the ninth King of *Macedon*, of the Family of the *Temenidae*.

A many, they thought they might doe it with most conuenience; and where they charged, none was able to resist them, being both good Horsemen, and well armed with Breastplates; but enclosed by the multitude of the Enemies, they fought against manifold oddes of number: so that in the end they gaue it ouer, esteeming themselves too weake to hazard Battell against so many.

After this, *Sitalces* gaue way to a conference with *Perdiccas*, touching the motiues of this Warre. And forasmuch as the *Athenians* were not arriued with their Fleet, (for they thought not that *Sitalces* would haue made the Iourney) but had sent Ambassadors to him with Presents, he sent a part of his Army against the *Chalcideans* and *Bottians*, wherewith hauing compelled them within their walled Townes, he wasted and destroyed their Territory. Whilest he stayed in these parts, the *Thessalians* Southward, and the *Magnetians*, and the rest of the Nations subject to the *Thessalians*, and all the *Grecians* as far as to *Thermopylae*, were afraid he would haue turned his Forces vpon them, and stood vpon their guard. And Northward those *Thracians* that inhabite the *Champaigne* Countrey beyond *Strymon*, namely the *Paneans*, *Odomantians*, *Droans*, and *Dersaeans*, all of them free States, were afraid of the same. He gaue occasion also to a rumour, that hee meant to leade his Army against all those *Grecians* that were enemies to the *Athenians*, as called in by them to that purpose, by vertue of their League. But whilest hee stayed, hee wasted the *Chalcidean*, *Bottian*, and *Macedonian* Territories; and when hee could not effect what he came for, and his Army both wanted victuall, and was afflicted with the coldness of the season; *Seuthes* the sonne of *Spardocus*, his cousin German, and of greatest authority next himselfe, perswaded him to make haste away. Now *Perdiccas* had dealt secretly with *Seuthes*, and promised him his Sister in marriage, and money with her: and *Sitalces* at the perswasion of him, after the stay of full thirty dayes, wherof he spent eight in *Chalcidea*, retyred with his Army, with all speed, into his owne Kingdome. And *Perdiccas* shortly after gaue to *Seuthes* his Sister *Stratonica* in marriage, as hee had promised. This was the issue of this Expedition of *Sitalces*.

The same Winter, after the Fleet of the *Peloponnesians* was

*Sitalces* and *Perdiccas* come to a conference about the motiues of the Warre.

The *Grecians*, at the coming of this Army, stand vpon their Guard, fearing they were called in by the *Athenians* to subdue them.

*Seuthes*, corrupted by *Perdiccas*, perswaded *Sitalces* to returne.

*Phormio* putteth suspected persons out of *Stratus* and *Carente*.



was dissolued, the Athenians that were at Naupactus, vnder A the conduct of Pbormio, sayled along the Coast to Astacus, and disembarking, marched into the inner parts of Acarnania. Hee had in his Army, 400. men of Armes that hee brought with him in his Gallies, and 400. more Messenians. With these he put out of Stratus, Corontæ, and other places, all those whose fidelity hee thought doubtfull. And when he had restored Cynes the sonne of Theolytus to Corontæ, they returned againe to their Gallies. For they thought they should not be able to make Warre against the Oeniades, (who onely of all Acarnania are the Athenians Enemies) in respect of the Winter. For the Riuer Achelous, springing out of the Mountaine Pindus, and running through Dolopia, and through the Territories of the Agreans, and the Amphilocheians, and through most part of the Champaigne of Acarnania, passing aboue by the City of Stratus, and falling into the Sea by the Citie of the Oeniades, which also it moateth about with Fens, by the abundance of Water, maketh it hard lying there for an Army in time of Winter. Also most of the Ilands Echinades lye iust ouer against Oenia, hard by the mouth of Achelous. And the Riuer being a great one, continually heapeth together the grauell; insomuch that some of those Ilands are become Continent already, and the like in short time is expected by the rest. For not onely the streame of the Riuer is swift, broad, and turbidous, but also the Ilands themselues stand thicke, and because the Grauell cannot passe, are ioyned one to another, lying in and out, not in a direct line, nor so much as to giue the Water his course directly forward into the Sea. These Ilands are all Desart, and but small ones. It is reported, that Apollo by his Oracle did assigne this place for an habitation to Alcmaeon the sonne of Amphiraus, at such time as he wandred vp and downe for the killing of his Mother; telling him, That he should neuer be free from the terrours that haunted him, till he had found out, and seated himselfe in such a Land, as when he slew his Mother, the Sunne had neuer scene, nor was then Land, because all other Lands were polluted by him. Hereupon being at a Non-plus, as they say, with much adoe hee obserued this ground congested by the Riuer Achelous, and thought there was enough cast vp to serue his turne, already, since the time of the slaughter of his

The course of the Riuer Achelous.

The Fable of Alcmaeon.

A his Mother, after which it was now a long time that hee had beene a Wanderer. Therefore seating himselfe in the places about the Oeniades, hee reigned there, and named the Countrey after the name of his sonne Acarnas. Thus goes the report, as we haue heard it concerning Alcmaeon. But Pbormio and the Athenians leauing Acarnania, and returning to Naupactus, in the very beginning of the Spring, came backe to Athens, and brought with them such Gallies as they had taken, and the Free-men they had taken Prisoners, in their fights at Sea, who were againe set at liberty by exchange of man for man. So ended that Winter, and the third Yeere of the Warre written by THUCYDIDES.

(\*\*)

Acarnania whence so called.

The end of the third yeere of the Warre,



A



B

# THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

## The principall Contents.

C

Attica invaded by the Peloponnesians. The Mitylenians revolt, and are received by the Peloponnesians at Olympia, into their league. The Athenians send Paches to Mitylene to besiege it. Part of the besieged Plataeans escape through the fortifications of the enemy. The Commons of Mitylene, armed by the Nobility for a sally on the enemy, deliver the towne to the Athenians. The residue of the Plataeans yeeld to the besiegers, and are put to the sword. The proceedings upon the Mitylenians, and their punishment. The sedition in Corcyra. Laches is sent by the Athenians into Sicily. And Nicias into Melos. Demosthenes fighteth against the Aetolians unfortunately; and after wards against the Ambraciotes fortunately. Pythadorus is sent into Sicily, to receive the Fleet from Laches. This in other three yeeres of this Warre.

D



E

He Summer following, the Peloponnesians, and their Confederates at the time when Corne was at the highest, entred with their Army into Attica, vnder the Conduct of Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, King of the Lacedemonians, & there let them downe, and wasted the Territory about. And the Athenian horsemen, as they were wont, fell vpon the enemy where they

THE FOURTH  
YHERE.  
The Peloponnesians invade  
Attica.

they thought fit, and kept backe the multitude of A light-armed Souldiers, from going out before the men of Armes, and infesting the places neere the Citie. And when they had staid as long as their victuall lasted, they returned, and were dissolued according to their Cities.

The Revolt of Lesbos.

After the *Peloponnesians* were entred *Attica*, *Lesbos* immediately, all but *Methymne*, revolted from the *Athenians*; which though they would haue done before the Warre, and the *Lacedemonians* would not then receive them, yet euen now they were forced to revolt sooner then they had intended to doe. For they staid to haue first straightened the mouth of their Hauen with Dammes of Earth, to haue finished their Walles, and their Gallies then in building, and to haue gotten in all that was to come out of *Pontus*, as Archers, and Victuall, and whatsoever else they had sent for.

The intention of the Lesbians to revolt, discovered to the Athenians.

But the *Tenedians*, with whom they were at oddes, and the *Methymnians*, and of the *Mitylenians* themselves, certaine particular men, vpon Faction, being C Hostes to the *Athenians*, made knowne vnto them, that the *Lesbians* were forced to goe all into *Mitylene*; that by the helpe of the *Lacedemonians*, and their Kindred the *Bæotians*, they hastned all manner of prouision necessary for a Revolt, and that vnlesse it were presently preuented, all *Lesbos* would be lost.

The *Athenians* (afflicted with the Disease, and with the Warre now on foot, and at the hottest) thought it a dangerous matter, that *Lesbos*, which had a Naue, and was of strength entire, should thus bee D added to the rest of their Enemies; and at first received not the accusations, holding them therefore the rather feigned, because they would not haue had them true.

The Athenians send 40. Gallies to Lesbos.

But after, when they had sent Ambassadors to *Mitylene*, and could not perswade them to dissolue themselves, and vndoe their preparation, they then feared the worst, and would haue preuented them. And to that purpose, suddenly sent out the 40. Gallies made ready for *Peloponnesus* with *Cleippedes* and 2. other Commanders. For they had bin E aduertised, that there was a Holiday of *Apollo Malocis* to be kept

A kept without the Citie, and that to the celebration thereof the *Mitylenians* were accustomed to come all out of the Towne; and they hoped, making haste, to take them there vnawares. And if the attempt succeeded, it was well; if not, they might command the *Mitylenians* to deliuer vp their Gallies, and to demollish their Walles; or they might make Warre against them, if they refused. So these Gallies went their way. And tenne Gallies of *Mitylene* which then chanced to be at *Athens*, by vertue of their League to ayde them, the *Athenians* stayed, and cast B into prison the men that were in them. In the meane time a certaine man went from *Athens* into *Eubæa* by Sea, and then by Land to *Gerebus*, and finding there a Ship ready to put off, hauing the Wind fauourable, arriued in *Mitylene*, three dayes after he set forth from *Athens*, and gaue them notice of the comming of the Fleet. Hereupon they not onely went not out to *Malocis*, as was expected, but also stopped the gappes of their Walles and Ports, where they were left vnfinished, and placed guards to defend them.

The Athenians imprison such of Mitylene as were at Athens, and stay their Gallies.

C When the *Athenians*, not long after, arriued, and saw this, the Commanders of the Fleet deliuered to the *Mitylenians* what they had in charge, which not harkened vnto, they presently fell to the Warre. The *Mitylenians* vnprovided, and compelled to a Warre on such a sudden, put out some few Gallies before the Hauen to fight: but being driuen in againe by the Gallies of *Athens*, they called to the *Athenian* Commanders to parly; desiring, if they could, vpon reasonable conditions, to get the Gallies for the present sent away.

D And the *Athenian* Commander allowed the Conditions, hee also fearing they should bee too weake to make Warre against the whole Island.

The Athenians give the Mitylenians time to purge themselves at Athens.

When a cessation of Armes was granted, the *Mitylenians* amongst others, sent to *Athens*, one of those that had giuen intelligence there of their Designe, and had repented him after of the same, to try if they could perswade them to withdrawe their Fleet from them, as not intending any innouation. Withall they sent Ambassadors at the same time to *Lacedæmon*, vnder E couered of the Fleete of the *Athenians*, which was riding at Anchor in \* *Malæa*, to the North of the Citie, being

The Mitylenians sent to Lacedæmon for ayde; \* This Malæa seemeth not to be the Promontory of Malæa, according to the Scollay, which lyeth to the South of Mitylene; but some other nearer place, on the North side of the Citie.

The Mylean Ambassadors speed not at Athens.

They sally out vpon the Athenians, but without successe.

They lye still, expecting helpe from Peloponnesus.

The Athenians send for the aydes of their Confederates.

The Athenians send Asopius the sonne of Phormio, with 20. Gallies about Peloponnesus.

being without any confidence of their successe at Athens. A And these men after an ill voyage, through the wide Sea, arriuing at Lacedæmon, negotiated the sending of aide from thence. But when their Ambassadors were come backe from Athens, without effect, the Mitylenians, and the rest of Lesbos, saue only Methymne, (for these, together with the Imbrians, Lemnians, and some few other their Confederates, ayded the Athenians) prepared themselves for the Warre. And the Mitylenians with the whole strength of the City, made a sally vpon the Athenian Campe, and came to a Battell, wherein though the Mitylenians had not the worse, yet B they lay not that night without the Walles, nor durst trust to their strength, but retyring into the Towne, lay quiet there, expecting to try their fortune, with the accession of such forces, as (if any came) they were to haue from Peloponnesus. For there were now come into the Citie, one Meleas a Laconian, and Hermiondas a Theban, who hauing bin sent out before the reuolt, but vnable to arriue before the comming of the Athenian Fleet, secretly, after the end of the Battell, entred the Hauen in a Gally, and perswaded them to send another Gally along with them, with other Ambassadors to Sparta; which they did. But the Athenians much confirmed by this the Mitylenians cessation, called in their Confederates, who because they saw no assurance on the part of the Lesbians, came much sooner in then it was thought they would haue done; & riding at Anchor to the South of the Citie, fortified two Camps, on either side one, and brought their Gallies before both the Ports, and so quite excluded the Mitylenians from the vse of the Sea. As for the Land, the Athenians held so much onely as lay neere their Campes, which was not much; And the Mitylenians and other Lesbians, that were now come to ayde them, were Masters of the rest. For Malea serued the Athenians for a station onely for their Gallies, and to keepe their Market in. And thus proceeded the Warre before Mitylene.

About the same time of the same Summer, the Athenians sent likewise thirty Gallies into Peloponnesus, vnder the conduct of Asopius the sonne of Phormio. For the Acarnanians had desired them to send some sonne or kinsman of Phormio for Generall into those parts. These, as they sayled by, E wasted the maritime Countrey of Laconia, and then sending

A ding backe the greatest part of his Fleet to Athens, Asopius himselfe with twelue Gallies went on to \* Naupactus. And afterwards hauing raised the whole power of Acarnania, he made Warre vpon the Oeniades, and both entred with his Gallies into the Riuer of Achelous, and with his Land-forces wasted the Territory. But when the Oeniades would not yeeld, hee disbanded his Land-forces, and sayled with his Gallies to Leucas, and landed his Souldiers on the Territory of Neritum; but in going off, was by those of the Countrey that came out to defend it, and by B some few of the Garrison Souldiers there, both himselfe and part of his Company slaine. And hauing vpon truce receiued from the Leucadians their dead bodies, they went their wayes.

Now the Ambassadors of the Mitylenians, that went out in the first Gally, hauing beene referred by the Lacedæmonians to the generall meeting of the Grecians at Olympia, to the end they might determine of them, together with the rest of the Confederates, went to Olympia accordingly. It was that \* Olympiade wherein Dorieus of Rhodes was the second time Victor. And when after the solemnity, they were set in Councell, the Ambassadors spake vnto them in this manner.

### THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of MITYLENE.

MEN of Lacedæmon, and Confederates, We know the received custome of the Grecians: For they that take into League such as reuolt in the Warres, and relinquish a D former League, though they like them as long as they haue profit by them, yet accounting them but Traitours to their former Friends, they esteeme the worse of them in their iudgement. And to say the truth, this iudgement is not without good reason, when they that reuolt, and they from whom the reuolt is made, are mutually like-minded and affected, and equal in prouision and strength, and no iust cause of their reuolt giuen. But now betweene vs and the Athenians it is not so. Nor let any man thinke the worse of vs, for that hauing beene honoured by them in time of peace, we haue now reuolted in time of danger. For the first point of our speech, especially now we seeke to come into League with you, shall bee to make good the iustice and honesty of our reuolt. For we know there can bee

\* Lepanto.

Asopius slaine.

The Mitylenian Ambassadors sent to Lacedæmon, are appointed to attend the generall Assembly of the Grecians at Olympia.

\* Olympiade 88.

bee neither firme friendship betweene man and man, nor any commun- A  
 ion betweene Citie and Citie to any purpose whatsoeuer, without a  
 mutuell opinion of each others honesty, and also a similitude of  
 customes otherwayes. For in the difference of mindes is grounded  
 the diuersity of actions. As for our League with the Athenians, it  
 was first made, when you gaue ouer the Medan Warre, and they re-  
 mained to prosecute the reliques of that businesse: Yet wee entred not  
 such a League, as to be their helpers in bringing the Grecians into  
 the seruitude of the Athenians; but to set free the Grecians from  
 the seruitude of the Medes. And as long as they led vs as e-  
 quals, wee followed them with much zeale; but when wee saw they B  
 remitted their enmity against the Medes, and led vs to the subing-  
 ation of the Confederates, we could not then but bee afraid. And the  
 Confederates through the multitude of distinct Councils, unable to  
 write themselves for resistance, fell all but our selues and the Chians  
 into their subiection; and wee hauing still our owne Lawes, and being  
 in name a free State, followed them to the Warres; but so, as by the  
 examples of their former actions, we held them not any longer for  
 faithfull Leaders. For it was not probable, when they had subdued  
 those, whom together with vs they tooke into league, but that, when C  
 they should bee able, they would doe the like also by the rest. It is true  
 that if we were now in liberty all, wee might bee the better assured,  
 that they would forbear to innouate; but since they haue vnder them  
 the greatest part already, in all likelihood they will take it ill, to deale  
 on equall termes with vs alone; and the rest yeelding, to let vs onely  
 stand vp as their equals. Especially when by how much they are be-  
 come stronger by the subiection of their Confederates, by so much the  
 more are wee become desolate. But the equality of mutuell feare, is  
 the onely band of faith in Leagues. For hee that hath the will to trans-  
 gresse, yet when he hath not the oddes of strength, will abstaine from  
 conning on. Now the reason why they haue left vs yet free, is no D  
 other, but that they may haue a faire colour to lay vpon their domina-  
 tion ouer the rest; and because it hath seemed vnto them more expe-  
 dient to take vs in by policy, then by force. For therein they made vse  
 of vs. for an argument, that hauing equall vote with them, wee  
 would neuer haue followed them to the Warres, if those against whom  
 they led vs, had not done the iniury. And thereby also they brought  
 the stronger against the weaker, and reseruing the strongest to the last,  
 made them the weaker, by remouing the rest. Whereas if they had  
 begonne with vs, when the Confederates had had both their owne  
 strength, and a side to adhere to, they had neuer subdued them so easi- E  
 ly. Likewise our Navy kept them in some feare, lest vnited and  
 added

A added to yours, or to any other, it might haue created them some dan-  
 ger. Partly also we escaped by our obseruance toward their Commons  
 and most eminent men from time to time. But yet we still thought we  
 could not doe so long, considering the examples they haue shewed vs in  
 the rest, if this Warre should not haue fallen out. What friendship  
 then or assurance of liberty was this, when we receiued each other  
 with alienated affections? when whilst they had Warres, they for  
 feare courted vs, and when they had Peace, we for feare courted them?  
 and whereas in others, good will assureth loyalty, in vs it was the effect  
 of feare? So it was more for feare then loue, that we remained their  
 B Confederates; and whomsoeuer security should first embolden, he was  
 first likely by one meanes or other to breake the league. Now if any  
 man thinke we did vniustly, to reuolt vpon the expectation of euill in-  
 tended, without staying to be certaine, whether they would doe it  
 or not, he weigheth not the matter aright. For if we were as able to  
 contriue euill against them, and againe to deferre it, as they can against  
 vs, being thus equall, what needed vs to be at their discretion? But  
 seeing it is in their hands to innuade at pleasure, it ought to be in ours to  
 anticipate. Vpon these pretentions therefore, and causes, Men of  
 Lacedæmon & Confederates, we haue reuolted, the which are both  
 C cleare enough for the hearers to iudge vpon, that we had reason for it,  
 and wei, hty enough to affright, and compell vs to take same course for  
 our owne safety; whi. h we would haue done before; when before the  
 Warre, we sent Ambassadors to you about our reuolt, but could not, be-  
 cause you would not then admit vs into your league. And now when  
 the Boeotians inuited vs to it, we presently obeyed. Wherein wee  
 thought we made a double reuolt, one from the Grecians, in ceasing  
 to doe them mischiefe with the Athenians, and helping to set them  
 free; and another from the Athenians, in breaking first, and not  
 staying to be destroyed by them hereafter. But this reuolt of ours hath  
 D beene sooner then was fit, and before we were provided for it. For  
 which cause also the Confederates ought so much the sooner to admit  
 vs into the league, and send vs the speedier aide, thereby the better, at  
 once, both to defend those you ought to defend, and to annoy your ene-  
 mies. Whereof there was neuer better opportunity then at this pre-  
 sent. For the Athenians being both with the likenesse, and their  
 great expences consumed, and their Navy diuided, part vpon your own  
 Coasts, and part vpon ours, it is not likely they should haue many Gal-  
 lies spare, in case you againe this Summer innuade them, both by Sea  
 and Land; but that they should either be unable to resist the inuasion  
 E of your Fleet, or be forced to come off from both our Coastes. And  
 let not any man conceiue that you shall herein, at your owne danger  
 defend

defend the Territory of another. For though Lesbos seeme remote, A the profit of it will be neere you. For the Warre will not be, as a man would thinke, in Attica, but there, from whence commeth the profit to Attica. This profit is the reuenuue they haue from their Confederates; which if they subdue vs, will still be greater. For neither will any other reuolt, and all that is ours will accrew vnto them; and wee shall be worse handled besides, then those that were vnder them before. But aiding vs with diligence you shall both adde to your league a Citie, that hath a great Navy (the thing you most stand in need of) and also easily ouerthrow the Athenians by subduetion of their Confederates; because euery one will then be more confident to come B in, and you shall auoyd the imputation of not assisting such as reuolt vnto you. And if it appeare that your endeouour is to make them free, your strength in this Warre will be much the more confirmed. In reuerence therefore of the hopes which the Grecians haue reposed in you, and of the presence of Iupiter Olympius, in whose Temple here, we are in a manner suppliant to you; receiue the Mitylenians into league, and ayde vs. And doe not cast vs off; who, (though, as to the exposing of our persons, the danger be our owne) shall bring a common profit to all Greece, if we prosper, and a more common detriment to all the Grecians, if through your inflexiblenesse we miscarry. Be you therefore men, such as the Grecians esteeme you, and our feares require you to be. In this manner spake the Mitylenians, C

The Mitylenians take into the Lacedemonian league.

The Lacedemonians prepare for the invasion of Attica, both by Sea and Land.

And the Lacedemonians, and their Confederates, when they had heard, and allowed their reasons, decreed not onely a League with the Lesbians, but also againe to make an inuasion into Attica. And to that purpose, the Lacedemonians appointed their Confederates there present, to make as much speed as they could with two parts of their forces, into the Isthmus; And they themselues being first there, prepared Engines in the Isthmus for the drawing vp of Gallies, with intention to carry the Navy from Corinth D to the other Sea that lyeth towards Athens, and to set vp on them both by Sea and Land. And these things diligently did they. But the rest of the Confederates assembled but slowly, being busied in the gathering in of their fruits, and weary of Warfare.

The Athenians perceiuing all this preparation to bee made, vpon an opinion of their weaknesse, and desirous to let them see they were deceiued, as being able without E stirring the Fleet at Lesbos, easily to master the Fleet that should

A should come against them out of Peloponnesus, manned out 100 Gallies, and imbarcked therein generally, both Citizens (except those of the degree of *Pentacosiomedimni*, and \* *Horisemen*) and also strangers that dwelt amongst them; And sayling to the Isthmus, made a shew of their strength, and landed their Souldiers in such parts of Peloponnesus, as they thought fit. When the Lacedemonians saw things so contrary to their expectation, they thought it false, which was spoken by the Lesbian Ambassadors, and esteeming the action difficult, seeing their Confederates B were not arriued, and that newes was brought of the wafling of the Territory neere their City, by the 30 Gallies formerly sent about Peloponnesus by the Athenians, went home againe; and afterwards prepared to send a Fleet to Lesbos, and intimated to the Cities rateably to furnish 40 Gallies, and appointed Alcidas, who was to goe thither with them, for Admirall. And the Athenians, when they saw the Peloponnesians gone, went likewise home with their hundred Gallies.

About the time that this Fleet was out, they had surely C the most Gallies (besides the beauty of them) together in action in these employments; yet in the beginning of the War, they had both as good, and more in number. For 100 attended the guard of Attica, Euboea, and Salamis, and another 100 were about Peloponnesus, besides those that were at Potidea, and in other places. So that in one Summer, they had in all, 250 Sayle. And this, together with Potidea, was it, that most exhausted their treasure. For the \* men of Armes that besieged the Citie, had each of them two drachmaes a day, one for himselfe, and another for his man, D & were 3000 in number that were sent thither at first, and remained to the end of the Siege; besides 1600 more, that went with Phormio and came away before the Town was won. And the Gallies had all the same pay. In this manner was their money consumed, and so many Gallies employed, the most indeed that euer they had manned at once.

About the same time that the Lacedemonians were in the Isthmus, the Mitylenians marched by Land, both they and their auxiliaries, against Methymne, in hope to haue had it betrayed vnto them; and hauing assaulted the Citie, when E it succeeded not the way they looked for, they went thence to Antissa, Pyrrha, and Erebus, and after they had settled the

X

affaires

The Athenians to make shew of their power, and to deterre the enemy from their enterprise, send 100 Gallies, not so much to waste Peloponnesus, as to confute the opinion which the Lesbian Ambassadors had put in to the Lacedemonians of their weakenesse.

\* A degree estimated by their wealth, as if one should say, men that had 500 Chalcidians reuenuue, as they receiue in Scotland.

\* Horisemen, such as kept a Horse to runne the State, and were valued at 300 Chalcidians.

The greatnesse of the Athenian Navy, & occasion of their great expence of money.

\* *Antistates*. A man of Armes had double pay for himselfe and for a seruant.

The Mitylenians goe with a power to Methymne, hoping to haue it betrayed.



The Athenians send Paches  
with 1000 men of Armes  
to Mitylene.

The end of the fourth  
Summer.  
\* 37500 pound sterling.

The escape of 212 men  
out of Plataea, thorow the  
workes of the enemy.

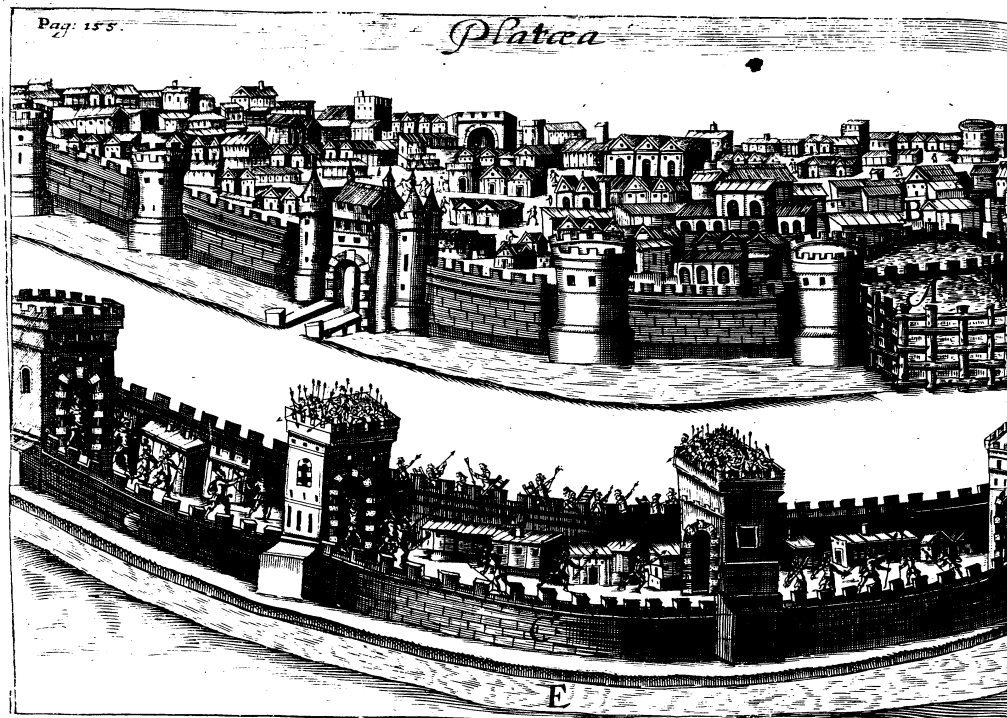
They make the length  
of their Ladders by con-  
struction vpon counting  
the Layes of Bricke.

affaires of those places, and made strong their wals, returned A  
speedily home. . . . When these were gone, the *Methymneans*  
likewise made War vpon *Antissa*, but beaten by the *Antissians*  
and some auxiliaries that were with them, they made  
haste againe to *Methymne*, with the losse of many of their  
Souldiers. But the *Athenians* being aduertized hereof, and vn-  
derstanding that the *Mitylenians* were masters of the Land,  
and that their own Soldiers there were not enough to keep  
them in, sent thither, about the beginning of Autumne,  
*Paches*, the sonne of *Epicurus*, with 1000 men of Armes, of  
their owne Citie, who supplying the place of Rowers B  
themselves, arrived at *Mitylene*, and ingirt it with a single  
wall. Saue that in some places, stronger by Nature then  
the rest, they onely built Turrets, and placed guards in  
them. So that the Citie was euery way strongly besieged,  
both by Sea and Land; And the Winter began.

The *Athenians* standing in need of mony for the Siege,  
both contributed themselves, and sent thither \* 200 Ta-  
lents of this their first contribution, & also dispatched *Lysi-*  
*cles*, and 4 others with 42 Gallies, to leuie money amongst  
the Confederates. But *Lysicles*, after he had beene to and C  
fro and gathered money in diuers places, as he was going  
vp from *Mym*, thorow the Plaines of *Meander* in *Caria*,  
as farre as to the hill *Sandius*, was set vpon there by the  
*Carians* and *Anatians*, and himselfe with a great part of his  
Souldiers, slaine.

The same Winter the *Plataeans* (for they were yet be-  
sieged by the *Peloponnesians*, and *Boeotians*) pressed now with  
want of Victuall, and hopelesse of reliefe from *Athens*,  
and no other meanes of safety appearing, tooke Counsell,  
both they, and the *Athenians* that were besieged with D  
them, at first all to goe out, and, if they could, to passe ouer  
the wall of the enemy by force. The Authors of this  
attempt, were *Theonetus* the sonne of *Timidas*, a Soothsayer,  
and *Eupolpidas* the sonne of *Damachus*, one of their Comman-  
ders. But halfe of them afterwards, by one meanes or  
other, for the greatnesse of the danger, shrunke from it  
again. But 220 or thereabouts, voluntarily persisted, to  
goe out, in this manner. They made them Ladders, fit for  
the height of the enemies wall; the wall they measured  
by the Layes of Bricke, on the part toward the Towne. E  
where it was not Plaistered ouer; and diuers men at

once



*A. the mount of earth Cast up by the Peloponnesians. B. The wall built inwards by the Plataeans to frustrate the effect of the mount. C. The work of the Peloponnesians. D. The place where the Plataeans go over. E. The ditch w<sup>th</sup> out full of water.*

A once numbred the layes of Bricke, whereof though some missed, yet the greatest part tooke the reckoning iust; especially, numbring them often, and at no great distance, but where they might easily see the part, to which their Ladders were to bee applyed; and so by guesse of the thickeesse of one Bricke, tooke the measure of their Ladders.

As for the Wall of the Peloponnesians, it was thus built. It consisted of a double Circle, one towards Plataea, and another outward; in case of an assault from Athens.

B These two Walles were distant one from the other about sixteen foot; and that sixteen foot of space which was betwixt them, was disposed and built into Cabines for the Watchmen, which were so ioyned and continued one to another, that the whole appeared to be one thicke Wall, with Battlements on either side. At every tenne Battlements, stood a great Tower of a iust breadth, to comprehend both Walles; and reach from the outmost to the inmost front of the whole, so that there was no passage by the side of a Towre, but through the middest of it. And

C such nights as there happened any storme of Raine, they vsed to quit the Battlements of the Wall, and to watch vnder the Towres, as being not farre asunder, and couered beside ouer head. Such was the forme of the Wall wherein the Peloponnesians kept their Watch. The Plataeans, after they were ready, and had attended a tempestuous night, and withall Moonelesse, went out of the Citie, and were conducted by the same men that were the Authors of the Attempt. And first they passed the Ditch that was about the Towne, and then came vp close to the

D Wall of the Enemy, who, because it was darke, could not see them comming; and the noyse they made as they went could not be heard for the blustering of the wind. And they came on besides at a good distance one from the other, that they might not bee betrayed by the clashing of their Armes; and were but lightly armed, and not shod but on the left foot, for the more steddinesse in the wet. They came thus to the Battlements, in one of the spaces betweene Towre and Towre, knowing that there was now no Watch kept there. And first came they that carried the Ladders, and placed them to the Wall; then 12. lightly armed, onely with a Dagger and a Brestplate, went

The description of the fortification of the Peloponnesians about Plataea.

The description of the Plataeans going over the Enemies Wallles.

vp, led by *Ammeas*, the sonne of *Corabus*, who was the A first that mounted; and they that followed him, went vp into either Towre 6. To these succeeded others lightly-armed, that carryed the Darts, for whom they that came after, carried Targets at their backes, that they might bee the more expedite to get vp, which Targets they were to deliuer to them, when they came to the Enemy. At length, when most of them were ascended, they were heard by the Watchmen that were in the Towres; for one of the *Plateans* taking hold of the Battlements, threw downe a Tyle, which made a noyse in the fall; and presently there was an Alarme. And the Armie ran to the Wall; for in the darke and stormie night, they knew not what the danger was. And the *Plateans* that were left in the Citie, came forth withall, and assaulted the Wall of the *Peloponnesians*, on the opposite part to that where their men went ouer. So that though they were all in a tumult in their seuerall places, yet not any of them that watched, durst stirre to the ayde of the rest, nor were able to coniecture what had happened. But \* those three hundred that were appointed to assise the Watch vpon all occasions of C neede, went without the Wall, and made towards the place of the clamor. They also held vp the fires, by which they vsed to make knowne the approach of Enemies, towards *Thebes*. But then the *Plateans* likewise, held out many other fires from the Wall of the Citie, which for that purpose they had before prepared, to render the fires of the Enemy insignificant, and that the *Thebans* apprehending the matter otherwise then it was, might forbear to send help, till their men were ouer, and had recouered some place of safety.

In the meane time, those *Plateans*, which hauing scaled the Wall first, and slaine the Watch, were now masters of both the Towres, not onely guarded the passages, by standing themselves in the entries, but also applying Ladders from the Wall to the Towres, and conueying many men to the toppe, kept the enemies off with shot, both from aboue and below. In the meane space, the greatest number of them hauing reared to the Wall many D Ladders at once, and beaten downe the Battlements, passed quite ouer betweene the Towres, and euer as any of E them got to the other side, they stood still vpon the brinke of

\* There is no mention of these 300. where the Author relateth the laying of the siege: But it must be understood.

A of the Ditch without, and with Arrowes and Darts, kept off those that came by the outside of the Wall to hinder their passage. And when the rest were ouer, then last of all, and with much adoe, came they also downe to the Ditch, which were in the two Towres. And by this time, the three hundred that were to assise the Watch, came and set vpon them, and had lightes with them; by which meanes the *Plateans* that were on the further brinke of the Ditch, discerned them the better from out of the darke, and aimed their Arrowes and Darts at their most B disarmed parts. For standing in the darke, the lightes of the Enemy made the *Plateans* the lesse discernable. Inso-much as these last passed the Ditch, though with difficulty and force. For the Water in it was frozen ouer, though not so hard as to beare, but watrie, and such as when the Wind is at East, rather then at North: and the Snow which fell that night, together with so great a Wind as that was, had very much increased the Water, which they waded thorow, with scarce their heads aboue. But yet the greatnesse of the storme was the principall C meanes of their escape.

From the Ditch, the *Plateans*, in troope, tooke the way towards *Thebes*, leauing on the left hand the Temple of *Iuno*, built by *Androcrates*, both for that they supposed, they would least suspect the way that led to their Enemies, and also because they saw the *Peloponnesians* with their lights pursue that way, which by Mount *Citharon*, and the Oake-heads, led to *Athens*. The *Plateans*, when they had gone 6. or 7. Furlongs, forsooke the *Theban* way, and turned into that which led towards the Mountaine, to *Erythrae*, and *Hysia*, and hauing gotten the Hilles, escaped through to *Athens*, being 212. persons of a greater number: for some of them returned into the Citie, before the rest went ouer; and one of their Archers was taken vpon the Ditch without. And so the *Peloponnesians* gaue ouer the pursuite, and returned to their places. But the *Plateans* that were within the City, knowing nothing of the euent, and those that turned backe hauing told them, that not a man escaped, as soone as it was day, sent a Herald to entreat a Truce, for the taking vp of their dead bodies; E but when they knew the truth, they gaue it ouer. And thus these men of *Platea* passed through the Forti-

*Salathus a Lacedemonian, enueth secretly into Mitylene, and confirmed them with hope of speedy aide.*

THE FIFTH  
YERE.  
\* It should be 40.  
Attica the fourth time  
inuaed.

*Pausanias King of Lacedemon.*

*Salathus armes the Commons for a Sally. They mutiny, and giue vp the Towne.*

Fortification of their Enemies, and were saued. A

About the end of the same Winter, *Salathus a Lacedemonian*, was sent in a Gallie to *Mitylene*, and comming first to *Pyrrha*, and thence going to *Mitylene* by Land, entred the Citie by the dry channell of a certaine Torrent, which had a passage through the Wall of the *Athenians*, vndiscouered. And hee told the Magistrates, that *Attica* should againe be inuaed, and that the 40. Gallies which were to aide them, were comming; and that himselfe was sent afore, both to let them know it, and withall to giue order in the rest of their affaires. Heereupon the *Mitylenians* grew confident, and hearkned lesse to composition with the *Athenians*. And the Winter ended, and the fourth yeere of this Warre written by *Thucydides*. B

In the beginning of the Summer, after they had sent *Alcidas* away with the \* 42. Gallies, whereof he was Admirall, vnto *Mitylene*, both they and their Confederates inuaed *Attica*; to the end, that the *Athenians* troubled on both sides, might the lesse send supply against the Fleet now gone to *Mitylene*. In this Expedition, *Cleomenes* was Generall, in stead of *Pausanias* the sonne of *Plistoanax*, who being King, was yet in minority, and *Cleomenes* was his Vncle by the Father. And they now cut downe, both what they had before wasted and began to grow againe, and also whatsoeuer else they had before praetermitted. And this was the sharpest inuaision of all but the second. For whilest they stayed to heare newes from their Fleet at *Lesbos*, which by this time they supposed to haue beene arriued, they went abroad, and destroyed most part of the Countrey. But when nothing succeeded according to their hopes, and seeing their Corne failed, they retyred againe, and were dissolued according to their Cities. D

The *Mitylenians* in the meane time, seeing the Fleet came not from *Peloponnesus*, but delayed the time, and their victuals failed, were constrained to make their composition with the *Athenians*, vpon this occasion. *Salathus*, when hee also expected these Gallies no longer, armed the Commons of the Citie, who were before vnarmed, with intention to haue made a Sally vpon the *Athenians*; but they, as soone as they had gotten Armes, no longer obeyed the Magistrates, but holding Assemblies by themselves, E

A selues, required the rich men, either to bring their Corne to light, and diuide it amongst them all, or else they said, they would make their composition by deliuering vp the Citie to the *Athenians*.

Those that managed the State, perceiuing this, and vnable to hinder it, knowing also their owne danger, in case they were excluded out of the composition, they all ioyntly agreed to yeeld the Citie to *Paches*, and his Army; with these conditions; To be proceeded withall at the pleasure of the people of Athens; and to receiue the Armie into the B Citie, and that the *Mitylenians* should send Ambassadors to Athens, about their owne businesse: And that *Paches* till their returne, should neither put in bonds, nor make Slaue of, nor slay any *Mitylenian*. This was the effect of that composition. But such of the *Mitylenians* as had principally praetized with the *Lacedemonians*, being afraid of themselves, when the Army was entred the Citie, durst not trust to the Conditions agreed on, but tooke Sanctuary at the Altars. But *Paches* hauing raised them, vpon promise to doe them no iniury, sent them to *Tenedos*, to be in custody there, till the C people of Athens should haue resolved what to doe. After this, he sent some Gallies to *Antissa*, and tooke in that Towne, and ordered the affaires of his Armie as he thought conuenient.

In the meane time, those 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus* which should haue made all possible haste, trifled away the time about *Peloponnesus*, and making small speed in the rest of their Nauigation, arriued at *Delos*, vknowne to the *Athenians* at Athens. From thence sayling to *Icarus* and *Myconum*, they got first intelligence of the losse of *Mitylene*. D But to know the truth more certainly, they went thence to *Embatus* in *Erythraea*. It was about the seuenth day after the taking of *Mitylene*, that they arriued at *Embatus*, where vnderstanding the certainty, they went to counsell, about what they were to doe vpon the present occasion and *Tenitiaplus* an *Elean*, deliuered his opinion to this effect.

*Alcidas*, and the rest that haue command of the *Peloponnesians* in this Army, it were not amisse, in my opinion, to goe to *Mitylene*, as we are, before aduice be giuen of our arriual. (For in all probability, we shall find the City, in respect they haue but lately won E it, very weakly guarded) and to the Sea, (where they expect no enemy, and we are chiefly strong) not guarded at all. It is also likely that their

*Some of the Mitylenians fearing the worst, take Sanctuary.*

*Whom Paches perswadeth to rise. And sendeth them to bee in custody at Tenedos.*

*The voyage of Alcidas with 40 Gallies into Ionia.*

*Alcidas with his Fleet, at Embatus is assured of the losse of Mitylene.*

*The aduise of Tenitiaplus in the Councill of Warre.*

The aduice of certaine  
Outlawes of Ionia and  
Lesbos.

their land Souldiers are disperſed, ſome in one houſe, and ſome in another, careleſſly as victors. Therefore if we fall vpon them ſuddenly, and by night, I thinke, with the helpe of thoſe within (if any bee left there that will take our part) we may be able to poſſeſſe our ſelues of the Citie. And we ſhall neuer feare the danger, if we but thinke this, that all Stratagems of Warre whatſoeuer, are no more, but ſuch occaſions as this, which if a Commander auoid in himſelfe, and take the aduantage of them, in the enemy, he ſhall for the moſt part haue good ſucceſſe. Thus ſaid he, but preuailed not with Alcidas. And ſome others, Fugitiues of Ionia, and thoſe Lesbians that were with him in the Fleet, gaue him counſell, That ſeeing he feared the danger of this, he ſhould ſeaze ſome Citie of Ionia, or Cume in Æolia, that hauing ſome Towne for the ſeat of the Warre, they might from thence, force Ionia to reuolt, whereof there was hope, becauſe the Ionians would not be unwilling to ſee him there. And if they could withdraw from the Athenians this their great reuenue, and withall put them to maintaine a Fleet againſt them, it would be a great exhauſting of their treaſure. They ſaid beſides, that they thought they ſhould be able to get Piſſuthnes, to ioyne with them in the Warre.

The cowardly reſolution  
of Alcidas.

But Alcidas reieſted this aduice likewiſe, inclining rather to this opinion, that ſince they were come too late to Mitylene, they were beſt to returne ſpeedily into Peloponneſus. Whereupon putting off from Embatus, he ſayled by the Shoare to Myonneſus of the Teians, and there ſlew moſt of the priſoners he had taken by the way. After this hee put in at Ephelus, and thither came Ambaſſadours to him from the Samians of Anæa, and told him, that it was but an ill manner of ſetting the Grecians at liberty, to kill ſuch as had not liſt vp their hands againſt him, nor were indeed enemies to the Peloponneſians, but Confederates to the Athenians by conſtraint. And that vnleſſe he gaue ouer that courſe, he would make few of the enemies, his friends; but many now friends, to become his enemies. Wherefore vpon theſe words of the Ambaſſadours, he ſet the Chians, and ſome others, all that he had left aliue, at liberty. For when men ſaw their Fleet, they neuer fled from it, but came vnto them as to Athenians; little imagining that the Athenians being maſters of the Sea, the Peloponneſians durſt haue put ouer to Ionia.

Alcidas maketh haſt from  
Ephelus homeward.  
\* The names of two Gallies  
of Athens.

From Ephelus, Alcidas went away in haſte, indeed fled; E for he had bin deſcried by the \* Salaminia, and the \* Paralus, (which

A (which by chance were then in their courſe for Athens,) whileſt he lay at Anchor about Claros, and fearing to bee chaſed, kept the wide Sea, meaning by his good will, to touch no Land, till hee came into Peloponneſus. But the newes of them came to Pachas from diuers places, eſpecially from Erythrea: for the Cities of Ionia being vnwalled, were afraid extremely, leſt the Peloponneſians ſayling by, without intention to ſtay, ſhould haue pillaged them as they paſſed. But the Salaminia and the Paralus hauing ſeene him at Claros, brought the newes themſelues. And B Pachas thereupon made great haſte after, and followed him as farre as Latmos \* the Iſland: but when he ſaw hee could not reach him, he came backe againe; and thought he had a good turne, ſeeing hee could not ouertake thoſe Gallies vpon the wide Sea, that the ſame were not compelled, by being taken in ſome place neere Land, to fortifie themſelues, and ſo to giue him occaſion with guards and Gallies, to attend them.

Pachas purſueth the Peloponneſians, and is glad he ouertaketh them not.  
\* In diſtinction to Latmos the Mountain. But I can finde no mention of this Latmos the Iſland in any of the Geographers.

As hee came by, in his returne, hee put in at Notium, a City of the Colophonians, into which the Colophonians came C and inhabited, after the \* Towne aboue, through their owne ſedition, was taken by Itamanes and the Barbarians. (This Towne was taken at the time when Attica was the ſecond time inuaded by the Peloponneſians.) They then that came downe, and dwelt in Notium, falling againe into ſedition, the one part hauing procured ſome forces, Arcadians and Barbarians of Piſſuthnes, kept them in a part of the Towne, which they had ſeuered from the reſt with a Wall, and there, with ſuch of the Colophonians of the high Towne, as being of the Medan faction, entred with them, D they gouerned the Citie at their pleaſure: and the other part which went out from theſe, and were the Fugitiues, brought in Pachas. He, when he had called out Hippas, Capitaine of the Arcadians that were within the ſaid wall, with promiſe, if they ſhould not agree, to ſet him ſafe and ſound within the Wall againe; and Hippas was there vpon come to him; committed him to cuſtody, but without bonds; and withall aſſaulting the Wall on a ſudden, when they expected not, tooke it, and ſlew as many of the Arcadians and Barbarians as were within. And when hee had done, brought E Hippas in againe, according as hee had promiſed.

Pachas reſtoreth Notium to the Colophonians, driven out by ſedition.  
\* The City of Colophon, 20 miles higher into the Land.

Pachas parlieth with Hippas.

But

His equivocation with Hippas whom he put to death contrary to promise.

Paches taketh Pyrrha, and Erechus. He apprehendeth Saleibius in Mitylene.

The Athenians slay Saleibius though he offered to surrender the Mitylenians from the siege of Platæa.

The cruell decree of the Athenians in their passion against the Mitylenians.

The Athenians repent of their decree, and consult anew.

But after he had him there, laid hold on him, and caused A him to be shot to death; and restored *Notium* to the *Colophonians*, excluding onely such as had Medized. Afterwards the *Athenians* sent *Gouvernours* to *Notium* of their owne, and hauing gathered together the *Colophonians* out of all Cities whatsoever, seated them there vnder the Law of the *Athenians*.

*Paches*, when he came backe to *Mitylene*, tooke in *Pyrrha* and *Erechus*; and hauing found *Salathus* the *Lacedemonian* hidden in *Mitylene*, apprehended him, and sent him, together with those men he had put in custody at *Tenedos*, B and whomsoever else he thought Author of the Reuolt, to *Athens*. Hee likewise sent away the greatest part of his Armie, and with the rest stayed, and settled the State of *Mitylene*, and the rest of *Lesbos* as he thought conuenient.

These men, and *Salathus* with them, being arriued at *Athens*, the *Athenians* slew *Salathus* presently, though hee made them many offers, and amongst other, to get the Armie of the *Peloponnesians* to rise from before *Platæa*, (for it was yet besieged) but vpon the rest they went to Council; and in their passion decreed to put them to death; C not onely those men there present, but also all the men of *Mitylene* that were of age, and to make slaues of the Women and children: laying to their charge the Reuolt it selfe, in that they reuolted not, being in subiection as others were: And withall the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, which durst enter into *Ionian* to their ayde, had not a little aggravated that Commotion. For by that, it seemed that the Reuolt was not made without much premeditation. They therefore sent a Gally to enforme *Paches* of their Decree, with command to put the *Mitylenians* presently to death. D But the next day they felt a kind of repentance in themselves, and began to consider what a great and cruell Decree it was, that not the Authors onely, but the whole Citie should be destroyed. Which when the Ambassadors of the *Mitylenians*, that were there present, & such *Athenians* as fauoured them vnderstood, they wrought with those that bare office, to bring the matter again into debate, wherein they easily preuailed, forasmuch as to them also it was well knowne, that the most of the Citie were desirous to haue meanes to consult of the same anew. The Assem- E bly being presently met, amongst the opinions of diuers others,

*Cleon* most popular, and most violent.

A others, *Cleon* also, the sonne of *Cleantus*, who in the former Assembly had won to haue them killed, being of all the Citizens most violent, and with the people at that time farre the most powerfull, stood forth, and said in this manner.

## THE ORATION OF CLEON.

I Haue often on other occasions thought a Democraticke repub-  
B lican of dominion over others; but most of all now, for this your repentance concerning the *Mitylenians*. For through your owne mutuall security and opennesse, you imagine the same also in your Confederates, and consider not, that when at their perswasion you commit an error, or relent vpon compassion, you are softened thus, to the danger of the Common-wealth, not to the winning of the affections of your Confederates. Nor doe you consider, that your gouernment is a Tyranny, and those that be subiect to it, are against their willes so, and are plotting continually against you, and obey you not for any good turne, which to your owne detriment you shall C doe them, but onely for that you exceed them in strength, and for no good will. But the worst mischiefe of all is this, that nothing wee decree shall stand firme, and that we will not know, that a City with the worse Lawes, if immoueable, is better then one with good Lawes, when they bee not binding; and that a plaine wit accompanied with modesty, is more profitable to the State, then dexterity with arrogance; and that the more ignorant sort of men, doe for the most part better regulate a Common-wealth, then they that are wiser: For these loue to appeare wiser then the Lawes, and in all publike debates to carry the victory, as the worthiest things D wherein to shew their wisdom; from whence most commonly proceedeth the ruine of the States they liue in. Whereas the other sort, mistrusting their owne wits, are content to be esteemed not so wise as the Lawes, and not able to carpe at what is well spoken by another; and so making themselves equall Iudges, rather then contenters for mastery, gouerne a State for the most part well. Wee therefore should doe the like, and not be carried away with combates of eloquence and wit, to giue such counsell to your multitude, as in our owne iudgements wee thinke not good. For my owne part, I am of the opinion I was before; and I wonder at these men, that E haue brought this matter of the *Mitylenians* in question againe, and thereby cause delay, which is the aduantage onely of them that doe.



doe the iniury. For the sufferer by this meanes comes vpon the doer A  
 with his anger dulled, whereas reuenge, the opposite of iniurie, is  
 then greatest, when it followes presently. I doe wonder also, what  
 he is that shall stand vp now to contradict mee, and shall thinke to  
 proue, that the iniuries done vs by the Mitylenians, are good for vs,  
 or that our calamities are any dammage to our Confederates. For  
 certainly he must either trust in his eloquence, to make you beleue,  
 that that which was decreed, was not decreed, or moued with lucre,  
 must with some elaborate speech endeavour to seduce you. Now of such  
 matches [of eloquence] as these, the Citie giueth the prizes to o-  
 thers, but the danger that thence proceedeth, she her selfe sustaineth. B  
 And of all this, you your selues are the cause, by the euill institution of  
 these matches, in that you vse to bee spectators of words, and hea-  
 rers of actions, beholding future actions in the words of them that  
 speake well, as possible to come to passe; and actions already past, in  
 the Orations of such as make the most of them, and that with such as-  
 surance, as if what you saw with your eyes, were not more certaine,  
 then what you heare related. You are excellent men for one to deceiue  
 with a speech of a new straine, but backward to follow any tryed ad-  
 uice: slaves to strange things, contempters of things vsuall. You would  
 euery one chiefly giue the best aduice, but if you cannot, then you will  
 contradict those that doe. You would not be thought to come after with  
 your opinion; but rather if any thing bee acutely spoken, to ap-  
 plaud it first, and to appeare ready apprehenders of what is spoken,  
 euen before it be out; but slow to preconceiue the sequell of the same.  
 You would heare, as one may say, somewhat else then what our life is  
 conuersant in; and yet you sufficiently vnderstand not that, that is be-  
 fore your eyes. And to speake plainly, overcome with the delight of  
 the eare, you are rather like vnto spectators, sitting to heare the con-  
 tentions of Sophisters, then to men that deliberate of the state of a  
 Common-wealth. To put you out of this humour, I say vnto you, that  
 the Mitylenians haue done vs more iniury, then euer did any one  
 Citie. For those that haue reuolted through the ouer-hard pressure of  
 our government, or that haue bene compelled to it by the enemy, I par-  
 don them; but they that were Ilanders, and had their Citie walled,  
 so as they needed not feare our Enemies, but onely by Sea; in which  
 case also they were armed for them with sufficient provision of Gallies;  
 and they that were permitted to haue their owne Lawes, and whom  
 wee principally honoured, and yet haue done thus; what haue they  
 done but conspired against vs, and rather warred vpon vs; then re-  
 uolted from vs, (for a reuolt is onely of such as suffer violence) and E  
 ioyned with our bitterest Enemies to destroy vs? This is farre worse  
 then

The nature of the multi-  
 tude in counsell, liuely  
 set forth.

Aggratuation of the Re-  
 uolt of the Mitylenians.

A then if they had warred against vs for encreasing of their owne  
 power. But these men would neyther take example by their  
 neighbours calamity, who are, all that reuolted, already subdued  
 vs, nor could their owne present felicity, make them afraid  
 of changing it into misery. But being bold against future euents,  
 and aiming at matters about their strength, though below their  
 desires, haue taken Armes against vs, and preferred force before  
 iustice. For no sooner they thought they might get the victory,  
 but immediately, though without iniury done them, they rose a-  
 gainst vs. But with Cities that come to great and v unexpected  
 B prosperity, it is vsuall to turne insolent. Whereas most common-  
 ly that prosperity which is attained according to the course of  
 reason, is more firme then that which commeth vn hoped for.  
 And such Cities, as one may say, doe more easily keepe off an  
 aduerse, then maintaine a happy fortune. Indeed we should not  
 formerly haue done any honour, more to the Mitylenians, then to  
 the rest of our Confederates; for then they had neuer come to  
 this degree of insolence. For it is naturall to men to contemne  
 those that obserue them, and to haue in admiration such as will  
 not giue them way. Now therefore let them be punished accor-  
 ding to their wicked dealing; and let not the fault be laid vpon  
 a few, and the people bee absolued; for they haue all alike  
 taken Armes against vs. And the Commons, if they had bene  
 constrained to it, might haue fled hither, and haue recovered  
 their Citie afterwards againe. But they, esteeming it the safer  
 aduenture, to ioyne with the Few, are alike with them cul-  
 pable of the Reuolt. Haue also in consideration, your Confede-  
 rates; And if you inflict the same punishment on them that  
 reuolt vpon compulsion of the Enemy, that you doe on them that  
 reuolt of their owne accord, who thinke you will not reuolt, though  
 D on light pretence; seeing that speeding they winne their liber-  
 ty, and failing, their case is not incurable? Besides that against  
 euery City wee must bee at a new hazard both of our persons  
 and fortunes. Wherein with the best successe, wee recover but  
 an exhausted Citie, and lose that, wherein our strength lyeth,  
 the reuenuue of it; but miscarrying, wee adde these Enemies to  
 our former; and must spend that time in warring against our  
 owne Confederates, which wee needed to employ against the  
 Enemies, we haue already. Wee must not therefore giue our  
 Confederates hope of pardon, either impetrable by words, or  
 E purchasable by money, as if their errors were but such as are  
 commonly incident to humanity. For these did vs not an iniury  
 vnwil-

\* Meaning that the Orators are bribed and hired to give counsell to the Commonwealth, according to the desire of other States.

unwillingly, but wittingly conspired against vs; whereas it ought to bee inuoluntary, what soeuer is pardonable. Therefore both then at first, and now againe I maintaine, that you ought not to alter your former Decree, nor to offend in any of these three most disaduantagious things to Empire, Pittie, Delight in plausible speeches, and Lenity. As for Pittie, it is iust to shew it on them that are like vs, and will haue pittie againe; but not vpon such as not onely would not haue had pittie vpon vs, but must also of necessity haue beene our enemies for euer hereafter. And for the Rhetoricians that delight you with their Orations, let them play their prizes in matters of lesse weight, and not in such wherein the City for a little pleasure, must suffer a great damage, but they for their well speaking, must well \* haue. Lastly for Lenity, it is to be vsed towards those that will be our friends hereafter, rather then towards such, as being suffered to liue, will still be as they are, not a iot the lesse our enemies. In summe I say onely this, that if you follow my aduice, you shall doe that, which is both iust in respect of the Mitylenians, and profitable for your selues; whereas if you decree otherwise, you doe not grauise them, but condemne your selues. For if these haue iustly reuolted, you must vniustly haue had dominion ouer them. Nay though your dominion be against reason, yet if you resolve to hold it, you must also, as a matter conducing thereunto, against reason punish them; or else you must giue your dominion ouer, that you may be good without danger. But if you consider what was likely they would haue done to you, if they had preuailed, you cannot but thinke them worthy the same punishment; nor be lesse sensible you that haue escaped, then they that haue conspired; especially they hauing done the iniurie first. For such as doe an iniury without precedent cause, persecute most, and euen to the death, him they haue done it to; as iealous of the danger his remaining Enemy may create him. For hee that is wronged without cause, and escapeth, will commonly bee more cruell, then if it were against any Enemy on equall quarell. Let vs not therefore betray our selues, but in contemplation of what you were neere suffering, and how you once prized aboue all things else, to haue them in your power, requite them now accordingly. Bee not softened at the sight of their present estate, nor forget the danger that hung ouer our own heads so lately: Giue not onely vnto these their deserued punishment, but also vnto the rest of our Confederates a cleere example, that death is their sentence, when soeuer they shall rebell. Which when they know, you shall the

A the lesse often haue occasion to neglect your Enemies, and fight against your owne Confederates. To this purpose spake Cleon.

After him, Diodotus the sonne of Eucrates, who also in the former Assembly opposed most the putting of the Mitylenians to death, stood forth, and spake as followeth.

### THE ORATION OF DIODOTVS.

B I Will neither blame those who haue propounded the businesse of the Mitylenians, to be againe debated, nor commend those that find fault with often consulting in affaires of great importance. But I am of opinion that nothing is so contrary to good counsell as these two, haite and anger: whereof the one is euer accompanied with madness, and the other with want of iudgement. And whoeuer main- taineth, that words are not instructers to deeds, either hee is not wise, or doth it vpon some priuate interest of his owne. Not wise, if hee thinke that future and not apparent things, may bee demonstrated other wise then by words: Interested, if desiring to carry an ill matter, and knowing that a bad cause will not beare a good speech, hee goe about to deterre his opposers and bearers by a good calumnniation. But they, of all others, are most intolerable, that when men giue publike aduice, will accuse them also of bribery. For if they charged a man with no more, but ignorance, when he had spoken in vaine, hee might yet depart with the opinion of a foole. But when they impute corruption also, if his counsell take place, he is still suspected, and if it doe not take place, he shall be held not onely a foole, but also void of honesty. The Common-wealth gets no good by such courses; for through feare hereof, it will want counsellours, and the State would doe their busi- nesse for the most part well, if this kinde of Citizens were they that had least ability in speaking; for they should then perswade the City to the fewer errors. For a good Statesman should not goe about to terrifie those that contradict him, but rather to make good his counsell vpon liberty of speech. And a wise State ought not, either to adde vnto, or on the other side, to derogate from the honour of him that giueth good aduice; nor yet punish, nay nor disgrace the man whose counsell they receiue not. And then, neither would hee that lighteth on good aduice, deliuer any thing against his owne conscience, out of ambition of further honour, and to please the Auditory; nor hee that doth not, couet thereupon, by gratifying the people some way or other, that hee also may endeeare them. But wee doe here the contrary, and besides, if any man be suspected of corruption, though hee giue the best counsell that

that can be giuen, yet through enuy, for this vncertaine opinion of his A  
 gaine, we lose a certaine benefit to the Common-wealth. And our  
 custome is to hold good counsell giuen suddenly, no lesse suspect, then  
 bad. By which meanes, as he that giues the most dangerous counsell,  
 must get the same receined, by fraud; so also he that giues the most  
 sound aduice, is forced by lying to get himselfe beleued. So that, the  
 Common-wealth is it alone, which by reason of these suspitious ima-  
 ginations, no man can possibly benefit, by the plaine and open way, with-  
 out artifice. For if any man shall doe a manifest good vnto the Com-  
 mon-wealth, he shall presently be suspected of some secret gaine vnto  
 himselfe in particular. We therefore, that in the most important af- B  
 faires, and amidst these ielousies doe giue our aduice, haue need to  
 foresee farther then you, that looke not farre, and the rather, because  
 we stand accountable for our counsell, and you are to render no account  
 of your hearing it. For if the perswader, and the perswaded, had e-  
 quall harme, you would be the more moderate Iudges. But now, accord-  
 ing to the passion that takes you, when at any time your affaires mis-  
 carry, you punish the sentence of that one onely that gaue the counsell,  
 not the many sentences of your owne, that were in fault as well as his.  
 For my owne part, I stood not forth with any purpose of contradiction, in  
 the businesse of the Mitylenians, nor to accuse any man. For wee C  
 contend not now, if we be wise, about the iniury done by them, but  
 about the wisest counsell for our selues. For how great soeuer be their  
 fault, yet I would neuer aduise to haue them put to death, vnlesse it bee  
 for our profit; nor yet would I pardon them, though they were pardon-  
 able, vnlesse it be good for the Common-wealth. And in my opinion,  
 our deliberation now is of the future, rather then of the present. And  
 whereas Cleon contendeth that it will be profitable for the future,  
 to put them to death, in that it will keepe the rest from rebelling, I, con-  
 tending likewise for the future, affirme the contrary. And I desire  
 you not to reiect the profit of my aduice, for the faire pretexts of his, D  
 which agreeing more with your present anger against the Mityleni-  
 ans, may quickly perhaps win your consent. We pleade not iudicially  
 with the Mitylenians, so as to need arguments of equity, but we con-  
 sult of them, which way we may serue our selues of them to our most  
 aduantage hereafter. I say therefore, that death hath been in States,  
 ordained for a punishment of many offences, and those not so great, but  
 farre lesse then this. Yet encouraged by hope, men hazzard themselves.  
 Nor did any man euer yet enter into a practice, which he knew he could  
 not goe through with. And a Citie when it revolteth, supposeth it selfe  
 to be better furnished, either of themselves, or by their Confederates, E  
 then it is, or else it would neuer take the enterprize in hand. They haue  
 it

A it by nature, both men and Cities to commit offences; nor is there any  
 Law that canpreuent it. For men haue gone ouer all degrees of pu-  
 nishment, augmenting them still, in hope to be lesse annoyed by Male-  
 factors; and it is likely that gentler punishments were inflicted of old,  
 euen vpon the most haynous crimes; but that in tract of time, men  
 continuing to transgresse, they were extended afterwards, to the ta-  
 king away of life; and yet they still transgresse. And therefore either  
 some greater terrour then death must be deuised, or death will not bee  
 enough for coercion. For pouerty will alwayes adde boldnesse to neces-  
 sity, and wealth, couetousnesse to pride and contempt. And the other.  
 B [ middle ] fortunes, they also through humane passion, according as  
 they are seuerally subiect to some insuperable one or other, impell men  
 to danger. But Hope and Desire, worke this effect in all estates.  
 And this as the Leader; that as the companion; this contriuing the  
 enterprize, that suggesting the successe, are the cause of most crimes  
 that are committed. And being least discerned, are more mischieuous,  
 then euils seene. Besides these two, Fortune also puts men forward as  
 much as any thing else. For presenting her selfe sometimes vnlookt  
 for, she prouoketh some to aduventure, though not provided, as they  
 ought for the purpose; and specially Cities; because they venture  
 C for the greatest matters, as liberty and dominion ouer others; and  
 amongst a generality, enery one, though without reason, somewhat the  
 more magnifies himselfe in particular. In a word, it is a thing impossi-  
 ble, and of great simplicitie to beleue, when humane nature is earnest-  
 ly bent to doe a thing, that by force of Law, or any other danger, it can  
 be diuerted. We must not therefore, relying on the security of capitall  
 punishment, decree the worst against them, nor make them desperate,  
 as if there were no place to repent, and as soon as they can, to cancell  
 their offence. For obserue; if a Citie revolted, should know it could  
 not hold out, it would now compound, whilst it were able, both to pay  
 D vs our charges for the present, and our tribute for the time to  
 come. But the way that Cleon prescribeth, what Citie, thinke you,  
 would not provide it selfe better, then this did; and endure the siege  
 to the very last, if to compound late, and soone be all one? And how  
 can it be but detriment to vs, to be at charge of long sieges, through  
 their obstinacy; and when we haue taken a Citie, to finde it exhaust-  
 ed, and to lose the reuenue of it for the future? And this reuenue  
 is the onely strength we haue against our enemies. Wee are not then  
 to be exact Iudges in the punition of offenders, but to looke rather  
 how by their moderate punishment, we may haue our Confederate Ci-  
 ties, such as they may be able to pay vs tribute; and not thinke to  
 E keepe them in awe by the rigour of Lawes, but by the prouidence of  
 our

our owne actions. But wee to the contrary, when we recover a Citie, which hauing bene free, and held vnder our obedience by force, hath revolted iustly, thinke now, that we ought to inflict some cruell punishment vpon them; whereas we ought rather, not mightily to punish a free Citie revolted, but mightily to looke to it before it revolt; and to preuent the intention of it; but when we haue overcome them, to lay the fault vpon as few as we can. Consider also, if you follow the aduice of Cleon, how much you shall offend likewise in this other point. For in all your Cities, the Commonalty are now your friends, and either revolt not with the few, or if they be compelled to it by force, they presently turne enemies to them that caused the revolt; whereby when you goe to Warre, you haue the Commissions of the aduerse Citie on your side. But if you shall destroy the Commonalty of the Mitylenians, which did neither partake of the revolt, and as soone as they were armed, presently deliuered the Citie into your hands, you shall first doe vniustly to kill such as haue done you seruice, and you shall effect a worke besides, which the great men doe euery where most desire. For when they haue made a Citie to revolt, they shall haue the people presently on their side; you hauing foreshewne them by the example, that both the guilty and not guilty must vndergoe the same punishment.

Whereas indeed, though they were guilty, yet wee ought to dissemble it, to the end that the onely party, now our friend, may not become our enemie. And for the assuring of our dominion, I thinke it farre more profitable, voluntarily to put vp an iniurie, then iustly to destroy such as wee should not. And that same, both Iustice and profit of reuenge, alledged by Cleon, can neuer possibly bee found together in the same thing.

You therefore, vpon knowledge that this is the best course, not vpon Compassion, or Lenitie (for neither would I, haue you wonne by that) but vpon consideration of what hath bene aduised, bee ruled by mee, and proceede to iudgement at your owne leasure; against those whom Paches hath sent hither as guilty, and suffer the rest to enioy their Citie. For that will bee both good for the future, and also of present terrour to the enemie. For hee that consulteth wisely, is a sorer enemie, then hee that assaulteth with the strength of action vniustly.

Thus spake Diodotus.

After

A After these two opinions were deliuered, the one most opposit to the other, the Athenians were at contention which they should decree; and at the holding vp of hands, they were both sides almost equall: but yet the sentence of Diodotus preuailed. Whereupon they presently in haste sent away another Gallie, lest not arriuing before the former, they should finde the Citie already destroyed. The first Gallie set forth before the second, a day and a night. But the Mitylenian Ambassadors hauing furnished this latter with Wine and Barley Cakes, and promised them great rewards, if they ouertooke the other Gallie, they rowed diligently, at one and the same time both plying their Oares, and taking their refection of the said Barley Cakes steeped in Wine and Oyle; and by turnes part of them slept, and the other part rowed. It happened also that there blew no Winde against them; And the former Gallie making no great hatte, as going in so sad an errand, whereas the former proceeded in the manner before mentioned, arriued indeed first, but onely so much, as Paches had read the Sentence, and prepared to execute what they had decreed. But presently after came in the other Gallie, and saued the Citie from being destroyed. So neere were the Mitylenians to the danger.

But those whom Paches had sent home, as most culpable of the Reuolt, the Athenians, as Cleon had aduised, put to death; beeing in number somewhat aboute a thousand.

They also razed the Walles of Mitylene, and tooke from them all their Gallies. After which they imposed on the Lesbians no more Tribute, but hauing diuided their land, (all but that of the Methymnians) into 3000 parts, 300 of those parts, of the choicest Land, they consecrated to the Gods. And for the rest, they sent men by lot out of their owne Citie to possesse it, of whom the Lesbians at the rent of \*two Minae of Siluer yeerely, vpon a Lot, had the Land againe to bee husbanded by themselves. The Athenians tooke in all such Townes also, as the Mitylenians were Masters of in the Continent; which were afterwards made Subiects to the People of Athens. Thus ended the businesse touching Lesbos.

The same Summer, after the recovery of Lesbos, the

Z 2

Athenian.

The Sentence of Diodotus taken place. A Gallie sent on that matter, with a Sentence of mercy. The speed of this latter Gallie to ouertake the former that carried the Decree of death.

The Commons of Athens were very neere destruction.

Aboute a thousand principall authors of the Reuolt executed.

\* 6 pound 5 shillings sterling.

Nicias taketh Mitylene, an Island adiucent to Lesbos.

*Athenians*, vnder the conduct of *Nicias*, the sonne of *Niceratus*, made Warre on *Minoa*, an Iland adiacent to *Megara*. For the *Megaraeans* had built a Tower in it, and serued themselues of the Iland for a place of Garrison. But *Nicias* desired that the *Athenians* might keepe their Watch vpon *Megara*, in that Iland, as beeing neerer, and no more at *Budorus* and *Salamis*; to the end that the *Peloponnesians* might not goe out thence with their Gallies, vndiscryed, nor send out Pirates, as they had formerly done, and to prohibit the importation of all things to the *Megaraeans* by Sea. Wherefore when he had first taken two Towres B that stood out from *Nisea*, with Engines applyed from the Sea, and so made a free entrance for his Gallies, betweene the Iland and the firme Land, he tooke it in with a Wall also from the Continent, in that part where it might receiue ayde by a bridge ouer the Marishes; for it was not farre distant from the maine Land. And, that being in few dayes finished, hee built a Fort in the Iland it selfe, and leauing there a Garrison, carried the rest of his Armie backe.

The Plateans yeeld the City.

The Lacedæmonians refuse to take Platea by force, but will haue it by voluntary surrender.

It happened also about the same time of this Summer, C that the *Plateans* hauing spent their Victuall, and beeing vnable longer to hold out, yeelded their Citie in this manner to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Peloponnesians* assaulted the Walles, but they within were vnable to fight. Wherevpon the *Lacedæmonian* Commander, perceiuing their weaknesse, would not take the place by force, (for he had command to that purpose from *Lacedæmon*, to the end that if they should euer make peace with the *Athenians*, with conditions of mutuall restitution of such Cities as on eyther side had beene taken by Warre, *Platea*, as hauing D come in of its own accord, might not be thereby recouerable;) but sent a Herald to them, who demanded whether or no they would giue vp their City voluntarily into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, and take them for their Iudges, with power to punish the offenders, but none without forme of Iustice. So said the Herald: and they (for they were now at the weakeft) deliuered vp the Citie accordingly. So the *Peloponnesians* gaue the *Plateans* food for certaine dayes, till the Iudges, which were fiue, should arrive from *Lacedæmon*. And when they were come, no E accusation was exhibited, but calling them man by man, they

Vniust proceeding of the Lacedæmonians.

A they asked of euery one, onely this question: Whether they had done to the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates in this Warre, any good seruice? But the *Plateans* hauing suted to make their answer more at large, and hauing appointed *Astymachus* the sonne of *Asopolau*, and *Lacon* the sonne of *Adimnestus* (who had been heretofore the Hoste of the *Lacedæmonians*) for their Speakers, said as followeth.

### THE ORATION OF THE PLATEANS.

B M En of *Lacedæmon*, relying vpon you, we yeelded vpon our  
itie, not expecting to vndergoe this, but some more Legall  
manner of proceeding, and we agreed not to stand to the  
iudgement of others, (as now we doe) but of your selues onely; conceiuing we should so obtaine the better iustice. But now we feare we haue beene deceiued in both. For we haue reason to suspect, both that the tryall is capitall, and you the Iudges partiall. Gathering so much, both from that, that there hath not been presented any accusation, to which we might answer, and also from this, that the C interrogatory is short, and such, as if we answer to it with truth, we shall speake against our selues; and be easily conuincied, if we lie. But since we are on all hands, in a straight, we are forced (and it seemes our safest way) to try what we can obtaine by pleading. For, for men in our case, the speech not spoken, may giue occasion to some to thinke, that spoken, it had preserued vs. But besides other inconueniences, the meanes also of perswasion, goe ill on our side. For if we had not knowne one another, we might haue helped our selues by producing testimony in things you knew not. Whereas now, all that we shall say, will be before men that know already what it is. And we D feare, not that you meane, because you know vs inferiour in vertue to your selues, to make that a crime, but lest you bring vs to a iudgement already iudged, to gratifie some body else. Neuerthelesse, we will produce our reasons of equity, against the quarrell of the *Thebans*, and withall make mention of our seruices done, both to you, and to the rest of Greece, and make tryall, if by any meanes we can perswade you. As to that short interrogatory, Whether we haue any way done good in this present Warre to the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, or not? If you aske vs as enemies, wee say, that if we haue done them no good, we haue also done them no wrong. E If you aske vs as friends, then we say, that they rather haue done vs the iniury, in that they made Warre vpon vs. But in the time of the Peace,



Peace, and in the Warre against the Medes, we behaued our selues A well; for the one, we brake not first and in the other, we were the onely Bæotians that ioynd with you for the deliuey of Greece. For though we dwell vp in the land, yet we fought by Sea at Artemisium, and in the battell, fought in this our own territory we were with you; and whatsoeuer dangers the Grecians in those times vnderwent, we were partakers of all, euen beyond our strength. And vnto you Lacedæmonians, in particular, when Sparta was in greatest affright, after the Earthquake, vpon the Rebellion of the Helotes, and seazing of Ithome, we sent the third part of our power to assift you, which you haue no reason to forget. Such then wee shewed our selues in those ancient and most important affaires. It is true, wee B haue beene your enemies since, but for that you are to blame your selues. For when oppressed by the Thebans, we sought league of you, you reiected vs, and bade vs goe to the Athenians that were neerer hand, your selues being farre off. Neuerthelesse, you neither haue in this Warre, nor were to haue suffered at our hands any thing that misbecame vs. And if we denyed to reuolt from the Athenians, when you bade vs, we did you no iniury in it. For they both ayded vs against the Thebans, when you shrunke from vs; and it was now no more any honesty to betray them. Especially hauing beene well vsed by them, C and we our selues hauing sought their league, and been made denizens also of their Citie. Nay, we ought rather to haue followed them in all their commands with alacrity. When You, or the Athenians haue the leading of the Confederates, if euill be done, not they that follow are culpable, but you that lead to the euill. The Thebans haue done vs many other iniuries; but this last, which is the cause of what wee now suffer, you your selues know what it was. For we auenged vs but iustly of those that in time of Peace, and vpon the day of our Noui-luniall Sacrifice, had surprized our Citie; and by the Law of all Nations it is lawfull to repell an assailing enemy; and therefore D there is no reason you should punish vs now for them. For if you shall measure Iustice by your, and their present benefit in the Warre, it will manifestly appeare, that you are not Iudges of the Truth, but respecters onely of your profit. And yet if the Thebans seeme profitable to you now, we, and the rest of the Grecians were more profitable to you then, when you were in greater danger. For though the Thebans are now on your side, when you inuade others; yet at that time when the Barbarian came in to impose seruitude on all, they were on his. It is but Iustice, that with our present offence (if wee haue committed any) you compare our forwardnesse then; which you E will finde both greater then our fault, and augmented also by the circumstance

A circumstance of such a season, when it was rare to find any Grecian that durst oppose his valour to Xerxes power; and when they were most commended, not that with safety helped to further his inuasion, but that aduentured to doe what was most honest, though with danger. But we being of that number, and honoured for it amongst the first, are afraid lest the same shall be now a cause of our destruction, as hauing chosen rather to follow the Athenians iustly, then you profitably. But you should euer haue the same opinion, in the same case; And thinke this onely to be profitable, that doing what is vsfull for the present occasion, you reserue withall a constant acknowledgement of the vertue of B your good Confederates. Consider also, that you are an example of \* honest dealing, to the most of the Grecians. Now if you shall decree otherwise then is iust, (for this iudgement of yours is conspicuous you that be praised against vs, that be not blamed, take heed that they doe not dislike, that good men should vndergoe an vniust sentence though at the hands of better men; or that the spoyle of vs that haue done the Grecians seruice, should be dedicated in their Temples. For it will be thought a horrible matter, that Plataea should be destroyed by Lacedæmonians, and that you, whereas your Fathers in honour of our valour, inscribed the name of our Citie, on the Tripode C at Delphi, should now blot it out of all Greece, to gratifie the Thebans. For we haue proceeded to such a degree of calamity, that if the Medes had preuailed, we must haue perished then; and now the Thebans haue overcome vs againe in you, who were before our greatest friends; and haue put vs to two great hazzards, one before, of famishing if we yeilded not, and another now, of a Capitall sentence. And we Plataeans, who euen beyond our strength haue been zealous in the defence of the Grecians, are now abandoned and left vnrelieued by them all. But we beseech you for those gods sakes, in whose names once we made mutuall league, and for our valours sake shewne in the D behalfe of the Grecians, to be moued toward vs, and if at the perswasion of the Thebans, you haue determined ought against vs,) to change your mindes, and reciprocally to require at the hands of the Thebans, this courtesie, that whom you ought to spare, they would be contented not to kill, and so receiue an honest benefit, in recompence of a wicked one, and not to bestow pleasure vpon others, and receiue wickednesse vpon your selues in exchange. For though to take away our liues be a matter quickly done yet to make the infamy of it cease, will be worke enough. For being none of your enemies, but welwillers, and such as haue entred into the Warre vpon constraint, you cannot put vs to death with Iustice. Therefore if you will iudge vncorruptly, you ought to secure our persons, and to remember that you receiued vs by E

\* It doth not appeare by any thing in the title of this story, that the Lacedæmonians dejected any reputation for Iustice, but contrariely they appeare by this and many other actions to haue beene med of Iustice as well as of their owne interest or passion.



our owne voluntary submission, and with hands upheld (and it is **A** the Law among Grecians, not to put such to death) besides that, we haue from time to time been beneficiall to you. For looke vpon the sepulchres of your Fathers, whom slaine by the Medes, and buried in this Territory of ours, we haue yeerely honoured at the publike charge, both with Vestments and other Rites; and of such things as our Land hath produced, we haue offered vnto them the first fruits of it all, as friends in an amicable Land, and Confederats use to doe, to those that haue formerly been their fellowes in Armes. But now by a wrong sentence, you shall doe the contrary of this. For consider this; Paulanias, as he thought, entered these men in amicable ground, and amongst their friends. But you, if you slay vs, and of Plataeis, make Thebais, what doe you but leaue your Fathers and kinred deprived of the honours they now haue, in an hostile Territory, and amongst the very men that slew them? And moreover, put into seruitude that soyle whereon the Grecians were put into liberty? and make desolate the Temples wherein they prayed, when they preuailed against the Medes? and destroy the Patriall sacrifices which were instituted by the Builders and Founders of the same?

These things are not for your glory, men of Lacedæmon, nor **C** to violate the common institutions of Greece, and wrong your progenitors, nor to destroy vs that haue done you seruice, for the hatred of another, when you haue receiued no iniury from vs your selues. But to spare our liues, to relent, to haue a moderate compassion, in contemplation, not onely of the greatnesse of the punishment, but also of who we are, that must suffer, and of the vncertainty where calamity may light, and that vnderfueledly; which wee, (as becommeth vs, and our need compelleth vs to doe) cry aloud vnto the common gods of Greece to perswade you vnto; producing the oath sworne by your Fathers, to put you in minde; and also wee **D** become here, Sanctuary men, at the sepulchres of your Fathers, crying out vpon the dead, not to suffer themselves to be in the power of the Thebans, nor to let their greatest friends be betrayed into the hands of their greatest enemies; remembring the of that day, vpon which, though we haue done glorious acts in their company, yet wee are in danger at this day of most miserable suffering. But to make an end of speaking (which is, as necessary, so most bitter to men in our case, because the hazard of our liues commeth so soone after,) for a conclusion we say, that it was not to the Thebans that we rendred our Citie (for we would rather haue dyed of Famine, the most **E** base perdition of all other) but we came out on trust in you. And it

is

**A** is but iustice, that if wee cannot perswade you, you should set vs againe in the estate we were in, and let vs undergoe the danger at our owne election. Also we require you, Men of Lacedæmon, not onely, not to deliuer vs Plataians, who haue beene most zealous in the seruice of the Grecians, especially being Sanctuary men, out of your owne hands, and your owne trust, into the hands of our most mortall Enemies the Thebans, but also to be our sauiours, and not to destroy vs utterly, you that set at liberty all other Grecians. Thus spake the Plataians.

**B** But the Thebans, fearing lest the Lacedæmonians might relent at their Oration, stood forth, and said, that since the Plataians had had the liberty of a longer speech (which they thought they should not) then for answer to the question was necessary, they also desired to speake, and being commanded to say on, spake to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF THE THEBANS.

**C** IF these men had answered briefly to the question, and not both turned against vs with an accusation, and also out of the purpose, and wherein they were not charged, made much apologie and commendation of themselves in things unquestioned; wee had neuer asked leaue to speake; but as it is, we are to the one point to answer, and to confute the other, that neither the faults of vs, nor their owne reputation may doe them good, but your Sentence may bee guided, by hearing of the truth of both. The quarell betweene vs and them, arose at first from this, that when wee had built Plataea last of all the Cities of Boeotia, together with some other places, which, hauing driuen out the promiscuous Nations, wee **D** had then in our dominion, they would not (as was ordained at first) allow vs to be their Leaders, but beeing the onely men of all the Boeotians, that transgressed the common ordinance of the Countrey, when they should haue beene compelled to their duty, they turned vnto the Athenians, and together with them did vs many evils, for which they likewise suffered as many from vs. But when the Barbarian invaded Greece, then, say they, that they of all the Boeotians onely also, Medized not. And this is the thing wherein they both glory most themselves, and most detract from vs. Now wee confesse they Medized not, because also the Athenians did not. Neuerthelesse when the Athenians afterwards

A d

invaded

invaded the rest of the Grecians, in the same kinde then **A** of all the Boeotians, they onely Atticized. But take now into your consideration withall, what forme of government we were in both the one and the other, when wee did this. For then had wee our Citie governed, neither by an Oligarchy, with Lawes common to all, nor by a Democratic, but the State was managed by a Few with authority absolute, then which there is nothing more contrary to Lawes, and moderation, nor more approaching unto Tyranny. And these Few, hoping yet further, if the Medes preuailed, to increase their owne power, kept the people vnder, and furthered the coming in of the Barbarian. And so did the whole Citie; but it was not then Master **B** of it self; nor doth it deserue to bee vpbraided with what it did when they had no Lawes, [but were at the will of others.] But when the Medes were gone, and our City had Lawes, consider now, when the Athenians attempted to subdue all Greece, and this Territory of ours with the rest, wherein through sedition they had gotten many places already, whether by giuing them Battell at Coronea, and defeating them, we deliuered not Boeotia from seruitude then, and doe not also now with much zeale assist you in the asserting of the rest, and finde not more Horses, and more prouision of Warre, then any of the Confederates besides. And so much bee spoken by **C** way of Apologie to our Medizing. And wee will endeavour to proue now, that the Grecians haue beene rather wronged by you, and that you are more worthy of all manner of punishment. You became, you say, Confederates and Denizens of Athens, for to bee righted against vs; against vs then onely the Athenians should haue come with you, and not you with them haue gone to the inuasion of the rest; especially, when if the Athenians would haue led you whither you would not, you had the League of the Lacedaemonians, made with you against the Medes, which you so often obiect, to haue resorted vnto; which was sufficient not onely to haue protected you from vs, but which is the maine matter, to haue secured you **D** to take what course you had pleased. But voluntarily, and without constraint, you rather chose to follow the Athenians. And you say it had beene a dishonest thing, to haue betrayed your benefactors. But it is more dishonest, and more vnjust by farre, to betray the Grecians vniuersally, to whom you haue sworne, then to betray the Athenians alone; especially when these goe about to deliuer Greece from subiection, and the other to subdue it. Besides, the requittall you make the Athenians is not proportionable, nor free from dishonesty; for you, as you say your selues, brought in the Athenians **E** to right you against iniuries, and you coöperate with them in iniurying others.

**A** others. And howsoever, it is not so dishonest to leaue a benefitt vnrequited, as to make such a requittall, as though iustly due, cannot be iustly done. But you haue made it apparent, that euen then, it was not for the Grecians sake, that you alone of all the Boeotians, medized not, but because the Athenians did not; yet now, you that would do as the Athenians did, and contrary to what the Grecians did, claime fauour of these, for what you did for the others sake. But there is no reason for that; But as you haue chosen the Athenians, so let them helpe you in this tryall. And produce not the Oath of the former League, as if that should saue **B** you now; for you haue relinquisht it, and contrary to the same, haue rather helped the Athenians to subdue the Aeginetæ, and others, then hindred them from it. And this you not onely did voluntarily, and hauing Lawes, the same you haue now, and none forcing you to it, as there did vs, but also reiectd our last inuitation, (a little before the shutting vp of your Citie) to quietnesse and neutrality. Who can therefore more deservedly bee hated of the Grecians in generall, then you, that pretend honesty to their ruine? And those acts wherein formerly, as you say, you haue beene beneficiall to the Grecians, you haue now made **C** apparent to be none of yours, and made true prooffe of what your owne nature inclines you to. For with Athenians you haue walked in the way of iniustice. And thus much wee haue laid open touching our inuoluntary Medizing, and your voluntary Atticizing. And for this last iniury you charge vs with, namely the vnlawfull inuading of your City in time of peace, and of your New-moone Sacrifice, we doe not thinke, no not in this action, that wee haue offended so much as you your selues. For though wee had done vnjustly, if wee had assaulted your Citie, or wasted your Territory as enemies, of our owne accord, yet when the prime men of **D** your owne Citie, both for wealth and Nobility, willing to discharge you of forraigne League, and conforme you to the common institutions of all Boeotia, did of their owne accord call vs in, wherein lyeth the iniurie then? For they that leade transgresse, rather then they that follow. But as wee conceiue, neither they nor wee haue transgressed at all. But being Citizens, as well as you, and hauing more to hazzard, they opened their owne Gates, and tooke vs into the Citie as Friends, not as Enemies, with intention to keepe the ill-affected from being worse, and to doe right to the good. **E** Taking vpon them to bee moderators of your Councils, and not to deprive the Citie of your persons: but to reduce

you into one body with the rest of your kindred; and not to en-  
 A  
 gage you in hostility with any, but to settle you in peace with  
 all. And for an argument, that we did not this as enemies, we  
 did harme to no man, but proclaimed, that if any man were wil-  
 ling to haue the City governed after the common forme of all  
 Boeotia, he should come to vs. And you came willingly at first,  
 and were quiet; but afterwards when you knew we were but  
 few, (though we might seeme to haue done somewhat more then  
 was fit to doe, without the consent of your multitude) you did  
 not by vs, as we did by you, first innouate nothing in fact, and  
 then with words perswade vs to goe forth againe, but contrary B  
 to the composition, assaulted vs. And for those men you slew in  
 the affray, we grieue not so much (for they suffered by a kinde of  
 Law) but to kill those that held vp their hands for mercie,  
 whom taken aliue, you afterwards had promised to spare, was  
 not this a horrible cruelty? you committed in this businesse three  
 crimes, one in the necke of another. First the breach of the com-  
 position, then the death that followed, of our men, and thirdly,  
 the falsifying of your promise, to saue them, if we did no hurt to  
 any thing of yours in the Fields. And yet you say that we are the  
 transgressors, and that you for your parts deserue not to vndergo C  
 a iudgement. But it is otherwise. And if these men iudge aright,  
 you shall be punished now for all your crimes at once. We haue  
 herein men of Lacedæmon, beene thus large, both for your sakes,  
 and ours. For yours, to let you see, that if you condemne them, it  
 will bee no iniustice; for ours, that the equity of our reuenge may  
 the better appeare. Be not moued with the recitall of their ver-  
 tues of old (if any they had) which though they ought to helpe  
 the wronged, should double the punishment of such as commit  
 wickednesse, because their offence doth not become them. Nor  
 let them fare euer the better for their lamentation, or your com-  
 passion, when they cry out vpon your Fathers Sepulchers, and D  
 their owne want of friends. For we on the other side affirme,  
 that the Youth of our Citie suffered harder measure from them,  
 and their Fathers, partly slaine at Coronea, in bringing Boeotia  
 to your Confederation, and partly aliue and now old, and depri-  
 ued of their children, make farre iuster supplication to you for  
 reuenge. And pittie belongeth to such as suffer vnderferuedly, but  
 on the contrary, when men are worthily punished, (as these are)  
 it is to bee reioyced at. And for their present want of friends,  
 they may thanke themselves. For of their owne accord they re-  
 E  
 iected the better Confederates. And the Law hath beene broken  
 by

A by them, without precedent wrong from vs, in that they condem-  
 ned our men spitefully, rather then iudicially; in which point we  
 shall now come short of requiing them; for they shall suffer Legally,  
 and not, as they say they doe, with hands vpbeld from battell, but as  
 men that haue put themselves vpon triall by consent.

Maintaine therefore (ye Lacedæmonians) the Law of  
 the Grecians, against these men that haue transgressed it, and giue  
 vnto vs, that haue suffered contrary to the Law, the iust recom-  
 pence of our alacritie in your seruice. And let not the words of  
 these, giue vs a repulse from you. But set vp an example to the  
 B Grecians, by presenting vnto these men, a tryall, not of words, but  
 of facts; which if they be good, a short narration of them will serue  
 the turne; if ill, compt Orations doe but weyle them. But if such  
 as haue the authority, as you haue now, would collect the matter to a  
 head, and according as any man should make answer thereunto, so  
 proceed to sentence, men would be lesse in the search of faire spee-  
 ches, wherewith to excuse the foulness of their actions. Thus  
 spake the Thebans.

And the Lacedæmonian Iudges, conceauing their Inter-  
 C rogatory to stand well, Namely, whether they had receiued any  
 benefit by them or not in this present War, (For they had indeed  
 intreated the both at other times, according to the ancient  
 league of Pausanias, after the Median Warre, to stand neu-  
 trall and also a litle before the Siege, the Plataeans had re-  
 iected their proposition of being common friend to both  
 sides, according to the same league) taking themselves in  
 respect of these their iust offers, to be now discharged of  
 the league, and to haue receiued euill at their hands, caused  
 them one by one to be brought forth, and hauing asked  
 D them againe the same question, Whether they had any way be-  
 nefited the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates in this pre-  
 sent Warre, or not? as they answered, Not, led them aside  
 and slew them, not exempting any. Of the Plataeans them-  
 selves they slew no lesse then 200; Of Athenians, who were  
 besieged with them, 25. The Women they made slaues;  
 and the Thebans assigned the Citie for a yeere, or therea-  
 bouts, for an habitation to such Megareans, as in Yedition  
 had been driuen from their owne, and to all those  
 Plataeans, which liuing, were of the Theban faction.  
 E But afterwards, pulling it all downe to the very  
 foundation, they built a Hospitall in the place, neere the  
 Temple

The Lacedæmonians pro-  
 ceed with their question.

The Plataeans are put to  
 death.  
 25 Athenians slaine with  
 them.

Plataea pulled downe.

Temple of *Iuno*, of 200 foot diameter, with chambers on A every side in circle, both above and below; vsing therein the roofes, and doores of the *Plateans* buildings. And of the rest of the stufte, that was in the Citie wall, as Brasse and Iron, they made Bedstedes, and dedicated them to *Iuno*, to whom also they built a stone Chappell of 100 foote ouer. The Land they confiscated, and set it to farme afterwards for ten yeeres to the *Thebans*. So farre were the *Lacedemonians* alienated from the *Plateans*, especially, or rather altogether for the *Thebans* sake, whom they thought vsfull to them in the Warre now on foot. So ended the B businesse at *Plataea*, in the fourscore and thirteenth yeere after their league made with the *Athenians*.

The 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, which hauing been sent to ayde the *Lesbians*, fled, as hath beene related, through the wide Sea, chased by the *Athenians*, and tossed by stormes on the Coast of *Creta*, came thence disperfed, into *Peloponnesus*, and found thirteene Gallies, *Leucadians*, and *Ambraciotes*, in the Hauen of *Cyllene*, with *Brasidas* the sonne of *Tellis*, come thither to be of counsell with *Alcidas*. For the *Lacedemonians*, seeing they failed of *Lesbos*, determined with C their Fleet augmented to sayle to *Corcyra*, which was in fedition, (there being but twelue *Athenian* Gallies about *Naupactus*) to the end they might be there before, the supply of a greater Fleet should come from *Athens*. So *Brasidas* and *Alcidas* employed themselues in that.

The fedition in *Corcyra*, began vpon the comming home of those Captiues, which were taken in the battels by Sea, at *Epidamnus*, and released afterwards by the *Corinthians*, at the ransome, as was voyced, of eighty talents, for which they had giuen security to their Hostes; but in fact, for D that they had perswaded the *Corinthians*, that they would put *Corcyra* into their power. These men going from man to man, solicited the Citie to reuolt from the *Athenians*. And two Gallies being now come in, one of *Athens*, another of *Corinth*, with Ambassadors from both those States, the *Corcyreans* vpon audience of them both, decreed to hold the *Athenians* for their Confederates, on Articles agreed on; but withall to remaine friends to the *Peloponnesians*, as they had formerly been. There was one *Pitbias*, voluntary Hoste of the *Athenians*, and that had bin principall Magistrate of the people. Him, these men called into iudge- E ment,

The *Lacedemonians* in their sentence vpon the *Plateans*, haue more respect to their owne profit, then to the merit of the cause.

The 40 Gallies, with *Alcidas*, come weather-beaten home.

The fedition of *Corcyra* occasioned by the Captiues that came from *Corinth*.

Who perswade the renouncing of their league with *Athens*.

A ment, and laid to his charge a practice to bring the Citie into the seruitude of the *Athenians*. He againe, being acquitted, called in question, siue of the wealthiest of the same men, saying, they had cut \* certaine Stakes in the ground, belonging to the Temples both of *Iupiter*, and of *Alcinus*, vpon euery of which, there lay a penalty of a \* Stater. And the cause going against them, they tooke Sanctuary in the Temples, to the end, the summe being great, they might pay it by portions, as they should be taxed. But *Pitbias* (for he was also of the Senate) obtained that the B Law should proceed. These siue being by the Law excluded the Senate, and vnderstanding that *Pitbias*, as long as he was a Senator, would cause the people to hold for friends and foes, the same that were io to the *Athenians*, conspired with the rest, and armed with Daggers, suddenly brake into the Senate house, and slew both *Pitbias* and others, as well priuate men as Senators, to the number of about sixty persons; onely a few of those of *Pitbias* his faction, escaped into the *Athenian* Gallie that lay yet in the Harbour. When they had done this, and called the C *Corcyreans* to an Assembly, they told them, that what they had done, was for the best, and that they should not be now in bondage to the *Athenians*. And for the future they aduised them to be in quiet, and to receiue neither party, with more then one Gallie at once; and to take them for enemies, if they were more. And when they had spoken, forced them to decree it accordingly. They also presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, both to shew that it was fit for them to doe what they had done, and also to dissuade such *Corcyreans* as were fled thither of the other D faction, from doing any thing to their preiudice, for feare the matter should fall into a relapse.

When these arriued, the *Athenians* apprehended both the Ambassadors themselues, as seditious persons, and also all those *Corcyreans* whom they had there preuailed with; and sent them to custody in *Agina*. In the meane time, vpon the comming in of a Gallie of *Corinth*, with Ambassadors from *Lacedamon*, those that mannaged the State, assailed the Commons, and overcame them in fight. And night comming on, the Commons fled into the Citadell, E and the higher parts of the Citie, where they rallied themselues, and encamped, and made themselues Masters of

*Pitbias*, one of the *Athenian* faction, accused, and absolved, accuseth some of the other faction.

\* *Stogxas* Stakes, either for Vine props, which are particularly called *Stogxas* or for other profane use.  
\* Of our money about 15 Shillings 7 pence halfe penny.

*Pitbias* and others slaine in the Senate.

The *Lacedemonian* faction assaile the Commons.

of the Hauen called the *Hillaique* Hauen. But the Nobility seized on the Market place (where also the most of them dwelt,) and on the Hauen on the side toward the Continent.

\* Arrows, Darts, Stones,  
and the like missile weapons.

The next day they skirmished a little with \* shot, and both parts sent abroad into the Villages to solicit the slaves with promise of liberty, to take their parts. And the greatest part of the slaves took part with the Commons; and the other side had an aide of 800 men, from the Continent.

The Commons overcome  
the Corinthians.

The next day but one they fought againe, and the people had the Victory, hauing the odds, both in strength of places, and in number of men. And the women also manfully assisted them, throwing Tiles from the houses, and enduring the tumult, euen beyond the condition of their Sexe. The Few began to flie about twilight, and fearing lest the people should euen with their shout take the Arsenall, and so come on and put them to the sword, to stoppe their passage, set fire on the houses in circle about the Market place, and vpon others neere it. Much goods of Merchants was hereby burnt, and the whole City, if the wind had risen and carried the flame that way, had been in danger to haue been destroyed. When the people had gotten the Victory, the *Corinthian* Gallie stole away, and most of the auxiliaries, gat ouer priuily into the Continent.

The next day *Nicostratus*, the sonne of *Diotrephes*, an *Athenian* Commander, came in with 12 Gallies, and 500 *Messenian* men of Armes, from *Naupactus*, and both negotiated a reconciliation, and induced them (to the end they might agree) to condemne ten of the principall authors of the Sedition (who presently fled) and to let the rest alone, with Articles both betweene themselves, and with the *Athenians* to esteeme friends and enemies, the same the *Athenians* did. When he had done this, he would haue been gone, but the people perswaded him before he went, to leaue behind him, five of his Gallies, the better, to keepe their aduersaries from stirring, and to take as many of theirs, which they would, man with *Corcyreans*, and send with him. To this he agreed, and they made a List of those that should imbarke, consisting altogether of their enemies. But these, fearing to be sent to *Athens*, took Sanctuary

A Sanctuary in the Temple of *Castor* and *Polux*; But *Nicostratus* endeauoured to raise them, and spake to them, to put them into courage: but when hee could not preuaile, the people (arming themselves on pretence, that their diffidence to goe along with *Nicostratus* proceeded from some euill intention) tooke away their Armes out of their houses, and would also haue killed some of them, such as they chanced on, if *Nicostratus* had not hindred them.

B Others also when they saw this, tooke Sanctuary in the Temple of *Iuno*, and they were in all about foure hundred. But the people fearing some innouation, got them by perswasion to rise, and conueying them into the Island that lyeth ouer against the Temple of *Iuno*, sent them their necessities thither.

The Sedition standing in these termes, the fourth or fifth day after the putting ouer of these men into the Island, arrived the *Peloponnesian* Fleet from *Cyllene*, where, since their voyage of *Ionis*, they had lyen at Anchor, to the number of three and fiftie saile. Alcidas had the command of these, as before, and *Brasidas* came with him as a Counsellour. And hauing first put in at *Sybotis*, a Hauen of the Continent, they came on the next morning by breake of day toward *Corcyra*.

Alcidas and the Peloponnesians arrive and fight at Sea against the Corcyreans.

The *Corcyreans* being in great tumult and feare, both of the Seditious within, and of the inuasion without, made ready threescore Gallies, and still as any of them were manned, sent them out against the Enemy; whereas the *Athenians* had aduised them to giue leaue to them to goe forth first, and then the *Corcyreans* to follow after with the whole Fleet together. When their Gallies came forth thus thinn, two of them presently turned to the Enemy, and in others, they that were aboard, were together by the eares amongst themselves, and nothing was done in due order. The *Peloponnesians* seeing their confusion, opposed themselves to the *Corcyreans* with twenty Gallies onely, the rest they set in array against the twelue Gallies of *Athens*, whereof the *Salamina* and the *Paralus* were two.

The *Corcyreans* hauing come disorderly vp, and by E few at once, were on their part, in much distresse; but the *Athenians*, fearing the Enemies number, and B b doubting



doubting to bee invironed, would neuer come vp to A charge the Enemie where they stood thicke, nor would set vpon the Gallies that were placed in the middest, but charged one end of them, and drowned one of their Gallies: and when the *Peloponnesians* afterwards had put their Fleet into a circular figure, they then went about and about it, endeouoring to put them into disorder; which they that were fighting against the *Corcyraens* perceiuing, and fearing such another chance as befell them formerly at *Naupactus*, went to their ayde, and vniting themselves, came vpon the *Athenians* all together. B

But they retyring, rowed a sterne, intending that the *Corcyraens* should take that time to escape in; they themselves in the meane time going as leasurely backe as was possible, and keeping the enemie still a head. Such was this Battell, and it ended about Sun-set.

The *Corcyraens* fearing lest the Enemie in pursuit of their Victorie, should haue come directly against the Citie, or take aboard the men which they had put ouer into the Iland, or doe them some other mischief, C fetcht backe the men into the Temple of *Iuno* againe, and guarded the City.

But the *Peloponnesians*, though they had wonne the Battell, yet durst not invade the Citie, but hauing taken thirteene of the *Corcyraean* Gallies, went backe into the Continent from whence they had set forth. The next day they came not vnto the Citie, no more then before, although it was in great tumult and affright: and though also *Brasidas* (as it is reported) aduised *Alcidas* to it, but had not equall authority; but onely landed Souldiers at D the Promontory of *Leucimna*, and wasted their Territory.

In the mean time the people of *Corcyra*, fearing extremely, lest those Gallies should come against the Citie, not onely conferred with those in Sanctuary, and with the rest, about how the Citie might be preferued, but also induced some of them to goe aboard. For notwithstanding the sedition, they manned 30. Gallies, in expectation that the Fleet of the enemy should haue entred. But the *Peloponnesians* hauing beene wasting of their Fieldes, till E it was about noone, went their wayes againe. Within night,

*Alcidas a coward.*

A night, the *Corcyraens* had notice by fires of threescore *Athenian* Gallies comming toward them from *Leucas*, which the *Aibeniens*, vpon intelligence of the Sedition, and of the Fleet to goe to *Corcyra* vnder *Alcidas*, had sent to ayde them, vnder the conduct of *Eurymedon*, the Sonne of *Thucles*.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore, as soone as night came, sayled speedily home, keeping still the shore, and causing their Gallies to bee carried ouer at the Isthmus of *Leucas*, that they might not come in sight, as they went about.

B But the People of *Corcyra* hearing of the *Attique* Gallies, comming in, and the going off of the *Peloponnesians*, brought into the Citie those \* *Messenians*, which before were without, and appointing the Gallies which they had furnished, to come about into the *Hillaque* Hauen, whilest accordingly they went about, slew all the contrary Faction they could lay hands on; and also afterwards threw ouer-board, out of the same Gallies, all those they had before perswaded to imbarque, and so went thence. And comming to the Temple of *Iuno*, they perswaded 50. of C those that had taken Sanctuary, to referre themselves to a legall tryall; all which they condemned to dye. But the most of the Sanctuary men, that is, all those that were not induced to stand to tryall by Law, when they saw what was done, killed one another there-right in the Temple, some hanged themselves on Trees, euery one as he had means, made himselfe away. And for 7. daies together that *Eurymedon* stayed there with his 60. Gallies, the *Corcyraens* did nothing but kill such of their City as they tooke to bee their Enemies, laying to their charge a pra-

D ctice to haue euerted the popular government. Amongst whom, some were slaine vpon priuate hatred, and some by their debtors, for the money which they had lent them. All formes of death were then seene, and (as in such cases it vsually fallies out) whatsoever had happened at any time, happened also then, and more. For the Father slew his Sonne; men were dragged out of the Temples, and then slaine hard by; and some immured in the Temple of *Bacchus*, dyed within it. So cruell was this Sedition; and seemed so the more, because it was of these E the first. For afterwards, all *Greece*, as a man may say, was in commotion; and quarrels arose euery where be-

B b 2

Threescore saille of *Athenians* come to ayde the *Corcyraean* Commions.

The *Peloponnesians* depart with their Fleet.

\* that came with *Nicostratus*.

The people, vpon the comming in of the *Athenians*, most cruelly put to death whomloeuver they can of the contrary Faction.

Description of the behaviour of the people in this sedition.



tween the Patrons of the Commons, that sought to A  
bring in the *Athenians*, and the young, that desired to bring  
in the *Lacedaemonians*. Now in time of peace, they could  
have had no pretence, nor would have beene so forward  
to call them in; but being Warre, and Confederates to  
bee had for eyther party, both to hurt their Enemies, and  
strengthen themselves, such as desired alteration, easily  
got them to come in. And many and heinous things hap-  
ned in the Cities through this Sedition, which though  
they haue beene before, and shall be euer, as long as hu-  
mane nature is the same, yet they are more calme, and of B  
different kinds, according to the seuerall coniunctures. For  
in peace and prosperity, as well Cities as priuate men, are  
better minded, because they bee not plunged into necessity  
of doing any thing against their will, but War taking away  
the assistance of daily necessities, is a most violent Master, &  
conformeth most mens passions to the present occasion.  
The Cities therefore being now in Sedition, and those that  
fell into it later, having heard what had beene done in  
the former, they farre exceeded the same in newnesse  
of conceipt, both for the art of assailing, and for the C  
strangenesse of their reuenges. The receiued value of  
names imposed for signification of things, was changed in-  
to arbitrary: For inconsiderate boldnesse, was counted  
true hearted manlinesse; prouident deliberation, a han-  
some feare; modesty, the cloake of cowardice; to be wise  
in euery thing, to be lazie in euery thing. A furious sud-  
denesse was reputed a point of valour. To re-aduise for  
the better security, was held for a faire pretext of tergi-  
ueration. Hee that was fierce, was alwayes trusty; and  
hee that contraried such a one, was suspected. Hee that D  
did insidiate, if itooke, was a wise man; but hee that  
could smell out a Trap laid, a more dangerous man then  
hee. But hee that had beene so prouident, as not to neede  
to doe the one or the other, was said to bee a dissoluer of  
society; and one that stood in feare of his aduersary. In  
brieft, he that could outstrip another in the doing of an e-  
uill act, or that could perswade another thereto, that ne-  
uer meant it, was commended: To bee kinne to another,  
was not to be so neere as to be of his society, because these  
were ready to vndertake any thing, and not to dispute it. E  
For these \* Societies were not made vpon prescribed  
Lawes

\* *As the Corollary of the last  
changes of the state of things.*

The manners of the se-  
ditionous.

\* The ending of Companies  
under certain Lawes, for  
the more profitable manna-  
ginge of their Trades and arts,  
seemeth to haue beene in use  
then, as now.

A Lawes of profit, but for rapine, contrary to the Lawes  
established. And as for mutuall trust amongst them, it was  
confirmed not so much by diuine Law, as by the commu-  
nicatio of guilt. And what was well aduised of their ad-  
uersaries, they receiued with an eye to their actions, to see  
whether they were too strong for them, or not, and not  
ingenuously. To be reuenged was in more request, then  
neuer to haue receiued iniurie. And for Oathes (when any  
were) of reconciliation, being admitted in the present  
for necessity, were of force to such as had otherwise no  
B power: but vpon opportunity, he that first durst, thought  
his reuenge sweeter by the trust, then if he had taken the  
open way. For they did not onely put to account the  
safenesse of that course, but hauing circumvented their  
Aduersary by fraud, assumed to themselves withall, a ma-  
sterie in point of wit. And dishonest men for the most  
part are sooner called able, then simple men honest. And  
men are ashamed of this title but take a pride in the other.  
The cause of all this is *desire of rule*, out of *Avarice* and *Ambi-  
tion*, and the zeale of \* contention from those two proceed-  
C ing. For such as were of authority in the Cities, both  
of the one and the other Faction, preferring vnder decent  
titles, one the *politically equality of the multitude*; the other the  
moderate *Aristocratie*, though in words they seemed to be  
seruants of the Publique, they made it in effect but the  
Prize of their contention. And striving by whatsoever  
meanes to ouercome, both ventured on most horrible out-  
rages, and prosecuted their reuenges still further, without  
any regard of Iustice, or the publike good, but limiting  
them, each Faction, by their owne appetite, and stood  
D ready, whether by vniust sentence, or with their owne  
hands, when they should get power, to satisfie their pre-  
sent spight. So that neither side made account to haue any  
thing the sooner done for Religion [of an Oath,] but hee  
was most commended, that could passe a businessse against  
the haire with a faire Oration. The neutrals of the Cite  
were destroyed by both Factions, partly because they  
would not side with them, and partly for enuie that they  
should so escape.

Thus was wickednesse on foot in euery kind, through-  
E out all Greece, by the occasion of their sedition. Sincerity  
(whereof there is much in a generous nature) was laugh-  
ed

\* By oath.

\* *Or otherwise properly that  
spight which reigneth in two  
aduersaries whilst they con-  
tend, or enuie in the winning.*

ed downe. And it was farre the best course, to stand diffidently against each other, with their thoughts in battell array, which no speech was so powerfull, nor Oath terrible enough to disband. And being all of them, the more they considered, the more desperate of assurance, they rather contriued how to auoid a mischiefe, then were able to rely on any mans faith. And for the most part, such as had the least wit, had the best successe; for both their owne defect, and the subtilty of their aduerfaries, putting them into a great feare to be ouercome in words, or at least in pre-insidiation, by their enemies great craft, they therefore went roundly to worke with them, with deedes. Whereas the other, not caring though they were perceiued, and thinking they needed not to take by force, what they might doe by plot, were thereby vnprouided, and so the more easily flaine.

In *Corcyra* then were these euils for the most part committed first; and so were all other, which either such men as haue beene gouerned with pride, rather then modesty, by those on whom they take reuenge, were like to commit in taking it; or which such men as stand vpon their deliury from long pouerty, out of couetousnes (chiefly to haue their neighbours goods) would contrary to iustice giue their voices to: or which men, not for couetousnes, but assailing each other on equall termes, carried away with the vnruleinesse of their anger, would cruelly and inexorably execute.

And the common course of life being at that time confounded in the Citie; the nature of man, which is wont euery against Law to doe euill, gotten now aboue the Law, shewed it selfe with delight, to be too weake for passion, too strong for iustice, and enemy to all superiority. Else they would neuer haue preferred reuenge before innocence, nor lucre (whensoever the enuie of it was without power to doe them hurt) before iustice. And for the Lawes common to all men in such cases, (which, as long as they be in force, giue hope to all that suffer iniury) men desire not to leaue them standing, against the neede a man in danger may haue of the, but by their reuenges on others, to be beforehand in subuerting them. Such were the passions of the *Corcyraans* first of all other *Grecians*, towards one another in the City. And *Eurymedon* and the *Asbenians* departed with their Gallies.

After-

In seditions and confusion, they that distrust their wits, suddenly vse their hands, and defeat the Stratagems of the more subtille sort.

The Athenian Fleet goes away.

A Afterwards, such of the *Corcyraans* as had fled (for there escaped about 500. of them) hauing seized on the Forts in the Continent, impatronized themselues of their owne Territory on the other side, and from thence came ouer and robbed the Ilanders, and did them much hurt; and there grew a great Famine in the Citie. They likewise sent Ambassadors to *Lacedemon* and *Corinth*, concerning their reduction; and when they could get nothing done, hauing gotten boates, and some auxiliary souldiers, they passed, a while after, to the number of about 600. into the Island. Where when they had set fire on their Boates, that they might trust to nothing, but to make themselues masters of the Field, they went vp into the Hill *Istone*, and hauing there fortified themselues with a Wall, infested those within, and were masters of the Territory.

In the end of the same Summer, the *Athenians* sent twenty Gallies into *Sicily*, vnder the command of *Laches* the sonne of *Melanopus*, and *Chariadas* the sonne of *Euphiletus*: For the *Syracusians* and the *Leontines* were now warring against each other. The Confederates of the *Syracusians* were all the *Dorique* Cities (except the *Camarinaans*) which also in the beginning of this Warre were reckoned in the League of the *Lacedemonians*, but had not yet ayded them in the Warre. The Confederates of the *Leontines*, were the *Chalcidique* Cities, together with *Camarina*. And in *Italy*, the *Locrians* were with the *Syracusians*; but the *Rhegians*, according to their consanguinity, tooke part with the *Leontines*. Now the Confederates of the *Leontines*, in respect of their ancient alliance with the *Athenians*, as also for that they were *Ionians* obtained of the *Athenians*, to send them Gallies; for that the *Leontines* were deprived by the *Syracusians* of the vse both of the Land and Sea. And so the *People of Athens* sent ayde vnto them, pretending propinquity, but intending, both to hinder the transportation of Corne from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and also to tast the possibility of taking the States of *Sicily* into their own hands. These arriuing at *Rhegium* in *Italy*, ioyned with the Confederates, and beganne the Warre; and so ended this Summer.

E The next winter, the Sicknesse fell vpon the *Athenians* againe (hauing in deed neuer totally left the Citie, though there

500. of the Nobility that escaped, leane on such places as belonged to the *Corcyraans* in the Continent.

They come ouer & fortify themselves in *Istone*.

The *Athenians* send 20. Gallies into *Sicily*, in pretence to ayde the *Leontines*, but with intention to hinder the coming of corne from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and to spy out the possibility of subduing that Island.

The end of the fifth Summer.

The Plague againe at *Athen*.

there was some intermission, and continued about a yeere after. But the former lasted two yeeres: insomuch as nothing afflicted the *Athenians*, or empaired their strength more then it. For the number that dyed of it, of men of Armes enrolled, were no lesse then 4400. and Horsemen, 300. of the other multitude, innumerable. There happened also at the same time many Earthquakes, both in *Athens*, and in *Eubœa*, and also amongst the *Bœotians*; and in *Bœotia*, chiefly at *Orchomenus*.

The *Athenians* invade the *Lipareans*, and Islands called the *Iles of Æolus*.

The *Athenians* and *Rhegians* that were now in *Sicily*, made Warre the same Winter on the Islands called the 1-*B lands of Æolus*, with thirty Gallies. For in Summer it was impossible to Warre vpon them for the shallownesse of the Water. These Islands are inhabited by the *Lipareans*, who are a Colonie of the *Cnidians*, and dwell in one of the same Islands, no great one, called *Lipara*, and thence they goe forth, and husband the rest, which are *Dydime*, *Strongyle*, and *Hiera*. The Inhabitants of those places haue an opinion, that in *Hiera*, *Vulcan* exerciseth the craft of a Smith. For it is seene to send forth abundance of fire in the day time, and of Smoake in the night. These Islands are adiacent to the Territorie of the \**Siculi*, and *Messanians*, but were Confederates of the *Syracusians*. When the *Athenians* had wasted their Fields, and saw they would not come in they put off againe and went to *Rhegium*. And so ended this Winter, and the fifth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Summer, the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates came as farre as the *Isthmus*, vnder the conduct of *Agis* the Sonne of *Archidamus*, intending to haue invaded *Attica*; but by reason of the many Earthquakes that then happened, they turned backe, and the inuasion proceeded not.

About the same time, (*Eubœa* being then troubled with Earthquakes) the Sea came in at *Orobia*, on the part which then was Land, and being impetuous withall, ouerflowed most part of the Citie, whereof part it couered, and part it washed downe, and made lower in the returne; so that it is now Sea, which before was Land. And the People, as many as could not preuent it by running vp into the higher ground, perished. Another inundation like vnto this, hapned in the Ile of *Atalanta*, on the Coast of *Locris*

of

\* See p. 51. There are in *Thucydides* mentioned *Syracusians*, *Messanians*, and *Sicilians*, in which is later to the name of the inhabitants of Sicily is generally, but formerly, is only that that was, or that was entirely of Italy, and coming over into Sicily, gave that name to the Island.

THE SIXTH YEERE.

Earthquakes about *Eubœa*, and inundations.

A of the *Opuntians*, and carried away part of the *Athenians* Fort there, and of two Gallies that lay on dry Land, it brake one in pieces.

Also there happened at *Peparethus* a certaine rising of the water, but it brake not in. And a part of the Wall, the \**Towne-house*, and some few houses besides, were ouerthrowne by the Earthquakes. The cause of such inundation, for my part, I take to be this; that the Earthquake, where it was very great, did there send off the Sea, and the Sea returning on a sudden, caused the Water to come on with greater violence. And it seemeth vnto me, that without an Earthquake, such an accident could neuer happen.

The same Summer, diuers others, as they had seuerall occasions, made Warre in *Sicily*. So also did the \**Sicilians* amongst themselves, and the *Athenians* with their Confederates. But I will make mention, onely of such most memorable things, as were done either by the Confederates there with the *Athenians*, or against the *Athenians* by the Enemie.

C *Charæades* the *Athenian* Generall being slaine by the *Syracusians*, *Laches*, who was now sole Commander of the Fleet, together with the Confederates, made Warre on *Myla*, a Towne belonging to *Messana*. There were in *Myla* two companies of *Messanians* in Garrison, the which also laid a certaine Ambush for those that came vp from the Fleet. But the *Athenians* and their Confederates, both put to flight those that were in ambush, with the slaughter of the most of them; and also assaulting their Fortification, forced them on composition, both to render the D Citadell, and to goe along with them against *Messana*. After this, vpon the approach of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, the *Messanians* compounded likewise, and gaue them Hostages, and such other security as was requisite.

The same Summer, the *Athenians* sent thirtie Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Demo-sthenes* the sonne of *Antisthenes*, and *Prochus* the sonne of *Theodorus*; and 60. Gallies more, with 2000. men of Armes, commanded by *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, E into *Melos*. For the *Athenians*, in respect that the \**Melians* were Islanders, and yet would neither bee their

Cc

Sub-

\* το πεπαιρητον.  
The naturall cause of Inundation given by the Author.

\* Σικελισται.

The *Athenians* win *Myla*.

And *Messana*.

The *Athenians* send *Demos-thenes* with 30. Gallies about *Peloponnesus*.

And *Nicias* with 60. Gallies into the Island of *Melos*.

\* Μελιοι. The *Melians* mentioned a little after this, are not Islanders, nor termed *Melians*, but *Melians*.

Subjects, nor of their League, intending to subdue them. **A** But when vpon the waſting of their Fields they ſtill flood out, they departed from *Melos*, and ſayled to *Oropus*, in the oppoſite Continent.

Being there arriued within night, the men of *Armes* left the Gallies, and marched preſently by Land to *Tanagra* in *Boeotia*. To which place, vpon a ſigne giuen, the *Athenians* that were in the Citie of *Athens*, came alſo forth with their whole Forces, led by *Hipponicus* the ſonne of *Callias*, and *Eurymedon* the ſonne of *Thucles*, and ioyned with them; and pitching their Campe, ſpent the **B** day in waſting the Territory of *Tanagra*, and lay there the night following.

The next day they defeated in Battell, ſuch of the *Tanagrians* as came out againſt them, and alſo certaine ſuccours ſent them from *Thebes*; and when they had taken vp the *Armes* of thoſe that were ſlaine, and erected a Trophie, they returned backe, the one part to *Athens*, the other to their Fleet. And *Nicias* with his 60. Gallies, hauing firſt ſailed along the Coaſt of *Locris*, and waſted it, came home likewiſe.

About the ſame time, the *Peloponneſians* erected the Colonie of *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, with this intention: The \* *Melians* in the whole containe theſe three parts: *Paralians*, *Hierans*, and *Trachinians*. Of theſe the *Trachinians* being afflicted with Warre from the *Oeteans* their borderers, thought at firſt to haue ioyned themſelues to the *Athenians*; but fearing that they would not bee faithfull vnto them, they ſent to *Lacedemon*; chooſing for their Ambaſſadour *Tisamenus*. And the *Dorians*, who are the Mother Nation to the *Lacedemonians*, ſent their Am- **D** baſſadours likewiſe with him, with the ſame requeſts. For they alſo were infeſted with Warre from the ſame *Oeteans*.

Vpon audience of theſe Ambaſſadours, the *Lacedemonians* concluded to ſend out a Colonie, both intending the reparation of the iniuries done to the *Trachinians* and to the *Doreans*; and conceiuing withall, that the Towne would ſtand very commodiouſly, for their Warre with the *Athenians*; inasmuch as they might thereby haue a Nauiie ready, where the paſſage was **E** but ſhort, againſt *Eubœa*; and it would much further their

The Army of *Nicias*, and another Armie from the Citie of *Athens*, meete vpon a ſigne giuen, at *Tanagra* in *Boeotia*.

They overcome the *Tanagrians* in battell.

The *Lacedemonians* build the City *Heraclea*.

\* *Melians*, a people of *Theſſaly*, neere the *Melians* Gulf.

The commodious ſeate of this new City for the Warre.

**A** their conuoyance of Souldiers into *Thrace*. And they had their minde wholly bent to the building of the place.

Fiſt therefore they asked counſell of the Oracle in *Delphi*; and the Oracle hauing bidden them doe it, they ſent Inhabitants thither, both of their owne people, and of the neighbours about them, and gaue leaue alſo to any that would, to goe thither, out of the reſt of *Greece*, ſaue onely to the *Ionians*, *Achaïans*, and ſome few other Nations.

**B** The Conductors of the Colonie were three *Lacedemonians*, *Leon*, *Acidas*, and *Damagon*: who taking in it hand, built the Citie which is now called *Heraclea*, from the very Foundation; being diſtant from *Thermopylae* fortie Furlongs, and from the Sea twenty. Alſo they made houſes for Gallies to lye vnder, beginning cloſe to *Thermopylae*, againſt the very ſtreight, to the end to haue them the more defenſible.

The *Athenians*, when this Citie was peopled, were at firſt afraid, and thought it to bee ſet vp eſpecially againſt *Eubœa*; becauſe from thence to *Ceneum*, a Promontory of *Eubœa*, the paſſage is but ſhort. But it fell out afterwards otherwiſe then they imagined; for they had no great harme by it. The reaſon whereof was this: That the *Theſſalians* who had the Townes of thoſe parts in their power, and vpon whoſe ground it was built, afflicted theſe new planters with a continuall Warre, till they had worne them out, though they were many indeed in the beginning, (for being the foundation of the *Lacedemonians*, every one went thither boldly, conceiuing the Citie to bee **D** an aſſured one) and chiefly the *Gouernours* themſelues, ſent thither from *Lacedemon*, vndid the buſineſſe, and diſpeopled the City by frighting moſt men away, for that they gouerned ſeuereſly, and ſometimes alſo vniuſtly, by which meanes their neighbours more eaſily preuailed againſt them.

The ſame Summer, and about the ſame time that the *Athenians* ſtayed in *Melos*, thoſe other *Athenians* that were in the thirtie Gallies about *Peloponneſus*, ſlew firſt certaine Garriſon Souldiers in *Ellomenus*, **E** a place of *Leucadia*, by Ambuſhment. But afterwards with a greater Fleet, and with the whole power of the

C c 2

*Acarna-*

The *Theſſalians* infeſt the new Citie with continuall Warre, for ſeaſe they ſhould be too great.

The ſeuerity of the *Lacedemonians* gouernment diſpeopled the Citie of *Heraclea*, and frighted men from it. The *Lacedemonians* alwayes ſeuere, not alwayes iuſt.

*Demoſthenes* warreth on *Leucas*.

*Acarnanians* (who followed the Army, all (but the *Oenias*) that could beare Armes) and with the *Zacynthians*, and *Cephalonians*, and fiftene Gallies of the *Corcyraens*, made Warre against the City it selfe of *Leucas*. The *Leucadians*, though they saw their Territorie wasted by them, both without the *Isthmus*, and within, (where the Citie of *Leucas* standeth, and the Temple of *Apollo*) yet they durst not stirre, because the number of the Enemy was so great. And the *Acarnanians* entreated *Demoſthenes* the *Athenian* Generall to Wall them vp, conceauing that they might easily be expugned by a Siege, and desiring to be rid of a Citie their continuall Enemy. But *Demoſthenes* was perswaded at the same time by the *Messenians*, that seeing so great an Armie was together, it would bee honourable for him to inuade the *Ætolians*, principally, as being Enemies to *Naupactus*; and that if these were subdued, the rest of the Continent thereabouts would easily bee added to the *Athenian* dominion. For they alledged, that though the Nation of the *Ætolians* were great and Warlike, yet their habitation was in Villages vnwalled, and those at great distances; and were but light-armed, and might therefore with no great difficulty bee all subdued, before they could vnite themselves for defence. And they aduised him to take in hand first the *Apodotians*, next, the *Ophionians*, and after them the *Eurytians*, which are the greatest part of *Ætolia*, of a most strange language, and that are reported to eate raw flesh; for these beeing subdued, the rest would easily follow.

But hee, induced by the *Messenians*, whom he fauoured, but especially because hee thought, without the Forces of the People of *Athens*, with the Confederates onely of the Continent, and with the *Ætolians*, to inuade *Bæotia* by Land, going first through the *Locri Ozole*, and so to *Cytinium* of *Doria*, hauing *Pernassus* on the right hand, till the descent thereof into the Territory of the *Phocæans*, (which people, for the friendship they euer bore to the *Athenians*, would, he thought, be willing to follow his Armie, and if not, might be forced) and vpon the *Phocæans* bordereth *Bæotia*. Putting off therefore with his whole Armie, against the minds of the *Acarnanians*, from *Leucas*, he sailed vnto *Solium* by the shoare, and there hauing communicated his conceit with the *Acarnanians*, when they would not approue

*Demoſthenes* inuadeth *Ætolia* at the perswasion of the *Messenians*.

The ambition of *Demoſthenes*, the chiefe cause of his vntfortunate Enterprize in *Ætolia*.

A approue of it, because of his refusall to besiege *Leucas*, he himselfe with the rest of his Armie, *Cephalonians*, *Zacynthians*, and 300. *Athenians*, the Souldiers of his own Fleet, (for the fiftene Gallies of *Corcyra* were now gone away) warred on the *Ætolians*, hauing *Oeneon*, a Citie of *Locris*, for the seate of his Warre. Now these *Locrians* called *Ozole*, were Confederates of the *Aibenians*, and were to meete them with their whole power in the heart of the Countrey. For being Confiners on the *Ætolians*, and vsing the same manner of arming, it was thought it would bee a matter of great vtility in the Warre, to haue them in their Armie; for that they knew their manner of fight, and were acquainted with the Country. Hauing lyen the night with his whole Armie in the Temple of *Iupiter Nemeus*, (wherein the Poet *Hesiodus* is reported by them that dwell thereabout to haue dyed, foretold by an Oracle, that hee should dye in *Nemea*) in the morning betimes he dislodged, and marched into *Ætolia*.

The first day hee tooke *Potidania*, the second day, *Crocylum*, the third, *Tichium*. There he stayed, and sent the booty hee had gotten, to *Eupolium* in *Locria*. For he purposed, when hee had subdued the rest, to inuade the *Ophionians* afterwards, (if they submitted not) in his returne to *Naupactus*.

But the *Ætolians* knew of this preparation when it was first resolved on; and afterwards, when the Armie was entred, they were vnited into a mighty Armie to make head. Inſomuch as that the furthest off of the *Ophionians*, that reach out to the *Melian* Gulfe, the *Bomians* and *Callians* came in with their aydes.

D The *Messenians* gaue the same aduice to *Demoſthenes* that they had done before; and alleading that the Conquest of the *Ætolians* would bee but easie, willed him to march with all speed against them, Village after Village, and not to stay till they were all vnited, and in order of Battell against him, but to attempt alwayes the place which was next to hand. Hee, perswaded by them, and confident of his fortune, because nothing had crossed him hitherto, without tarrying for the *Locrians* that should haue come in with their aides, (for his greatest want was of Darters light-armed) marched to *Ægitium*, which approaching, hee wonne by force, the men hauing fled secretly

\* *Ægeu*. The whole consecrated ground wherein the Temple stood, not the Church only. Hesiod the Poet said to haue dyed in this Temple of *Iupiter Nemeus*.

*Potidania*.  
*Crocylum*.  
*Tichium*.

*Ophionei*.

The *Ætolians* vnite & gainst the inuasion of *Demoſthenes*.

*Bomians*.  
*Callians*.

*Ægitium*.



The *Ætolians* give *Demo-*  
sthenes a great overthrow.

cretly out, and encamped themselves on the Hilles about A  
it: for it stood in a Mountainous place, and about eighty  
Furlongs from the Sea. But the *Ætolians*, (for by this time  
they were come with their Forces to *Agitium*) charged  
the *Athenians* and their Confederates, and running downe  
vpon them, some one way, some another, from the Hilles,  
plyed them with their Darts. And when the Armie of  
the *Athenians* assaulted them, they retired; and when it  
retired, they assaulted. So that the Fight for a good  
while, was nothing but alternate chase and retreat; and  
the *Athenians* had the worst in both.

Neuerthelesse, as long as their Archers had Arrowes, B  
and were able to vse them, (for the *Ætolians*, by reason they  
were not armed, were put backe still with the shot) they  
held out. But when vpon the death of their Captaine, the  
Archers were dispersed, and the rest were also wearied,  
hauing a long time continued the said labour of pursuing  
and retyring, and the *Ætolians* continually afflicting them  
with their Darts, they were forced at length to fly; and  
lighting into Hollowes without issue, and into places  
they were not acquainted withall, were destroyed. For C  
*Chromon* a *Messenian*, who was their Guide for the wayes,  
was slaine. And the *Ætolians* pursuing them still with  
Darts, slew many of them quickly, whilst they fled, be-  
ing swift of foot, and without Armour. But the most of  
them missing their way, and entring into a Wood, which  
had no passage through, the *Ætolians* set it on fire, and  
burnt it about them.

All kinds of shifts to fly, and all kindes of destruction  
were that day in the Armie of the *Athenians*. Such as re-  
mained, with much adoe, got to the Sea, and to *Oeneon*, D  
a Citie of *Locris*, from whence they first set forth.

There dyed very many of the Confederates, and a hun-  
dred and twenty men of Armes of the *Athenians*; that  
was their number, and all of them able men. These men  
of the very best dyed in this Warre: *Procles* also was there  
slaine, one of the Generals. When they had receiued  
the bodies of their dead from the *Ætolians* vnder truce, and  
were gotten againe to *Naupactus*, they returned with the  
Fleet to *Athens*. But they left *Demosthenes* about *Naupactus*,  
and those parts, because hee was afraid of the *Athenian* E  
*People*, for the losse that had happened.

About

*Demosthenes* afraid to  
come home.

A About the same time, the *Athenians* that were on the  
Coast of *Sicily*, sayled vnto *Locris*, and landing, ouercame  
such as made head; and tooke in *Peripolium*, situate on the  
Riuer *Halex*.

The same Summer, the *Ætolians* hauing sent their Am-  
bassadours, *Telephus* an *Ophionian*, *Boryades*, an *Eurytanean*,  
and *Tisander* an *Apodorian*, to *Corinth* and *Lacedemon*, per-  
swaded them to send an Armie against *Naupactus*, for that  
it harboured the *Athenians* against them. And the *Lace-*  
*demonians*, towards the end of Autumne, sent them three  
B thousand men of Armes, of their Confederates; of which  
five hundred were of *Heraclea*, the new-built Citie of *Tra-*  
*chinia*. The Generall of the Armie was *Eurylochus* a  
*Spartan*, with whom \* *Massarius* and *Menedemus* went also a-  
long, *Spartans* likewise.

When the Armie was assembled at *Delpi*, *Eurylochus*  
sent a Herald to the *Locrians* of *Ozole*, both because their  
way lay through them to *Naupactus*, and also because hee  
desired to make them reuolt from the *Athenians*. Of all  
the *Locrians*, the *Anobissians* cooperated with him most, C  
as standing most in feare for the enmitie of the *Phocians*.  
And they first giuing Hostages, induced others, (who  
likewise were afraid of the comming in of the Armie) to  
doe the like: the *Myonians* first, being their neighbours,  
(for this way is *Locris* of most difficult acceffe) then the  
*Ipeans*, *Messapians*, *Triteans*, *Challaeans*, *Tolophonians*, *Hessians*,  
and the *Oanthians*. All these went with them to the  
Warre. The *Olpeans* gaue them Hostages, but followed  
not the Armie. But the *Hyeans* would giue them no Ho-  
stages, till they had taken a Village of theirs called  
D *Poli*.

When euery thing was ready, and hee had sent the Ho-  
stages away to *Cytinium* in *Doria*, hee marched with his  
Armie towards *Naupactus*, through the Territorie of the  
*Locrians*. And as hee marched, hee tooke *Oeneon*, a Towne  
of theirs, and *Eupolium*, because they refused to yeeld vnto  
him.

When they were come into the Territorie of *Naupactus*,  
the *Ætolians* being there already to ioyne with them, they  
wasted the Fields about, and tooke the Suburbs of the  
E Citie, being vnfortified. Then they went to *Molychrium*,  
a Colonie of the *Corinthians*, but subiect to the People of  
*Athens*.

The *Athenian* Fleet in *Sic-*  
ily lay to *Locris*, and  
like *Peripolium*.

The *Ætolians* and *Pelopon-*  
nesians make a iourney  
against *Naupactus*.

\* These are afterwards called  
*Macarius* & *Menedemus*.



*Demosthenes relieueth Nau-  
pactus.*

*Athers*, and tooke that. Now *Demosthenes* the *Athenian*, A  
(for euer since the *Æolian* businesse, he abode about *Nau-  
pactus*) hauing been præaduertised of this Army, and being  
afraid to lose the Citie, went amongst the *Acar-nanians*, and  
with much adoe, because of his departure from before  
*Leucas*, perswaded them to relieue *Naupactus*, and they sent  
along with him in his Gallies 1000 men of Armes;  
which entring were the preservation of the City; for there  
was danger, the walles being of a great compasse, and the  
defendants few, that else they should not haue been able to  
make them good. *Eurylochus*, and those that were with B  
him, when they perceyued that those forces were entred,  
and that it was impossible to take the Citie by assault, de-  
parted thence, not into *Peloponnesus*, but to *Æolis*, now cal-  
led *Calydon*, and to *Pleuron*, and other places thereabouts,  
and also to *Proschion* in *Ætolia*. For the *Ambraciotes* com-  
ming to them, perswaded them to vndertake, together  
with themselues, the enterprize against *Argos*, and the rest  
of *Amphilochia*, and *Acar-nania*, saying withall, that if they  
could ouercome these, the rest of that Continent would en-  
ter into the league of the *Lacedæmonians*. Whereunto *Eur-  
ylochus* assented, and dismissing the *Ætolians*, lay quiet in  
those parts with his Armie, till such time, as the *Ambra-  
ciotes* being come with their forces before *Argos*, he should  
haue need to aid them. And so this Summer ended.

The end of the sixt  
Summer.

The Athenians in Sicily  
assault *Nessus*.

• *Σικελαι*.

\* *Nessus*, rather *Inessa*. The  
In-*abyssians* he call it *Ines*.  
Lactib. 6.

The *Athenians* that were in *Sicily*, in the beginning of  
Winter, together with the *Grecians* of their league, and as  
many of the \* *Siculi*, as hauing obeyed the *Syracusians* by  
force, or being their Confederates before, had now revolted,  
warred ioyntly against \* *Nessus*, a town of *Sicily*, the Citadell  
whereof, was in the hands of the *Syracusians*; and they as-  
saulted the same; but when they could not winne it, they  
retired. In the retreat, the *Syracusians* that were in the Cit-  
adell, sallied out vpon the Confederates, that retired later  
then the *Athenians*; and charging, put a part of the Army  
to flight, and killed, not a few.

After this, *Laches*, and the *Athenians*, Landed sometime  
at *Locris*; and ouercame in battell, by the Riuer *Caicinus*,  
about 300 *Locrians*, who with *Proxenus* the sonne of *Capi-  
ton*, came out to make resistance; and when they had strip-  
ped them of their Armes, departed.

*Delos* hallowed.

The same Winter also, the *Athenians* hallowed the Ile  
of

A of *Delos*, by the admonition indeed of a certaine Oracle.  
For *Pisistratus* also the Tyrant, hallowed the same before,  
not all, but onely so much as was within the prospect of  
the Temple. But now they hallowed it all ouer in this  
manner. They tooke away all Sepulchers whatsoever,  
of such as had dyed there before; and for the future,  
made an Edict, that none should bee suffered to dye, nor  
any Woman to bring forth child in the Island; but when  
they were neere the time, either of the one or the other,  
they should bee carried ouer into *Rhenea*.

An Edict that none  
should be suffered to be  
borne or dyed in *Delos*.

B This *Rhenea* is so little a way distant from *Delos*,  
that *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, who was once  
of great power by Sea, and had the dominion of the other  
Islands, when hee wonne *Rhenea*, dedicated the same  
to *Apollo* of *Delos*, tying it vnto *Delos* with a Chaine.  
And now after the hallowing of it, the *Athenians*  
instituted the keeping, euery fifth yeere, of the *Delian*  
Games.

*Rhenea* an Island, tied to  
*Delos* with a Chaine, and  
dedicated to *Apollo* of  
*Delos*.  
The *Athenians* instituted  
the quinquenniall Games  
at it.

There had also in old time beene great concourse in  
*Delos*, both of *Ionians*, and of the Islanders round about.  
C For they then came to see the Games, with their  
Wives and Children, as the *Ionians* doe now the Games  
at *Ephesus*.

There were likewise Matches set of bodily exer-  
cise, and of Musicke; and the Cities did generally set  
forth Dances. Which things to haue bene so, is prin-  
cipally declared by *Homer*, in these Verses of his Hymne  
to *Apollo*.

But thou, *Apollo*, takest most delight.

In *Delos*. There assemble in thy sight,

The long-coate Ions with their Children deare,

And venerable Bedfellowes; and there,

In Matches set, of Buffets, Song, and Dance,

Both shew thee pastime, and thy Name advance.

*Hom. Hym. ad Apollo.*  
1461

That there were also Matches of Musique, and that  
men resorted thither to contend therein, hee againe ma-  
keth manifest in these Verses of the same Hymne. For  
after hee hath spoken of the *Delian* Dance of the Wo-  
E men, hee endeth their praise with these Verses, wherein  
also he maketh mention of himselfe.

Did

But

Hom Hymn. ad Apoll. ver.  
65.

But well: let Phœbus and Diana bee  
Propitious; and farewell you each one;  
But yet remember me when I am gone:  
And if of earthly men you chance to see  
Any toyl'd Pilgrim, that shall aske you, Who,  
O Damsels, is the man that living here,  
Was sweetest in Song, and that most had your care?  
Then all, with a ioynt murmur, thereunto  
Make answer thus; A man depriv'd of seeing,  
In th' Ile of Sandie Chios is his beeing.

B

So much hath Homer witnessed touching the great meeting, and solemnity celebrated of old, in the Ile of Delos. And the Ilanders, and the Athenians, since that time, haue continued still to send Dancers along with their Sacrificers, but the Games, and things of that kind were worne out, as is likely, by aduersity. Till now that the Athenians restored the Games, and added the Horse-race, which was not before.

The same Winter the Ambraciotes, (according to their promise made to Eurylochus) when they reteyned his Armie, made Warre vpon Argos in Amphilochia, with threethousand men of Armes, and inuading Argia, they tooke Olpæ, a strong Fort on a Hill by the Sea-side, which the Acarnanians had fortified, and vsed for the place of their common meetings, for matters of Iustice, and is distant from the Citie of Argos, which stands also on the Sea-side, about twenty fve furlongs. The Acarnanians with part of their Forces, came to relieue Argos, and with rest they encamped in that part of Amphilochia which is called Crenæ, to watch the Peloponnesians that were with Eurylochus, that they might not passe through to the Ambraciotes without their knowledge; and sent to Demosthenes, who had beene Leader of the Athenians in the expedition against the Ætolians, to come to them, and bee their Generall.

They sent also to the twenty Athenian Gallies, that chanced to be then on the Coast of Peloponnesus, vnder the Conduct of Aristoteles, the sonne of Timocrates, and Ierophon, the sonne of Antimnestus. In like manner the Ambraciotes that were at Olpæ, sent a messenger to the Citie of Ambracia,

E

The Ambraciotes and Peloponnesians make Warre against the Acarnanians and Amphilochians vnfortunately.

They take Olpæ.

The Acarnanians make Demosthenes their Generall.

The Ambraciotes at Olpæ, send to the Ambraciotes at home, to come to their ayde.

A Ambracia, willing them to come to their ayde with their whole power; as fearing that those with Eurylochus would not bee able to passe by the Acarnanians, and so they should bee either forced to fight alone, or else haue an vn-safe Retreat.

But the Peloponnesians that were with Eurylochus, as soone as they vnderstood that the Ambraciotes were come to Olpæ, dislodging from Proschion, went with all speede to assit them. And passing over the Riuer Achelous, marched through Acarnania, (which, by reason of the aydes sent to Argos, was now disfurnished,) on their right hand they had the Citie of Stratus, and that Garrison; on the left, the rest of Acarnania. Hauing past the Territory of the Stratians, they marched through Phytia, and againe by the vtmost limits of Medeon, then through Limæa, then they went into the Territory of the Agræans; which are out of Acarnania, and their friends, and getting to the Hill Thiamus, which is a desert Hill, they marched ouer it, and came downe into Argia, when it was now night; and passing betweene the Citie of the Argiues, and the Acarnanians that kept watch at the Welles, came vnscene, and ioyned with the Ambraciotes at Olpæ.

When they were all together, they fate downe about breake of day, at a place called Metropolis, and there encamped. And the Athenians not long after with their 20. Gallies, arriued in the Ambracian Gulfe, to the aide of the Argiues. To whom also came Demosthenes with 200. Messenian men of Armes, and threscore Athenian Archers. The Gallies lay at Sea, before the Hill vpon which the Fort of Olpæ standeth. But the Acarnanians, and those few Amphilochians (for the greatest part of them the Ambraciotes kept backe by force) that were come already together at Argos, prepared themselues to giue the Enemy Battell, and chose Demosthenes with their owne Commanders, for Generall of the whole League. Hee, when hee had brought them vp, neere vnto Olpæ, there encamped. There was betweene them a great Hollow; and for fve dayes together, they stirred not; but the sixth day both sides put themselues into array for the Battell. The Armie of the Peloponnesians reached a great way beyond the other, for indeed it was much greater; but Demosthenes, fearing to bee encompassed, placed an Ambush

D d 2

Demosthenes chosen Generall.

Ambush in a certaine hollow way, and fit for such a A purpose, of armed and vnarmed Souldiers, in all to the number of 400. which in that part where the number of the Enemies ouer-reached, should in the heate of the battell rise out of Ambush, and charge them on their backs. When the Battels were in order on either side, they came to Blowes. *Demosthenes* with the *Messenians*, and those few *Athenians* that were there, stood in the right Wing; and the *Acar-nians* (as they could one after another bee put in order) and those *Amphilochian* Darters which were present, made vp the other. The *Peloponnesians* and *Ambraciotes* were ranged promiscuously, except onely the *Mantineans*, who stood together, most of them in the left Wing, but not in the vtmost part of it, for *Eurylochus* and those that were with him, made the extremity of the left Wing against *Demosthenes*, and the *Messenians*.

When they were in fight, and that the *Peloponnesians* with that Wing ouer-reached, and had encircled the right Wing of their Enemies, those *Acar-nians* that lay in Ambush, comming in at their backs, charged them, and put them to flight, in such sort as they endured not the first brunt; and besides, caused the greatest part of the Armie through affright to runne away. For when they saw that part of it defeated, which was with *Eurylochus*, which was the best of their Armie, they were a great deale the more affraid. And the *Messenians* that were in that part of the Armie with *Demosthenes*, pursuing them, dispatched the greatest part of the execution. But the *Ambraciotes* that were in the right Wing, on that part, had the Victorie, and chased the Enemy vnto the Citie of *Argos*; but in their Retreat, when they saw that the greatest part of the Armie was vanquished, the rest of the *Acar-nians* setting vpon them, they had much adoe to recouer *Olpe* in safety; and many of them were slaine, whilest they ranne into it out of array, and in disorder. Saue onely the *Mantineans*; for these made a more orderly Retreat then any part of the Armie. And so this Battell ended, hauing lasted till the Euening.

The next day, \* *Menedaius*, (*Eurylochus* and \* *Macarius* beeing now slaine) taking the Command vpon him, E and not finding how, if hee staid, hee should bee able to

The Battell betweene the *Ambraciotes* and *Acar-nians*.

The *Ambraciotes* and *Peloponnesians* fly.

\* called before *Menedatus* and *Macarius*.

A to sustaine a Siege, wherein hee should both bee shut vp by Land, and also with those *Attique* Gallies by Sea; or if hee should depart, how hee might doe it safely, had speech with *Demosthenes*, and the *Acar-nian* Captaines, both about a Truce for his departure, and for the receiuing of the bodies of the slaine. And they deliuered vnto them their dead; and hauing erected a Trophie, tooke vp their owne dead, which were about three hundred; but for their departure they would make no Truce openly, nor to all: but secretly, *Demosthenes*, with his *Acar-nian* B fellow-Commanders, made a Truce with the *Mantineans*, and with *Menedaius*, and the rest of the *Peloponnesian* Captaines, and men of most worth, to bee gone as speedily as they could; with purpose to disguard the *Ambraciotes*, and multitude of mercenary Strangers, and withall to vse this as a meanes to bring the *Peloponnesians* into hatred with the *Grecians* of those parts, as men that had treacherously aduanced their particular interest. Accordingly they tooke vp their dead, and buried them as fast as they could; and such as had leaue, consulted secretly touching C how to bee gone.

*Demosthenes* and the *Acar-nians* had now intelligence, that the *Ambraciotes* from the Citie of *Ambracia*, according to the message sent to them before from *Olpe*, (which was, that they should bring their whole power through *Amphilochia* to their ayde) were already on their March, (ignorant of what had passed here) to ioyne with those at *Olpe*. And hereupon he sent a part of his Armie presently forth, to beset the wayes with Ambushment, and to pre-occupate all places of strength, and prepared withall, to D encounter with the rest of his Armie.

In the meane time, the *Mantineans*, and such as had part in the Truce, going out, on pretence to gather Pot-herbs, and Fire-wood, stole away by small numbers, and as they went, did indeed gather such things as they pretended to goe forth for; but when they were gotten farre from *Olpe*, they went faster away. But the *Ambraciotes*, and others that came forth in the same manner, but in greater troopes, seeing the others goe quite away, were eager to bee gone likewise; and ranne out-right, as desiring to ouertake those that were gone before. The *Acar-nians* at first thought they had gone all without Truce E alike,

*Demosthenes* suffereth the principall *Peloponnesians* to retire from *Olpe* secretly, to disguard the *Ambraciotes* of their ayde, and procure the *Peloponnesians* the hatred of the Nations thereabouts.

*Demosthenes* sendeth part of his Armie to lye in Ambush by the wayes by which the *Ambraciotes* supplies were to come from the Citie.

The *Mantineans* retire from *Olpe*.

The *Ambraciotes* goe after them, and are slaine to the number of 200.

alike, and pursued the *Peloponnesians*, and threw darts at A their owne Captaines for forbidding them, and for saying that they went away vnder truce, as thinking themselues betrayed. But at last they let goe the *Mantineans*, and *Peloponnesians*, and slew the *Ambraciotes* onely. And there was much contention, and ignorance, of which was an *Ambraciote*, and which a *Peloponnesian*. So they slew about 200 of them, and the rest escaped into *Agræis*, a bordering Territory, where *Salynthius* King of the *Agræans*, and their friend, receiued them.

The rest escape to *Salynthius*, King of the *Agræans*.

*Demoſthenes* goeth out to meet the supply of *Ambraciotes* that came from the Citie.

The *Ambraciotes*, out of the Citie of *Ambracia*, were come B as farre as *Idomene*. *Idomene* are two high hils, to the greater whereof, came first vndiscovered that night, they whom *Demoſthenes* had sent afore from the Campe, and seized it. But the *Ambraciotes* got first to the lesser, and there encamped the same night. *Demoſthenes* after Supper, in the twilight, marched forward with the rest of the Army, one halfe whereof himselfe tooke with him, for the assault of the Campe, and the other halfe he sent about through the Mountaines of *Amphilochia*.

The *Ambraciotes* surprized in their lodgings.

And the next morning before day, he inuaded the *Ambraciotes*, whilest they were yet in their lodgings, and knew not what was the matter, but thought rather, that they had been some of their owne company. For *Demoſthenes* had placed the *Messenians* on purpose in the formost rankes, and commanded them to speake vnto them as they went, in the *Dorique* Dialect, and to make the Sentinels secure; Especially, seeing their faces could not be discerned, for it was yet night. Wherefore they put the Army of the *Ambraciotes* to flight, at the first onset, and slew many vpon the place. The rest fled as fast as they could towards the Mountaines. But the wayes being beset, and the *Amphilochians* being well acquainted with their owne Territory, and armed but lightly, against men in Armour, vnacquainted, and vtterly ignorant which way to take; they light into hollow wayes, and to the places forelayed with Ambushes, and perished. And hauing been put to all manner of shift for their liues, some fled towards the Sea, and when they saw the Gallies of *Athens* sayling by the Shoare, (this accident concurring with their defeat,) E swamme to them, and chose rather in their present feare, to be killed of those in the Gallies, then by the Barbarians, and

The *Ambraciotes* put to flight.

A and their most mortall enemies the *Amphilochians*. The *Ambraciotes* with this losse, came home a few of many in safety to their Citie. And the *Acarmanians* hauing taken the spoyle of the dead, and erected their Trophies, returned vnto *Argos*.

The next day there came a Herald from those *Ambraciotes* which fled from *Olpa*, into *Agræis*; to demand leaue to carry away the bodies of those dead, which were slaine after the first battell, when, without Truce, they went away together with the *Mantineans*, and with those that had B Truce. But when the Herald saw the Armors of those *Ambraciotes*, that came from the City, he wondred at the number. For he knew nothing of this last blow, but thought they had been the Armors of those with them. Then one asked him, *what hee wondred at, and how many hee thought were slaine*. For he that asked him the question, thought, on the other side, that he had been a Herald, sent from those at *Idomene*. And he answered, *about 200*. Then he that asked, replied, and said, *Then these are not the armours of them, but of aboue a thousand*. Then, said he againe, *they belong C not to them that were in the battell with vs*. The other answered, *yes, if you fought yesterday in Idomene*. But we fought not yesterday at all, but the other day in our retreat. But we yet fought yesterday with those *Ambraciotes* that came from the Citie to ayde the rest. When the Herald heard that, and knew that the ayde from the Citie was defeated, he burst out into *Aimees*, and astonished with the greatnesse of the present losse, forthwith went his way, without his errand, and required the dead bodies no further. For this losse was greater then in the like number of dayes happened to any one D Citie of *Greece*, in all this Warre. I haue not written the number of the slaine, because it was said to be such, as is incredible, for the quantity of the City. But this I know, that if the *Acarmanians*, and *Amphilochians*, as *Demoſthenes*, and the *Athenians* would haue had them, would haue subdued *Ambracia*, they might haue done it euen with the shout of their voyces, but they feared now, that if the *Athenians* possessed it, they would proue more troublesome Neighbors vnto them then the other.

The conference of the Herald from the *Ambraciotes* in *Agræis*, with one of *Demoſthenes* his Army, about the number of the slaine.

After this, hauing bestowed the third part of the spoyles E vpon the *Athenians*, they distributed the other two parts according to the Cities. The *Athenians* part was lost by Sea.

The *Acarmanians* will not let the *Athenians* subdue the *Ambraciotes* vtterly, because they thought the *Ambraciotes* better neighbours then the *Athenians*.

Sea. For those 300 compleat Armors which are dedica- A  
ted in the Temples in *Attica*, were pick'd out for *Demofthe-*  
*nes* himselfe, and he brought them away with him. His  
returne was withall the safer for this action, after his de-  
feate in *Æioia*. And the *Athenians* that were in the twenty  
Gallies returned to *Naupactus*.

The *Acaruanians*, and *Amphilochians*, when the *Athenians*,  
and *Demofthenes* were gone, granted Truce at the Citie of  
the *Oeniades* to those *Ambraciotes* and *Peloponnesians* that  
were fled to *Salynthius*, & the *Agræans*, to retyre, the *Oeniades* B  
being gone ouer to *Salynthius*, and the *Agræans* likewise. And  
for the future, the *Acaruanians*, & *Amphilochians* made a league  
with the *Ambraciotes* for an hundred yeeres, vpon these  
conditions. That neither the *Ambraciotes*, with the *Acar-*  
*uanians*, should make Warre against the *Peloponnesians*, nor  
the *Acaruanians* with the *Ambraciotes*, against the *Atheni-*  
*ans*. That they should giue mutuall ayde to one anothers Coun-  
treys. That the *Ambraciotes* should restore, whatsoeuer Townes  
or bordering fields they held of the *Amphilochians*,; and that  
they should at no time ayde *Anactorium*, which was in hostility  
with the *Acaruanians*. And vpon this composition, the C  
Warre ended. After this, the *Corinthians* sent a Garrison  
of about 300 men of Armes of their owne Citie to *Ambracia*,  
vnder the Conduct of *Xenocides* the sonne of *Euthycles*,  
who with much difficulty passing through *Epirus*, at  
length arriued. Thus passed the businesse in *Ambracia*.

The same Winter the *Athenians* that were in *Sicily*, inua-  
ded *Himeræa* by Sea, ayded by the \* *Sicilians* that inuaded  
the skirts of the same by Land. They sayled also to the  
Ilands of *Æolu*. Returning afterwards to *Rhegium*, they D  
found there *Pythodorus*, the sonne of *Iolochus*, with certaine  
Gallies, come to receiue charge of the Fleet commanded  
by *Laches*. For the *Sicilian* Confederates had sent to  
*Aibeus*, and perswaded the people, to assist them with a  
greater Fleet. For though the *Syracusians* were matters  
by Land, yet seeing they hindred them, but with few  
Gallies from the liberty of the Sea, they made preparati-  
on, and were gathering together a Fleet, with intention  
to resist them. And the *Athenians* furnished out forty  
Gallies to send into *Sicily*, conceiuing that the Warre E  
there would the sooner be at an end, and desiring withall  
to

League for 100 yeeres  
betweene the *Ambraci-*  
*otes* and *Acaruanians*.

The *Athenian* Fleet in *Sy-*  
*ci*, inuaded *Himeræa*.  
\* *Sicilian* Confederates.

*Pythodorus* sent to take  
the Fleet from *Laches*.

A to traine their men in nauall exercise. Therefore *Pythodo-*  
*rus*, one of the Commanders, they sent presently away  
with a few of those Gallies, and intended to send *Sopho-*  
*cles* the sonne of *Sostratides*, and *Eurymedon* the sonne of *Tou-*  
*cles*, with the greatest number afterwards. But *Pythodorus*  
hauiug now the Command of *Laches* his Fleet, sayled in  
the end of Winter, vnto a certaine Garrison of the *Locrians*,  
which *Laches* had formerly taken, and ouerthrowne in a  
Battell there by the *Locrians*, retired.

The same Spring, there issued a great \* streame of Fire  
B out of the Mountaine *Æma*, as it had also done in former  
times, and burned part of the Territory of the *Cataneans*,  
that dwell at the Foot of *Æma*, which is the highest  
Mountaine of all *Sicily*. From the last time that the fire  
brake out before, to this time, it is said to bee fifty yeeres.  
And it hath now broken out thrice in all, since *Sicily* was  
inhabited by the *Grecians*. These were the things that  
came to passe this Winter. And so ended the  
sixth yeere of this War, written by

THUCYDIDES.

\*\*\*

The fire brake out of  
and *Æma*, burned the  
Fields of *Catana*.  
\* *πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄλματος*, a streame  
of fire; and was a kind of  
molten stone; gushing out of  
the sides of the *Æma* mountaine.

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THE  
FOVVRTH BOOK  
OF THE HISTORY OF  
THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

*The Athenians take and fortifie Pylus in Laconia. The Lacedæmonians, to recover it, put ouer 400. of their best men into the Island Sphacteria: whom the Athenians, hauing ouercome the Lacedæmonian Fleet, doe there besiege. The Athenians and Syracusians fight in the Streight of Messina. Cleon engageth himselfe rashly to take or kill the Lacedæmonians in Sphacteria within 20. dayes, and by good fortune performeth it. The Sedition ceaseth in Corcyra. Nicias invadeth Peloponnesus. The Sicilians agreeing, take from the Athenians their pretence of sayling vpon that Coast with their Fleet. The Athenians take Nisæa, but faile of Megara. The ouerthrow of the Athenians at Delium. The Cities on the Confines of Thrace, vpon the comming of Brasidas, revolt to the Lacedæmonians. Truce for a yeere. And this in three yeeres more of the same Warre.*

**I**N THE Spring following, when Corne beganne to bee in the care, tenne Gallies of *Syracuse*, and as many of *Locris*, went to *Messina* in *Sicily*, called in by the Citizens themselues, and tooke it; and *Messa* revolted from the *Athenians*. This was done by the practice chiefly of the *Syracusians*, that saw the place to bee commodious for inuasion of *Sicily*, and feared lest the *Athenians* some time or other hereafter, making it the seate of  
E e 2 their

THE SEVENTH  
YEERE.

*Messina.*

*Messina* revolteth from  
the *Athenians*.



their Warre, might come with greater forces into *Sicily*, A  
and inuade them from thence; but partly also of the *Locrians*, as being in hostility with the *Rhegians*, & desirous to make Warre vpon them on both sides. The *Locrians* had now also entred the Lands of the *Rhegians* with their whole power; both because they would hinder them from assisting the *Messenians* and because they were solicited thereunto by the banished men of *Rhegium*, that were with them. For they of *Rhegium* had beene long in Sedition, and were vnable for the present to giue them Battell, for which cause, they the rather also now inuaded them. B  
And after they had wasted the Countrey, the *Locrians* withdrew their Land-forces, but their Gallies lay still at the guard of *Messana*, and more were setting forth, to lye in the same Harbour, to make the Warre on that side.

About the same time of the Spring, and before Corne was at full growth, the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates, vnder the Conduct of *Agis* the sonne of *Archidamus*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, inuaded *Attica*, and there lay and wasted the Countrey about.

And the *Athenians* sent fortie Gallies into *Sicily*, the same C  
which they had provided before for that purpose, and with them the other two Generals, *Eurymedon* & *Sophocles*. For *Pythodorus*, who was the third in that Commission, was arriued in *Sicily* before. To these they gaue commandment also, to take order as they went by, for the state of those *Corcyreans* that were in the Citie, and were pillaged by the Outlawes in the Mountaine: and three-score Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* were gone out, to take part with those in the Mountaine; who, because there was a great Famine in the Citie, thought they might easily be masters of that State. To *Demosthenes* also (who euer since his returne out of *Acarmania* had liued priuately) they gaue authority, at his owne request, to make vse of the same Gallies, if hee thought good so to doe, about *Peloponnesus*. D

As they sayled by the Coast of *Laconia*, and had intelligence that the *Peloponnesian* Fleet was at *Corcyra* already, *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles* hasted to *Corcyra*; but *Demosthenes* willed them to put in first at *Pylus*, and when they had done what was requisite there, then to proceed in their E  
Voyage. But whilest they denyed to doe it, the Fleet was

The recovery of the  
territory of the Locrians.

Rhegio.

The first invasion of  
Attica.

The Athenians send forty  
Gallies into Sicily.

Who are to put in by the  
way at Corcyra, being full  
in sedition, the Out-  
lawes holding the Field,  
and the Commons, the  
Citie.

Demosthenes vrgeth to put  
in at Pylus.

was driven into *Pylus* by a Tempest that then arose by chance. And presently *Demosthenes* required them to fortifie the place, alledging that hee came with them for no other purpose, and shewing how there was great store of Timber and Stone, and that the place it selfe was naturally strong, and defart, both it, and a great deale of the Countrey about. For it lyeth from *Sparta* about 100. Furlongs, in the Territory that belonging once to the *Messenians*, is called by the *Lacedaemonians*, *Coraphaion*. But they answered him, that there were many defart Promontories B  
in *Peloponnesus*, if they were minded to put the Citie to charges in taking them in. But there appeared vnto *Demosthenes* a great difference betweene this place and other places; because there was heere a Hauen, and the *Messenians*, the ancient Inhabitants thereof, speaking the same language the *Lacedaemonians* did, would both be able to annoy them much by excursions thence, and be also faithfull Guardians of the place.

When hee could not preuaile, neither with the Generals, nor with the Souldiers, hauing also at last communicated the same to the Captaines of Companies, hee gaue it ouer, till at last, the weather not seruing to bee gone, there came vpon the Souldiers lying idle, a desire, occasioned by dissention, to Wall in the place of their owne accord. And falling in hand with the worke, they performed it, not with yron tooles to hew stone, but picked out such stones as they thought good, and afterwards placed them as they would seuerally fit. And for Morter, where it needed, for want of Vessels, they carried it on their C  
backes, with their bodies enclining forward, so as it might D  
best lye, and their hands clapsed behinde, to stay it from falling; making all possible haste to preuent the *Lacedaemonians*, and to finish the most assailable parts, before they came to succour it. For the greatest part of the place was strong by nature, and needed no fortifying at all.

The *Lacedaemonians* were that day celebrating a certaine Holiday, and when they heard the newes, did set lightly by it; conceiuing, that whensoever it should please them to goe thither, they should finde them either already gone, or easily take the place by force. Somewhat also they were retarded, by reason that their Armie was E  
in

The Athenians build the  
Fort of Pylus.

The commodity of Pylus.

The Athenians build the  
Fort of Pylus.

The Lacedaemonians at  
home regard the taking  
of Pylus but lightly.

in Attica. The Athenians hauing in fixe dayes finished the Wall to the Land, and in the places where was most need left *Demosthenes* with fīue Gallies to defend it, and with the rest, hastend on in their course for *Cercyra*, and *Sicily*.

The *Peloponnesians* that were in Attica, when they were aduertised of the taking of *Pylus*, returned speedily home. For the *Lacedemonians*, and *Agis* their King, tooke this accident of *Pylus* to concerne their owne particular. And the inuasion was withall so early, (Come being yet greene) that the most of them were scant with victuall, B the Armie was also much troubled with the weather, which was colder then for the season; so as for many reasons it fell out, that they returned sooner now, then at other times they had done; and this inuasion was the shortest; for they continued in Attica, in all but fīftee dayes.

About the same time *Simonides* an Athenian Commander, hauing drawne a few Athenians together out of the Garrisons, and a number of the Confederates of those parts, tooke the Citie of *Eion* in Thrace, a Colonie of the *Mendeans*, that was their Enemy, by Treason; but was presently againe driuen out by the *Chalcideans* and *Bottians*, that came to succour it, and lost many of his Souldiers.

When the *Peloponnesians* were returned out of Attica, they of the Citie of *Sparta*, and of other the next neighbouring Townes, went presently to the ayde of *Pylus*; but the rest of the *Lacedemonians* came slower on, as being newly come from the former Expedition. Neuerthelesse they sent about, to the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to require their assistance with all speed at *Pylus*; and also to their three-score Gallies that were at *Cercyra*. Which, transported ouer the Isthmus of *Leucas*, arriued at *Pylus*, vnscene of the Athenian Gallies lying at *Zacynthus*. And by this time their Armie of foot was also there. Whilest the *Peloponnesian* Gallies were comming toward *Pylus*, *Demosthenes* sent two Gallies secretly to *Eurymedon* and the Athenian Fleet at *Zacynthus*, in hall haste, to tell them, that they must come presently to him, for as much as the place was in danger to bee lost. And according as *Demosthenes* his message E imported, so the Fleet made haste. The *Lacedemonians* in the

The *Lacedemonians* army, and *Agis* take it more to heart.

The Athenians take *Eion* in Thrace, and lose it againe.

The *Lacedemonians* by Sea and Land, seeke to recover *Pylus*.

*Zante*.

*Demosthenes* sends to call backe the fleet to helpe him.

A the meane time prepared themselves to assault the Fort both by Sea and Land; hoping easily to winne it; being a thing built in haste, and not many men within it. And because they expected the comming of the Athenian Fleet from *Zacynthus*, they had a purpose, if they tooke not the Fort before, to barre vp the entries of the Harbour. For the Iland called *Sphaacteria*, lying iust before, and very nere to the place, maketh the Hauen safe, and the entries straight; one of them, nereest to *Pylus*, and to the Athenian Fortification, admitting passage for no more but two Gallies in Front; and the other which lyeth against the other part of the Continent, for not about eight or nine. The Iland, by being desert, was all Wood, and vntrodden, in bignesse about fīftee Furlongs ouer. Therefore they determined with their Gallies thicke set, and with the Beake-heads outward, to stop vp the entries of the Hauen. And because they feared the Iland, lest the Athenians putting men into it, should make Warre vpon them from thence, they carried ouer men of Armes into the same, and placed others likewise along the shore of the Continent. For by this means the Athenians at their comming should finde the Iland their Enemy, and no meanes of landing in the Continent. For the Coast of *Pylus* it selfe, without these two entries, being to the Sea harbourlesse, would afford them no place from whence to set forth to the ayde of their fellows. And they, in all probability, might by siege, without battell by Sea, or other danger, winne the place, seeing there was no prouision of Victuall within it, and that the Enemy tooke it but on short preparation. Hauing thus resolved, they put ouer into the Iland their men of Armes, out of euery Band by Lot; some also had beene sent ouer before by turnes; but they which went ouer now last, and were left there, were 420, besides the *Helotes* that were with them. And their Captaine was *Epitadas* the sonne of *Molobrus*.

*Demosthenes*, when he saw the *Lacedemonians* bent to assault him, both from their Gallies, and with their Armie by Land, prepared also to defend the place. And when hee had drawne vp his Gallies, all that were left him, vn E to the Land, hee placed them athwart the Fort, and armed the Mariners that belonged to them, with Bucklers. though

The *Lacedemonians* prepare themselves to assault the Fort.

The situation of the Ile *Sphaacteria*.

The *Lacedemonians* put ouer 420 men of Armes, besides their seruants, to the Ile *Sphaacteria*, ouer against *Pylus*.

*Demosthenes* prepareth himselfe to keepe the *Lacedemonians* from landing on the shoare.

though bad ones, and for the greatest part made of Officers. A For they had no meanes in a desert place to provide themselves of *Armes*. Those they had, they tooke out of a Peiraticall Boate, of thirty Oares, and a \* Light-horfe-man of the *Messenians*, which came by by chance. And the men of *Armes* of the *Messenians* were about 40. which hee made use of amongst the rest. The greatest part therefore, both of armed and vnarmed, he placed on the parts of the Wall toward the Land, which were of most strength, and commanded them to make good the place against the Land-forces, if they assaulted it; and hee himselfe, with B 60. men of *Armes*, chosen out of the whole number, and a few Archers, came forth of the Fort to the Sea-side, in that part where he most expected their landing. Which part was of troublesome access, and stonie, and lay to the wide Sea. But because their Wall was there the weakest, he thought they would be drawne to adventure for that. For neither did the *Athenians* thinke they should euer have beene mastered with Gallies, which caused them to make the place to the Sea-ward the lesse strong; and if the *Peloponnesians* should by force come to land, they made no other C account but the place would be lost. Comming therefore in this part to the very brinke of the Sea, hee put in order his men of *Armes*, and encouraged them with words to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES to his Souldiers.

YOV that participate with mee in the present danger, let not any of you in this extremity, goe about to seeme wise, and reckon D every perill that now besetteth vs; but let him rather come up to the Enemy with little circumspection, and much hope, and looke for his safety by that. For things that are come once to a pinch, as these are, admit not debate, but a speedy hazard. And yet if wee stand it out, and betray not our advantages with feare of the number of the Enemy, I see well enough, that most things are with vs. For I make account, the difficultie of their landing makes for vs: which, as long as wee abide our selues, will helpe vs, but if wee retire, though the place be difficult, yet when there is none to impeach them, they will land well enough. For whilest they are in their Gallies, they are most E easie to be fought withall; and in their disembarking being but on equall termes,

A termes, their number is not greatly to be feared; for though they be many, yet they must fight but by few, for want of roomes to fight in. And for an Armie to haue oddes by Land, is another matter, then when they are to fight from Gallies, where they stand in need of so many accidents to fall out opportunely from the Sea. So that I thinke their great difficulties doe but set them even with our small number. And for you, that be *Athenians*, and by experience of disembarking against others, know, that if a man stand it out, and doe not, for feare of the forcing of a Wave, or the menacing approach of a Gallie, giue B backe of himselfe, hee can neuer be put backe by violence; I expect that you should keepe your ground, and by fighting it out vpon the very edge of the water, preserve both your selues and the Fort.

Vpon this exhortation of *Demosthenes*, the *Athenians* tooke better heart, and went downe, and arranged themselves close by the Sea. And the *Lacedaemonians* came and assaulted the Fort, both with their Armie by Land, and with their Fleet, consisting of three and fortie C Gallies, in which was Admirall, *Thrasytelidas*, the sonne of *Cratesicles*, a *Spartan*; and he made his approach where *Demosthenes* had before expected him. So the *Athenians* were assaulted on both sides, both by Sea and by Land.

The *Peloponnesians* diuiding their Gallies into small numbers, because they could not come neere with many at once, and resting betweene, assailed them by turnes; vsing all possible valour, and mutuall encouragement, to put the *Athenians* backe, and gaine the Fort.

D Most eminent of all the rest was *Brasidas*: For hauing the Command of a Gallie, and seeing other Captaines of Gallies, and Steeremen (the place beeing hard of access) when there appeared sometimes possibility of putting ashore, to be affraid, and tender of breaking their Gallies, hee would cry out vnto them, saying, They did not well, for sparing of Wood, to let the Enemy fortifie in their Countrey. And to the *Lacedaemonians* hee gaue aduice, to force landing with the breaking of their Gallies; and prayed the Confederates, E that in requitall of many benefits, they would not sticke to bestow their Gallies at this time vpon the *Lacedaemonians*, and run-

Ff  
ning

The *Athenians* take heart.

The *Lacedaemonians* assault the Fort by Land, and seeke to force landing from their Gallies.

The valour of *Brasidas*.

ning them ashore, to rise any meanes whatsoever to Land; A  
and to get into their hands both the Men in the Ile, and the  
Fort.

Thus hee vrged others; and hauing compelled the  
Steeresman of his owne Gallie to runne her ashore, hee  
came to the \* Ladders; but attempting to get downe, was  
by the Athenians put backe, and after he had receiued ma-  
ny wounds, swooned, and falling vpon the \* ledges of the  
Gallie, his Buckler tumbled ouer into the Sea, which  
brought to Land, the Athenians tooke vp, and vsed after- B  
wards in the Trophie which they set vp for this assault.  
Allo the rest endeauoured with much courage to come  
aland; but the place being ill to land in, and the Athenians  
not boudging, they could not doe it. So that at this time  
Fortune came so much about, that the Athenians fought  
from the Land, Laconique Land, against Lacedemonians in  
Gallies; and the Lacedemonians from their Gallies,  
fought against the Athenians, to get landing in their owne  
now hostile Territory. For at that time there was an  
opinion farre spred, that these were rather Land-men, C  
and expert in a Battell of Foot; and that in maritime  
and nauall actions the other excelled.

This day then, and a part of the next, they made  
sundry assaults, and after that gaue ouer. And the third  
day they sent out some Gallies to *Asine*, for Timber,  
wherewith to make Engines; hoping with Engines to  
take that part of the Wall that looketh into the Hauen;  
which, though it were higher, yet the landing to it  
was easier.

In the meane time arriue the fortie Athenian Gallies D  
from *Zacynthus*; for there were ioyned with them cer-  
taine Gallies of the Garrison of *Naupactus*, and foure  
of *Chios*. And when they saw both the Continent and  
the Iland full of men of Armes; and that the Gallies  
that were in the Hauen would not come forth, not  
knowing where to cast Anchor, they sayled for the  
present to the Ile *Prote*, being neere, and desart, and there  
lay for that night.

The next day, after they had put themselues in or-  
der, they put to Sea againe, with purpose to offer them E  
Battell, if the other would come forth into the wide  
Sea

\* See Cap. 1. Ladders or  
Planks to disbarke by.  
Grass: in ouerth by rea-  
son of his wounds.

\* See Egecia. Fort. the  
place on the outside of the  
Gally for Soldiers to stand  
and fight on, between the  
Rowers and the water.

The Lacedemonians, after  
three dayes assault, with-  
out effect, gaue ouer that  
coulee.

The Athenian Fleet re-  
turne from *Zacynthus*,  
to ayde the Athenians in  
*Egina*.

A Sea against them, if not, to enter the Hauen vpon them.  
But the Peloponnesians neither came out against them,  
nor had stopped vp the entries of the Hauen, as they had  
before determined, but lying still on the shoare, manned  
out their Gallies, and prepared to fight, if any entred, in  
the Hauen it selfe, which was no small one. The Atheni-  
ans vnderstanding this, came in violently vpon them, at  
both the mouths of the Hauen, and most of the Lacedemo-  
nian Gallies, which were already set out, and opposed  
them, they charged, and put to flight. And in following  
B the chase, which was but short, they brake many of them,  
and tooke five, whereof one with all her men in her; and  
they fell in also, with them that fled to the shoare; and  
the Gallies which were but in manning out, were torne  
and rent, before they could put off from the Land. Others  
they tyed to their owne Gallies, and towed them away  
empty. Which the Lacedemonians perceiuing, and ex-  
tremely grieved with the losse, because their fellowes  
were heereby intercepted in the Iland, came in with  
their ayde from the Land, and entring armed into the Sea,  
C tooke hold of the Gallies with their hands, to haue  
pulled them backe againe; euery one conceiuing the bu-  
sinesse to proceed the worse, wherein himselfe was not  
present. So there arose a great affray about the Gallies,  
and such as was contrary to the manner of them both. For  
the Lacedemonians out of eagrenesse; and out of feare, did  
(as one may say) nothing else but make a Sea-fight from  
the Land; and the Athenians, who had the victory, and de-  
sired to extend their present fortune to the vtmost, made  
a Land-fight from their Gallies. But at length, hauing  
D wearied and wounded each other, they fell asunder; and  
the Lacedemonians recovered all their Gallies, saue onely  
those which were taken at the first onset. When they  
were on both sides retired to their Campes, the Atheni-  
ans erected a Trophie, deliuered to the Enemie their dead,  
and possessed the wrecke, and immediately went round  
the Iland with their Gallies, keeping watch vpon it, as  
hauing intercepted the men within it. The Pelopon-  
nesians in the meane time, that were in the Continent,  
and were by this time assembled there with their suc-  
E cours from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, remained vpon the  
place at *Pylus*.

The Athenians ouercome  
Peloponnesian fleet in the  
Hauen of *Pylus*

The Athenians getting the  
victory beseege the men  
cut off from the army, in  
the Iland.

The Magistrates of Sparta come to view the state of the Campe, and conclude there to send to Athens about peace.

Truce between the Armies, till Ambassadors might be sent to Athens.

As soone as the newes of what had passed was related At Sparta, they thought fit, in respect the losse was great, to send the Magistrates downe to the Campe, to determine, vpon view of the state of their present affaires there, what they thought requisite to be done. These, when they saw there was no possibility to relieue their men, and were not willing to put them to the danger either of suffering by Famine, or of being forced by multitude, concluded amongst themselves, to take Truce with the Athenian Commanders, as farre as concerned the particulars of Pylus, if they also would bee content, and to send Ambassadors to Athens, about agreement, and to endeuour to fetch off their men, as soone as they could. The Athenian Commanders accepting the proposition, the Truce was made, in this manner.

### The Articles of the Truce.

THAT the Lacedæmonians should deliuer vp, not onely those Gallies wherein they fought, but also bring to Pylus, and put into the Athenians hands, whatsoever Vessels of the \* long forme of building were any where else in Laconia.

That they should not make any assault vpon the Fort, neither by Sea nor Land. That the Athenians should permit the Lacedæmonians, that were in the Continent, to send ouer to those in the Island, a portion of ground corne, agreed on, to wit, to euery one two Attique \* Chœnicks of Meale, and two \* Cotyles of Wine, and a piece of Flesh; and to euery of their seruants halfe that quantitie.

That they should send this, the Athenians looking on, and not send ouer any Vessell by stealth.

That the Athenians should neuertheless continue garding of the Island, provided that they landed not in it; and should not invade the Peloponnesian Armie neither by Land nor Sea.

That if eyther side transgressed in any part thereof, the truce was then immediately to bee voyd, otherwise to hold good till the returne of the Lacedæmonian Ambassadors from Athens.

That the Athenians should convoy them in a Gallie vnto Athens, and backe. That at their returne the Truce should end, and the Athenians should restore them their Gallies, in as good estate as they had received them.

Thus was the Truce made, and the Gallies were deliuered

\* Out of this and other places it appears, that the shipping of those times was of two formes, long and round. The long, which principally used the Oars, found on the Marres; the round, which used onely the Sails, serued for Merchants uses and transportation of provision. Of the first sort were all Gallies, whether of one, two, three, or more rowes of Oars; of the latter were the ships called Phœnicks.

\* a Chœnis, a measure of about three pints of ours.  
\* Kœntis, a quarter of a Chœnis.

Auered to the Athenians, to the number of about threescore: and the Ambassadors were sent away, who arriting at Athens, said as followeth.

### THE ORATION OF THE LACEDÆMONIAN Ambassadors.

MEN of Athens, the Lacedæmonians haue sent vs hither, concerning our men in the Island, to see if wee can persuade you to such a course, as being most profitable for you, may in this misfortune, be the most honourable for vs, that our present condition is capable of. We will not belonger in discourse then standeth with our custome, being the \* fashion with vs, where few words suffice, there indeed not to vse many; but yet to vse more, when the occasion requireth that by words wee should make plaine that which is to bee done in actions of importance. But the words we shall vse, wee pray you to receiue, not with the minde of an Enemie, nor as if wee went about to instruct you, as men ignorant; but for a remembrance to you, of what you know, that you may deliberate wisely therein. It is now in your power to assure your present good fortune with reputation, holding what you haue, with the addition of honour and glory besides; and to auoyd that which befalleth men vpon extraordinary successe, who through hope, aspire to greater fortune, because the fortune they haue already, came vn hoped for. Whereas they that haue felt many changes of both fortunes, ought indeed to bee most suspicious of the good. So ought your Citie, and ours especially, vpon experience, in all reason to bee. Know it, by seeing this present misfortune fall on vs, who being of greatest dignity of all the Grecians, come to you, to aske that, which before wee thought chiefly in our owne hands to giue. And yet wee are not brought to this through weaknesse, nor through insolence vpon addition of strength, but because it succeeded not with the power wee had, as we thought it should which may as well happen to any other, as to our selues. So that you haue no reason to conceiue, that for your power, and purchases, fortune also must be therefore alwaies yours. Such wise men as safely reckon their prosperity in the account of things doubtfull, doe most wisely also addresse themselves towards aduersity; and not thinke that Warre will so farre follow, and no further, as one shall please more or lesse to take it in hand; but rather so farre as fortune shall leade it. Such men also seldom miscarrying, because they bee not puffed vp with the confidence of successe, choose then principally to giue ouer, when they are in their better fortune. And so it will bee good for

\* Brevity of speech was so customary and natural to the Lacedæmonians, that it grew to a proverb.

for you, men of Athens, to doe with vs; and not, if reiecting our A  
advice, you chance to miscarry (as many wayes you may) to haue it  
thought hereafter that all your present successes were but meere for-  
tune.

Whereas, on the contrary, it is in your hands, without danger,  
to leaue a reputation to posterity both of strength and wisdom.  
The Lacedæmonians call you to a Peace, and end of the Warre,  
giuing you peace, and alliance, and much other friendship and mutu-  
all familiarity, requiring for the same, onely those their men that are  
in the Iland; though also we thinke it better for both sides, not to  
try the chance of Warre; Whether it fall out that by some occasion B  
of safety offered, they escape by force, or being expugned by siege,  
should be more in your power then they be. For wee are of this  
mind, that great hatred is most safely canceled, not when one that  
hauing beaten his enemy, and gotten much the better in the Warre,  
brings him through necessity to take an oath, and to make peace on  
vnequall termes; but when hauing it in his power, lawfully so to doe,  
if he please, he overcome him likewise in goodnesse, and contrary to  
what he expects, be reconciled to him on moderate conditions.  
For in this case, his enemy being obliged, not to seeke reuenge, as  
one that had bene forced, but to requite his goodnesse, will, for C  
shame, be the more enclined to the conditions agreed on. And nat-  
urally, to those that relent of their owne accord, men giue way re-  
ciprocally, with content; but against the arrogant, they will hazard  
all, euen when in their owne iudgements they be too weak. But for  
vs both, if euer it were good to agree, it is surely so at this present,  
and before any irreparable accident be interposed. Whereby wee  
should be compelled besides the common, to beare you a particular  
eternall hatred, and you be deprived of the commodities we now  
offer you. Let vs be reconciled while matters stand vndecided,  
and whilst you haue gained reputation, and our friendship, and we D  
not suffered dishonour, and but indifferent losse. And we shall not  
onely our selues preferre Peace before Warre, but also giue a ces-  
sation of their miseries to all the rest of the Grecians, who will ac-  
knowledge it rather from you, then vs. For they make Warre,  
not knowing whether side begun; but if an end be made, (which is  
now for the most part in your owne hands) the thanks will bee  
yours.

And by decreeing the Peace, you may make the Lacedæmo-  
nians your sure friends, in as much as they call you to it, and are  
therein not forced, but gratified. Wherein consider how many E  
commodities are like to ensue, for if we and you goe one way, you  
know

A know the rest of Greece, being inferior to vs, \* will honour vs in  
the highest degree. Thus spake the Lacedæmonians, thinking  
that in times past, the Athenians had coueted Peace, and  
been hindered of it by them, and that being now offered,  
they would gladly accept of it.

But they, hauing these men intercepted in the Iland,  
thought they might compound at pleasure, and aspired  
to greater matters: To this, they were set on, for the most  
part by Cleon, the sonne of Cleænetus, a popular man, at that  
time, and of greatest sway with the multitude. He per-  
swaded them to giue this answer:

That they in the Iland ought first to deliuer vp their Armes,  
and come themselues to Athens, and when they should be there, if  
the Lacedæmonians would make restitution of Nisæa, and Pegæ,  
and Træzen, and Achaia, (the which they had not won in  
Warre, but had received by former Treaty, when the A-  
thenian, being in distresse, and at that time, in more need of  
Peace then now, yeelded them vp into their hands) then  
they should haue their men againe, and peace should be made, for as  
C long as they both should thinke good.

To this answer, they replied nothing, but desired that  
Commissioners might be chosen to treat with them, who  
by alternate speaking, and hearing, might quietly make  
such an agreement, as they could perswade each other vn-  
to. But then Cleon came mightily vpon them, saying, he  
knew before, that they had no honest purpose, and that  
the same was now manifest, in that they refused to speake  
before the people, but sought to sit in consultation, onely  
with a few; And willed them, if they had ought to say,  
D that was reall, to speake it before them all. But the Lacedæ-  
monians finding, that although they had a mind to make  
Peace with them, vpon this occasion of aduersity, yet it  
would not be fit to speake in it before the multitude, lest  
speaking, and not obtaining, they should incurre \* calum-  
ny with their Confederates, and seeing withall, that the  
Athenians would not grant what they sued for, vpon rea-  
sonable conditions, they went backe againe without effect.

Vpon their returne, presently the Truce at Pylos was at  
an end, and the Lacedæmonians, according to agreement, de-  
E manded restitution of their Gallies. But the Athenians, lay-  
ing to their charge, an assault made vpon the Fort, contra-

The insolent demand  
of the people of Athens  
by the advice of Cleon.

The insolent demand  
of the people of Athens  
by the advice of Cleon.

The Lacedæmonians desire  
to speake before a pri-  
uate Committee.

\* For buying Peace at the  
cost of the Confederates sub-  
mission, for the thing they  
did not propose before the  
people was the giving of a  
summe of these two, and places  
the rest of Greece would  
be forced to receive, which  
they touched at in their  
advice, by in the last words of  
their Orations, as I haue no-  
ted before.  
The Ambassadors re-  
turne without effect, and  
the Truce endeth.  
The Athenians call, and  
keepe the Gallies of the  
Lacedæmonians.



The Warre at *Pylos* goes on.

The *Syracusans* and *Athenians* fight in the Straight betweene *Messana* and *Rhegium*.  
*Messana*.

\* *Charybia*.

\* *Rhegium*, being a promontory, and derived from *Ῥήγιον*, which signifies to breake, makes it probable that *Sicily* was once a part of *Italy*, and there broken off by some Earthquake, but yet *Scylla* is nearer to *Sicily* then *Rhegium* is.

\* *Charybdis*, here taken for the name of the whole strait, is but a part neere to *Messana*, betweene it and *Pelorus*, subject to extraordinary agitation in stormy weather, but nothing so that it was, or was faim'd to be of old.

ry to the Articles, and other matters of no great importance, refused to render them; standing vpon this, that it was said that the accord should be voyd, vpon whatsoeuer the left transgression of the same. But the *Lacedemonians* denying it, and protesting this detention of their Gallies for an iniury, went their wayes, and betooke themselves to the Warre. So the Warre at *Pylos* was on both sides renewed with all their power.

The *Athenians* went euery day about the Iland with two Gallies, one going one way, another, another way, and lay at Anchor about it euery night with their whole Fleet, except on that part which lyeth to the open Sea, and that onely when it was windy. From *Athens* also, there came a supply of thirty Gallies more, to guard the Iland, so that they were in the whole threescore and ten. And the *Lacedemonians* made assaults vpon the Fort, and watched euery opportunity that should present it selfe, to saue their men in the Iland.

Whilest these things passed, the *Syracusans*, and their Confederates in *Sicily*, adding to those Gallies that lay in Garrison at *Messana*, the rest of the Fleet which they had prepared, made Warre out of *Messana*, instigated thereto, chiefly, by the *Locrians*, as enemies to the *Rhegians*, (whose Territory they had also inuaded with their whole forces by Land) and seeing the *Athenians* had but a few Gallies present, and hearing that the greater number which were to come to them, were employed in the siege of the \* Iland, desired to try with them a Battell by Sea; for if they could get the better with their Nauie, they hoped, lying before *Rhegium*, both with their Land-forces on the Field side, and with their Fleet by Sea, easily to take it into their hands, and thereby strengthen their affaires. For *Rhegium* a \* Promontorie of *Italy*, and *Messana* in *Sicily* lying neere together, they might both hinder the *Athenians* from lying at Anchor there against them, and make themselves Masters of the Streight. This Streight is the Sea betweene *Rhegium* and *Messana*, where *Sicily* is neere to the Continent, and is that which is called \* *Charybdi*, where *Ulysses* is said to haue passed through; which, for that it is very narrow, and because the Sea falleth in there, from two great maines, the *Tyrrhene* and *Sicilian*, and is rough, hath therefore not without good cause bene esteemed dangerous.

The *Syracusans* and *Athenians* fight at Sea.

\* a Promontorie of *Sicily*, hard by *Messana*.

\* call in by the Souldiers on *Scylla*.

The *Messanians* warre on the Citie of *Naxos*, and receive a great losse.

\* of those which were founded by the *Chalcidians* of *Greece*.

A In this Straight then, the *Syracusans* and their Confederates, with somewhat more then 30. Gallies, were constrained in the later end of the day to come to a Sea-fight, hauing bin drawne forth about the passage of a certaine Boat, to undertake 16. Gallies of *Athens*, and 8. of *Rhegium*; and being ouercome by the *Athenians*, fell off with the losse of one Gallie, and went speedily, each side to their own Campe at *Messana*, and *Rhegium*; and the night ouertooke them in the action. After this the *Locrians* departed out of the Territory of the *Rhegians*, and the Fleet of the *Syracusans* and their Confederates came together to an Anchor at \* *Pelorus*, and had their Land-forces by them. But the *Athenians* and *Rhegians* came vp to them, and finding their Gallies empty of men, fell in amongst them, and by meanes of a Grapnel \* cast into one of their Gallies, they lost that Gallie, but the men swam out. Vpon this the *Syracusans* went aboard, and whilest they were towed along the shore towards *Messana*, the *Athenians* came vp to them againe, and the *Syracusans* \* opening themselves, charged first, and sunke another of their Gallies; so the *Syracusans* passed on to the Port of *Messana*, hauing had the better in their passage by the shore, and in the Sea-fight, which were both together in such manner as is declared.

The *Athenians*, vpon newes that *Camarina* should by *Archibias* and his complices bee betrayed to the *Syracusans*, went thither. In the meane time the *Messanians* with their whole power, by Land, and also with their Fleet, warred on *Naxos* a \* *Chalcidique* Citie, & their borderer. The first day hauing forced the *Naxians* to retire within their Walls, they spoiled their fields; the next day they sent their Fleet about into the Riuer *Acefine*, which spoiled the Countrey as it went vp the Riuer, & with their Land-forces assaulted the City. In the meane time many of the *Siculi*, Mountainers, came down to their assistance against the *Messanians*, which when they of *Naxos* perceiued, they tooke heart, and encouraging themselves with an opinion, that the *Leontines*, and all the rest of the *Grecians* their Confederates, had come to succour them, sallied suddenly out of the Citie, and charged vpon the *Messanians*, and put them to flight, with the slaughter of a thousand of their Souldiers, the rest hardly escaping home. For the *Barbarians* fell vpon them, and slew the most part of them in the High-wayes.

G g

And

\* Syracusa and Locris.  
The Athenians and Leontines attempt to take Messina.

And the Gallies that lay at *Messana*, not long after, diuided themselves, and went to their \* seuerall homes. A

Hereupon the *Leontines* and their Confederates, together with the *Athenians*, marched presently against *Messana*, as being now weakned, and assaulted it, the *Athenians* with their Fleet, by the Hauen; and the Land-forces, at the Wall to the Field. But the *Messanians*, and certaine *Locrians* with *Demoteles*, who after this losse had bene left there in Garrison, issuing forth, and falling suddenly vpon them, put a great part of the *Leontines* Armie to flight, and slew many; but the *Athenians*, seeing that, disbarked, B and relieued them; and comming vpon the *Messanians* now in disorder, chased them againe into the Citie. Then they erected a Trophie, and put ouer to *Rhegium*. After this, the *Grecians* of *Sicily* warred one vpon another, without the *Athenians*.

The Athenians are much troubled to watch the Island.

All this while the *Athenians* at *Pylus* besieged the *Lacedaemonians* in the Island; and the Armie of the *Peloponnesians* in the Continent remained still vpon the place. This keeping of Watch was exceeding painefull to the *Athenians*, in respect of the want they had, both of Corne and Water; for there was no Well but one, and that was in the Fort it selfe of *Pylus*, and no great one. And the greatest number turned vp the grauell, and drunke such water as they were \* like to finde there. They were also scant of roome for their Campe; and their Gallies not hauing place to ride in, they were forced by turnes, some to stay ashore, and others to take their victuall, and lye off at Anchor. But their greatest discouragement was, the time which they had stayed there, longer then they had thought to haue done; for they thought to haue famished them out in a few dayes, being in a desert Island, and hauing nothing to drinke but salt water. The cause hereof were the *Lacedaemonians*, who had \* proclaimed that any man that would, should carry in Meale, Wine, Cheese, and all other esculents necessary for a Siege, into the Island, appointing for the same a great reward of siluer: and if any *Helote* should carry in any thing, they promised him liberty. Hereupon diuers with much danger, imported victuall; but especially the *Helotes*, who putting off from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, wheresoeuer they chanced to bee, came E in at the parts of the Island that lay to the wide Sea. But they

\* The water which is found by digging in the Sea sands is commonly fresh, being strained, and so purged of the filth it in the passage of the water through the sand, but not so good as further off from the Sea.

The shift of the *Lacedaemonians* to relieve the besieged with victuall.

\* to the people of the Country about.

A they had a care about all, to take such a time as to bee brought in with the Wind. For when it blew from the Sea, they could escape the watch of the Gallies easily. For they could not then lye round about the Island at Anchor. And the *Helotes* were nothing tender in putting ashore; for they ranne their Gallies on ground, valued at a price in money, and the men of Armes also watched at all the landing places of the Island. But as many as made attempt when the weather was calme, were intercepted. There were also such as could diue, that swam ouer into the Island B through the Hauen, drawing after them in a string, Bottles filled with \* Poppy, tempered with Honie, and pounded Lintseed: wherof some at the first passed vnseene, but were afterwards watched. So that on either part they vsed all possible art, one side to send ouer food, the other to apprehend those that carried it.

\* A medicine for hunger and thirst, not meate. Scholiastes.

The People of *Athens* being aduertised of the state of their Armie, how it was in distresse, and that victuall was transported into the Island, knew not what they should doe to it, and feared lest Winter should ouertake them in their C Siege; fearing not onely that to provide them of necessaries about *Peloponnesus*, and in a desert place withall, would bee a thing impossible, but also that they should be vnable to send forth so many things as were requisite, though it were Summer; and againe, that the parts thereabout being without Harbour, there would bee no place to lye at Anchor in against them; but that the Watch there ceasing of it selfe, the men would by that meanes escape, or in some foule weather bee carried away in the same Boats that brought them meate. But that which they feared D most, was, that the *Lacedaemonians* seemed to haue some assurance of them already, because they sent no more to negotiate about them. And they repented now, that they had not accepted of the Peace. But *Cleob* knowing himselfe to be the man suspected for hindering the agreement, said, that they who brought the newes, reported not the truth. Whereupon, they that came thence, aduising them, if they would not beleue it, to send to view the estate of the Army, he and *Thibon* were chosen by the *Athenians* to view it. But when hee saw that hee must of force E either say as they said, whom hee before calumniated, or saying the contrary be proued a lyer; hee aduised the

The Athenians are angry, that their Armie is detained so long in the siege of the Island.

Cleob to auoyd the enuie of hindering the peace, engageth himselfe ere hee was aware, to fetch those that were besieged in the Island, home to Athens.

Athenians, seeing them enclined of themselves, to send A thither greater forces, then they had before thought to doe, that it was not fit to send to view the place, nor to lose their opportunity by delay, but if the report seemed vnto them to bee true, they should make a voyage against those men, and glanced at *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, then \* Generall, vpon malice, and with language of reproach. Saying it was easie, if the Leaders were men, to goe and take them there in the Iland. And that himselfe, if hee had the Command, would doe it. But *Nicias*, seeing the Athenians to bee in a kinde of tumult against *Cleon*, for that B when hee thought it so easie a matter, hee did not presently put it in practice, & seeing also he had vpbraided him, willed him to take what strength hee would, that they could giue him, and vndertake it. *Cleon* supposing at first that he gaue him this leaue but in words, was ready to accept it; but when he knew he would giue him the authority in good earnest, then he shrunke backe, and said, that not he, but *Nicias* was Generall; being now indeed afraid, and hoping that he durst not haue giuen ouer the office to him. But then, *Nicias* againe bade him doe it, and gaue ouer his C command to him, for so much as concerned *Pylus*, and called the Athenians to witnesse it. They (as is the fashion of the multitude) the more *Cleon* declined the Voyage, and went backe from his word, pressed *Nicias* so much the more to resigne his \* power to him, and cryed out vpon *Cleon* to goe. Insomuch as not knowing how to disengage himselfe of his word, hee vndertooke the Voyage, and stood forth, saying, that he feared not the *Lacedaemonians*, and that hee would not carry any man with him out of the Citie, but onely the *Lemnians* and *Imbrians* that then D were present, and those Targettieres that were come to them from *Aenus*, and 400. Archers out of other places, and with these, he said, added to the Souldiers that were at *Pylus* already, he would within twenty dayes, either fetch away the *Lacedaemonians* aliue, or kill them vpon the place.

This vaine speech moued amongst the Athenians some laughter, and was heard with great content of the wiser sort. For of two benefits, the one must needs fall out; either to be rid of *Cleon*, (which was their greatest hope) or E if they were deceiued in that, then to get those *Lacedaemonians*

\* *Cleon*, the Magistrate to whose authority was committed the laying and mustering of Souldiers.

*Cleon* vndertaketh to fetch those in the Iland prisoners to Athens.

*Cleon* taken at his word, would haue declined the employment, but cannot \* his power to his Souldiers.

A glorious boast of *Cleon* well taken.

A nians into their hands. Now when he had dispatched with the Assembly, and the Athenians had by their voices decreed him the Voyage, he ioyned vnto himselfe *Demosthenes*, one of the Commanders at *Pylus*, and presently put to Sea. Hee made choice of *Demosthenes* for his Companion, because he heard that hee also, of himselfe, had a purpose to set his Souldiers aland in the Ile. For the Armie ha- B uing suffered much by the straightnesse of the place, and being rather the besieged, then the besieger, had a great desire to put the matter to the hazard of a Battell: confirmed therein the more, for that the Iland had been burnt. For hauing beene for the most part wood, and (by reason it had lyen euersedart) without path, they were before the more afraid, and thought it the aduantage of the Enemy; for assaulting them out of sight, they might annoy a very great Armie that should offer to come aland. For their errors, being in the Wood, and their preparation could not so well haue beene discerned: whereas all the faults of their owne Armie should haue beene in sight. So C that the Enemy might haue set vpon them suddenly, in what part soeuer they had pleased; because the onset had beene in their owne election. Againe, if they should by force come vp to fight with the *Lacedaemonians* at hand in the thicke Woods, the fewer, and skillfull of the wayes, hee thought would bee too hard for the many and vnskillfull. Besides, their owne Armie beeing great, it might receiue an ouerthrow before they could know of it, because they could not see where it was needfull to relieue one another.

These things came into his head, especially from the D losse hee receiued in *Aegolia*. Which in part also happened, by occasion of the Woods. But the \* Souldiers, for want of roome, hauing beene forced to put in at the outside of the Iland, to dresse their dinners with a watch before them, and one of them hauing set fire on the Wood, it burnt on by little and little, and the Wind afterwards rising, the most of it was burnt before they were aware. By this accident, *Demosthenes* the better discerning that the *Lacedaemonians* were more then hee had imagined, hauing before, by victuall sent vnto them, thought them not so E many, did now prepare himselfe for the Enterprize, as a matter deseruing the Athenians vtmost care, and as hauing better

The reason why *Demosthenes* durst not land in the Iland, to subdue the besieged by fight.

\* The Athenian Souldiers.

The wood of the Iland burnt by accident.

better commodity of landing in the Iland, then before he A  
had; and both sent for the forces of such Confederates as  
were neere, and put in readinesse every other needfull  
thing. And *Cleon*, who had sent a Messenger before to  
signifie his coming, came himselfe also with those  
forces which he had required, vnto *Pylus*. When they  
were both together, first they sent a Herald to the Campe  
in the Continent, to know if they would command those  
in the Iland to deliuer vp themselves and their Armes  
without battell, to be held with easie imprisonment, till  
some agreement were made touching the maine Warre. B  
Which when they refused, the *Athenians* for one day held  
their hands, but the next day, hauing put aboard vpon a  
few Gallies, all their men of Armes, they put off in the  
night, and landed a little before day on both sides of the  
Iland, both from the Mayne, and from the Hauen, to the  
number of about 800 men of Armes, and marched vpon  
high speed towards the formost watch of the Iland. For  
thus the *Lacedæmonians* lay quartered. In this formost  
watch were about thirty men of Armes. The middest,  
and eueneft part of the Iland, and about the water, was C  
kept by *Epitadas* their Captaine, with the greatest part of  
the whole number. And another part of them, which  
were not many, kept the last guard towards *Pylus*, which  
place to the Sea-ward was on a Cliffe, and least  
assailable by Land. For there was also a certaine Fort  
which was old, and made of chosen, nor of hewne stones,  
which they thought would stand them in stead in case of  
violent retreat. Thus they were quartered. Now the  
*Athenians* presently killed those of the formost guard,  
(which they so ran to) in their Cabins, and as they were D  
taking Armes. For they knew not of their landing, but  
thought those Gallies had come thither to Anchor in the  
night according to custome, as they had been wont to doe.  
As soone as it was morning, the \* rest of the Army also  
landed, out of somewhat more then 70 Gallies, every one  
with such Armes as he had, being all that rowed, (except  
only the \* *Thalamij*) eight hundred Archers, Targueters as  
many; all the *Messenians* that came to aide them; and as  
many of them besides, as held any place about *Pylus*, except  
only the Garrison of the Fort it selfe. *Demosthenes* then E  
disposing his Army by two hundred, and more in a com-  
pany,

*Cleon arrived at Pylus.*

The *Athenians* invade the  
Iland:

And kill those that were  
in the first and most re-  
mote watch from *Pylus*.

\* The light-armed,  
\* *Thalamij*. These were  
three ranks of rowers a-  
mong the *Athenians*, the  
uppermost called *Thranice*,  
the second *Zygia*, and the  
last *Thalamia*, or *Thala-*  
*mij*. In the Gally called a  
*Burme*, there were no *Zeniti-*  
*tes*. In a *Tyrene* were all 3  
ranks, in a *Quadrante* and  
upward, all the middle  
ranks were *Zenites*; only  
the uppermost were *Thranice*,  
and the bottom *Thalamie*.

A pany, and in some lesse, at certaine distances, seized on all  
the higher grounds, to the end that the enemies compas-  
sed about on euery side, might the lesse know what to doe,  
or against what part to set themselves in battell, and be sub-  
iect to the shot of the multitude from euery part; and  
when they should make head against those that fronted  
them, be charged behind; and when they should turne to  
those that were opposed to their flankes, be charged at  
once both behind and before. And which way soeuer  
they marched, the light-armed, and such as were meanli-  
est provided of Armes, followed them at the backe, with B  
Arrowes, Darts, Stones, and Slings, who haue courage  
enough as farre off, and could not be charged, but would  
ouercome flying, and also presse the enemies when they  
should retyre. With this designe, *Demosthenes*, both  
intended his landing at first, and afterwards ordered his  
forces accordingly in the action. Those that were about  
*Epitadas*, who were the greatest part of those in the  
Iland, when they saw that the formost guard was slaine,  
and that the Army marched towards them, put them-  
selves in array, and went towards the men of Armes of the C  
*Athenians*, with intent to charge them; for these were op-  
posed to them in front, and the light-armed Souldiers on  
their flankes, and at their backs. But they could neither  
come to ioyn with them, nor any way make vse of their  
\* skill. For both the light-armed Souldiers kept them  
off, with shot from either side, and the men of Armes ad-  
vanced not. Where the light-armed Souldiers appoa-  
ched neereft, they were driuen backe; but returning, they  
charged them afresh, being men armed lightly, and that D  
easily got out of their reach by running, especially the  
ground being vneasie, and rough, by hauing been formerly  
desert; so that the *Lacedæmonians* in their Armour, could  
not follow them. Thus for a little while they skirmished  
one against another, a farre off. But when the *Lacedæmoni-*  
*ans* were no longer able to run out after them, where they  
charged, these light-armed Souldiers seeing them lesse  
earnest in chasing them, and taking courage chiefly from  
their sight, as being many times their number, and hauing  
also been vfed to them so much, as not to thinke them now E  
so dangerous as they had done, for that they had not recei-  
ued so much hurt at their hands, as their subdued mindes,  
because

The *Athenians* diuide  
themselves into many  
troopes, against the  
maine body of the *Lace-*  
*dæmonian* Souldiers.

The fight betwene the  
*Athenians*, and the *Lacedæ-*  
*monians*, in the middle of  
the Iland.

\* The skill of fighting, a  
standing fight, was thought  
a peculiar vertue of the *Lace-*  
*dæmonians*, as the Sea  
fight was thought to the  
*Athenians*.

because they were to fight against the *Lacedemonians*, had at their first landing pre-iudged, contemned them, and with a great cry ran all at once upon them, casting Stones, Arrows, and Darts, as to every man came next to hand. Upon this cry, and assault, they were much terrified, as not accustomed to such kind of fight; and withall a great dust of the woods lately burnt, mounted into the ayre, so that by reason of the Arrows, and Stones, that together with the dust flew from such a multitude of men, they could hardly see before them. Then the battell grew fore on the *Lacedemonians* side, for their \* Iackes now gaue way to the Arrows, and the Darts that were throwne, flucke broken in them, so as they could not handle themselves, as neither seeing before them, nor hearing any direction given them, for the greater noyse of the enemy; but (danger being on all sides) were hopelesse to saue themselves upon any side by fighting. In the end, many of them being now wounded, for that they could not shift their ground, they made their retreat in close order, to the last guard of the Iland, and to the watch that was there. When they once gaue ground, then were the light-armed Souldiers much more confident then before, and pressed upon them with a mighty noyse. And as many of the *Lacedemonians* as they could intercept in their retreat, they slew; but the most of them recovered the Fort, and together with the watch of the same, put themselves in order to defend it in all parts that were subiect to assault. The *Athenians* following, could not now encompassse and hemme them in, for the strong situation of the place, but assaulting them in the face, sought onely how to put them from the wall. And thus they held out a long time, the better part of a day, either side tyred with the fight, and with thirst, and with the Sunne, one endeavouring to drue the enemy from the top, the other to keepe their ground. And the *Lacedemonians* defended themselves easilier now then before, because they were not now encompassed upon their flanks. When there was no end of the businesse, the Captaine of the *Messenians* said vnto *Cleon*, and *Demosthenes*, that they spent their labour there in vaine, and that if they would deliuer vnto him a part of the Archers, and light-armed Souldiers, to get vp by such a way as he himselfe should find out, and come

\* *μακρ.* A kind of quilted Armour, or of Stuffs close beaten like felt.

The *Lacedemonians* retire to the Fort, where the last guard was placed.

The *Athenians* assault them there.

come behinde vpon their Iackes, hee thought the entrance might be forced. And hauing disordered the Forces hee asked, hee took his way from a place out of sight to the *Lacedemonians*, that hee might not be distoured; making his approach under the shelter of the Iland, where they were continued; in which part, withing to the naturall strength thereof, they kept no watch, and with much labour, and hardly vnseene, came behinde them. And appearing suddenly from aboue at their backs, both terrified the Enemies with the sight of what they expected not; and much confirmed the *Athenians* with the sight of what they expected. And the *Lacedemonians* being now charged with their shot both before and behind, were in the same case (to compare small matters with great) that they were in at \* *Thermopyle*. For then they were slaine by the *Perfians*, shut vp on both sides in a narrow path. And these now being charged on both sides, could make good the place no longer, but fighting, few against many, and being weake withall for want of foode, were at last forced to giue ground, and the *Athenians* by this time, were also Masters of all the entrance. But *Cleon*, and *Demosthenes*, knowing that the more they gaue backe, the faster they would be killed by their Armie, staid the fight, and held in the Souldiers, with desire to carry them aliue to *Athens*, in case their spirits were so much broken, and their courage abated by this miserie, as vpon Proclamation made, they would be content to deliuer vp their Armes. So they proclaimed, that they should deliuer vp their Armes and themselves to the *Athenians*, to be disposed of as to them should seeme good. Upon hearing heereof, the most of them threw downe their Bucklers, and shooke their hands aboue their heads, signifying their acceptation of what was proclaimed. Whereupon a Truce was made, and they came to treat, *Cleon*, and *Demosthenes* of one side, and *Stryphon* the sonne of *Pharax*, on the other side. For of them that had Command there, *Epitadas*, who was the first, was slaine; and *Hippagrotas*, who was chosen to succeed him, lay amongst the dead, though yet aliue; and this man was the third to succeed in the Comand by the \* Law, in case

Some of the *Athenians* climbe vp behind the *Lacedemonians* vnseene, and appeare at their backs.

\* 5000. *Lacedemonians*, under their King *Leonidas*, in the Streight of *Thermopyle*, withing 1300000. *Perfians*, till they were circumsuaded, and charged both before and behinde, and so all slaine. Herod. lib. 7.

The *Lacedemonians* yeeld.

\* This manner of shodding aliue Commanders to be chosen in succession, was in those times much used.



The Lacedæmonians yeeld  
vp their Armes, and are  
carried prisoners to  
Athens.

The number of the slain,  
and of the prisoners.

The yielding of the Lacedæmonians was contrary  
to the opinion had of  
their vertue.

the others should miscarry. *Styphen*, and those that were A  
with him, said they would send ouer to the *Lacedæmonians*  
in the Continent, to know what they there would aduise  
them to; but the *Athenians* letting none goe thence, called  
for Heralds out of the Continent, and the question hauing  
beene twice or thrice asked, the last of the *Lacedæmonians*  
that came ouer from the Continent, brought them this  
Answer: *The Lacedæmonians bid you take aduice touching  
your selues, such as you shall thinke good, provided you doe nothing  
dishonourably.* Whereupon hauing consulted, they yeelded  
vp themselves and their Armes; and the *Athenians* atten- B  
ded them that day, and the night following, with a watch.  
But the next day, after they had set vp their Trophie in  
the Iland, they prepared to bee gone, and committed the  
prisoners to the custody of the Captaines of the Gallies.  
And the *Lacedæmonians* sent ouer a Herald, and tooke vp  
the bodies of their dead. The number of them that were  
slaine and taken aliue in the Iland, was thus. There went  
ouer into the Iland in all, foure hundred and twenty men  
of Armes; of these were sent away aliue, three hundred  
wanting eight, and the rest slaine. Of those that liued, C  
there were of the Citie it selfe of *Sparta*, one hundred and  
twenty. Of the *Athenians* there dyed not many, for it was  
not standing fight.

The whole time of the siege of these men in the Iland,  
from the fight of the Gallies, to the fight in the Iland,  
was 72. dayes; of which, for 20. dayes, victuall was al-  
lowed to bee carried to them, that is to say, in the time  
that the Ambassadors were away, that went about the  
Peace; in the rest, they were fed by such onely as put in  
thither by stealth, and yet there was both Come and other D  
food left in the Iland. For their Captaine *Epiradas* had  
distributed it more sparingly then hee needed to haue  
done. So the *Athenians* and the *Peloponnesians* departed  
from *Pylus*, and went home both of them with their Ar-  
mies. And the promise of *Cleon*, as senselesse as it was,  
tooke effect: For within twenty dayes he brought home  
the men, as he had vndertaken.

Of all the accidents of this Warre, this same fell out  
the most contrary to the opinion of the *Grecians*. For they  
expected that the *Lacedæmonians* should neuer, neither by E  
Famine, nor what soeuer other necessity, haue bin constrain-

ned

And to deliuer vp their Armes, but haue dyed with  
them in their hands, fighting as long as they had beene  
able; and would not beleue that those that yeelded, were  
like to those that were slaine: and when one afterwards,  
of the *Athenian* Confederates, asked one of the prisoners,  
by way of insulting, if they which were slaine, were vali-  
ant men; hee answered, that a Spindle (meaning an Ar-  
row) deserued to bee valued at a high rate, if it could  
know who was a good man. Signifying, that the slaine  
were such as the Stones and Arrowes chanced to light  
B on.

After the arriual of the men, the *Athenians* ordered, that  
they should be kept in bonds, till there should bee made  
some agreement; and if before that, the *Peloponnesians*  
should inuade their Territory, then to bring them forth  
& kill them. They tooke order also in the same Assembly,  
for the settling of the Garrison at *Pylus*. And the *Messenians*  
of *Naupactus*, hauing sent thither such men of their own  
as were fittest for the purpose, as to their natie Countrey,  
(for *Pylus* is in that Countrey which belonged once to the  
C *Messenians*) infested *Laconia* with Robberies, and did them  
much other mischief, as being of the same Language.

The *Lacedæmonians*, not hauing in times past beene ac-  
quainted with robberies, and such Warre as that, and be-  
cause their *Helotes* ranne ouer to the Enemy, fearing also  
some greater innouation in the Countrey, tooke the mat-  
ter much to heart; and though they would not be knowne  
of it to the *Athenians*, yet they sent Ambassadors, and en-  
deuoured to get the restitution both of the Fort of *Pylus*,  
and of their men. But the *Athenians* aspired to greater mat-  
D ters; and the Ambassadors, though they came often a-  
bout it, yet were alwayes sent away without effect. These  
were the proceedings at *Pylus*.

Presently after this, the same Summer, the *Athenians*  
with 80. Gallies, 2000. men of Armes of their own City,  
and 200. Horse, in boats built for transportation of Hor-  
ses, made War vpon the Territory of *Corinth*. There went  
also with them, *Milesans*, *Andrians*, and *Carystians* of their  
Confederates. The Generall of the whole Army was *Ni-*  
cias the sonne of *Niceratus*, with 2. other in Commission with  
E him. Betimes in a morning, they put in at a place  
betweene *Chersonesus* and *Rheius*, on that shore, about

Hh 2

which

The Lacedæmonian priso-  
ners kept in bonds at  
*Athens*, to be made vse of  
in making the peace, oc-  
casioned the first inuasi-  
on of *Attica* to be done.

*Nicias* warreth in the  
Territory of *Corinth* with  
good fortune.



The Corinthians hearing of their coming, assemble their forces to hinder their landing.

The Athenians and Corinthians fight.

\* A Hymne accustomed to be sung, one before Battell, another after victory.

which standeth the Hill *Solygia*, whereon the *Dorians* in A old time sate downe, to make Warre on the *Corinthians* in the Citie of *Corinth*, that were then *Aolians*, and vpon which there standeth now a Village, called also *Solygia*. From the shore where the *Gallies* came in, this Village is distant twenty furlongs, and the Citie of *Corinth*, sixtie, and the *Isthmus* twenty. The *Corinthians* hauing long before from *Argos* had intelligence, that an Armie of the *Athenians* was comming against them, came all of them with their forces to the *Isthmus*; (saue onely such as dwelt without the *Isthmus*, and five hundred Garrison Souldiers, B absent in *Ambracia* and *Leucadia*) all the rest of military age came forth, to attend the *Athenians*, where they should put in. But when the *Athenians* had put to shore in the night vnseene, and that aduertisement thereof was giuen them by signes put vp into the ayre, they left the one halfe of their Forces in *Cenchrea*, lest the *Athenians* should goe against *Crommyon*, and with the other halfe made haste to meete them. *Battus*, one of their Commanders, (for there were two of them present at the Battell) with one Squadron, went toward the Village of *Solygia*, being an open C one, to defend it; and *Lycophron* with the rest charged the Enemy. And first they gaue the onset on the right wing of the *Athenians*, which was but newly landed before *Chersonesus*, and afterwards they charged likewise the rest of the Armie. The Battell was hot, and at hand-stroakes: And the right wing of the *Athenians* and *Carystians* (for of these consisted their vtmost Files) sustained the charge of the *Corinthians*, and with much adoe draue them backe. But as they retyred, they came vp, (for the place was all rising ground) to a dry Wall, and from thence, being on D the vpper ground, threw downe stones at them; and after hauing sung the \* *Pæan*, came againe close to them, whom when the *Athenians* abode, the Battell was againe at hand-stroakes. But a certaine Band of *Corinthians* that came in, to the ayde of their owne left wing, put the right wing of the *Athenians* to flight, and chased them to the Sea-side. But then from their Gallies they turned head againe, both the *Athenians*, and the *Carystians*. The other part of their Armie continued fighting on both sides, especially the right wing of the *Corinthians*, where *Lycophron* fought against the left wing of the *Athenians*: for they expected E that

The Corinthians are put to flight.

A. that the *Athenians* would attempt to goe to *Solygia*; so they held each other to it a long time, neither side giuing ground. But in the end (for that the *Athenians* had Horse men, which did them great seruice, seeing the other had none) the *Corinthians* were put to flight, and retired to the Hill, where they laid downe their Armes, and descended no more, but there rested. In this Retreat, the greatest part of their right wing was slaine, and amongst others, *Lycophron*, one of the Generals. But the rest of the Army being in this manner, neither much vrged, nor retiring in much haste, when they could do no other, made their Retreat vp the Hill, & there sate downe. The *Athenians* seeing them come no more downe to Battell, rifled the dead bodies of the Enemy, and tooke vp their owne, and presently erected a Trophie on the place. That halfe of the *Corinthians* that lay at *Cenchrea*, to watch the *Athenians*, that they went not against *Crommyon*, saw not this Battell, for the Hill *Oseius*; but when they saw the dust, and so knew what was in hand, they went presently to their ayde: so did also the \* old men of *Corinth* from the Citie, when they understood how the matter had succeeded. The *Athenians*, C when all these were comming vpon them together, imagining them to haue been the succours of the neighbouring Cities of *Peloponnesus*, retired speedily to their Gallies, carrying with them the booty, and the bodies of their dead, all saue two, which not finding, they left. Being aboard, they crossed ouer to the Ilands on the other side, and from thence \* sent a Herald, and fetched away those two dead bodies which they left behinde. There were slaine in this battell, *Corinthians*, two hundred and twelue, and *Athenians*, D somewhat vnder fifty.

The *Athenians* putting off from the Ilands, sayled the same day to *Crommyon*, in the Territory of *Corinth*, distant from the City a hundred and twenty furlongs: where anchoring, they wasted the Fields, and stayed all that night. The next day, they sailed along the shore, first to the Territory of *Epidaurus*, whereinto they made some little incursion from their Gallies; and then went to *Metzone*, betwene *Epidaurus* and *Træzen*, and there tooke in the *Isthmus* of *Chersonesus* with a Wall, and placed a Garrison in it, which afterwards exercised robberies in the Territories of *Træzen*, *Halus*, and *Epidaurus*; and when they

\* It was said before, that all the Corinthians of military age were come forth.

\* To fetch off the dead by a Herald, was a custome of being the winner; but yet *Nicias* chooseth rather to renounce the reputation of victory, then omit an act of piety. Besides, the people tooke meruailously at the neglect of the dead bodies, as may appeare by their sentence on the Captaines after the Battell at *Arginusæ*.

The *Athenians* waste other parts of the same Coast.

The execution of the  
Corcyrae banished men,  
and end of that sedition.

Truce granted to the  
banished men, with con-  
dition that the same  
should bee voyd, if any of  
them offered to make an  
escape.

The fraud of the Corcy-  
rae to entrappe the ba-  
nished men.

The truce broken, and  
the outlaws put into  
the hands of the Com-  
mons.

The Corcyraeans take the  
Outlaws out by forces,  
and make them passe the  
Pikes.

they had fortified this place, they returned home with A  
their Fleet.

About the same time that these things were in doing,  
Eurymedon and Sophocles, after their departure from Pylus  
with the Athenian Fleet, towards Sicily, arriving at Corcyra,  
ioyned with those of the Citie, and made Warre vpon  
those Corcyraeans; which lay encamped vpon the Hill I-  
stone, and which, after the sedition, had come ouer, and both  
made themselves masters of the Field, and much annoyed  
the Citie: and hauing assaulted their fortification, tooke it.  
But the men all in one troupe, escaped to a certaine high B  
ground, and thence made their composition, which was  
this; *That they should deliuer vp the Strangers that ayded them;  
and that they themselves, hauing rendred their Arms, should stand  
to the iudgement of the People of Athens.* Heereupon the  
Generals granted them truce, and transported them to the  
Iland of Ptychia; to bee there in custodie, till the Athenians  
should send for them; with this condition, *That if any one  
of them should be taken running away, then the truce to bee broken  
for them all.*

But the Patrons of the Commons of Corcyra, fearing C  
lest the Athenians would not kill them when they came  
thither, devise against them this plot. To some few of  
those in the Iland, they secretly send their friends, and in-  
struct them to say, as if, forsooth, it were for good will,  
that it was their best course, with all speed, to get away,  
(and withall, to offer to prouide them of a Boat) for that  
the Athenian Commanders intended verily to deliuer them  
to the Corcyraean people.

When they were perswaded to doe so, and that a Boat  
was treacherously prepared, as they rowed away, they D  
were taken, and the Truce being now broken, were all  
giuen vp into the hands of the Corcyraeans. It did much fur-  
ther this Plot, that to make the pretext seeme more seri-  
ous, and the agents in it lesse fearefull, the Athenian Gene-  
rals gaue out, that they were nothing pleased that the  
men should be carried home by others, whilst they them-  
selves were to goe into Sicily; and the honour of it be ascri-  
bed to those that should conioy them. The Corcyraeans  
hauing receiued them into their hands, imprisoned them E  
in a certaine Edifice, from whence afterwards they tooke  
them out by twenty at a time, and made them passe  
through

A through a Lane of men of Armes, bound together, and re-  
ceiuing stroakes and thrusts from those on eyther side, ac-  
cording as any one espyed his Enemie. And to hasten the  
pace of those that went slowliest on, others were set to  
follow them with Whips.

They had taken out of the Roome in this manner, and  
flaine, to the number of threescore, before they that re-  
mained knew it, who thought they were but remoued,  
and carried to some other place. But when they knew  
the truth, some or other hauing told them, they then cry-  
ed out to the Athenians, and said, that if they would them-  
selves kill them, they should doe it; and refused any more  
to go out of the Roome, nor would suffer they said, as long  
as they were able, any man to come in. But neither had the  
Corcyraeans any purpose to force entrance by the doore, but  
getting vp to the top of the House, vncouered the roofe,  
and threw Tyles, and shot Arrowes at them. They in  
prison defended themselves as well as they could, but ma-  
ny also slew themselves with the Arrowes shot by the  
Enemie, by thrusting them into their throats, and stran-  
gled themselves with the cords of certaine beds that were  
in the Roome, and with ropes made of their owne gar-  
ments rent in pieces. And hauing continued most part of  
the night, (for night ouertooke them in the action) partly  
strangling themselves, by all such meanes as they found,  
and partly shot at from aboue, they all perished. When  
day came, the Corcyraeans laid them one \*acroste another  
in Carts, and carried them out of the City. And of their  
Wiues, as many as were taken in the Fortification, they  
made bond-women. In this manner were the Corcyraeans  
D that kept the \*Hill, brought to destruction by the Com-  
mons. And thus ended this farre-spread sedition, for so  
much as concerned this present Warre: for of other sedi-  
tions there remained nothing worth the relation. And  
the Athenians being arrived in Sicily, whither they were at  
first bound, prosecuted the Warre there, together with  
the rest of their Confederates of those parts.

In the end of this Summer, the Athenians that lay at  
Naupactus, went forth with an Armie, and tooke the City  
of \*Anactorium, belonging to the Corinthians, and lying at  
E the mouth of the Ambracian Gulfe, by Treason. And  
when they had put forth the Corinthians, the Acarnanians  
held

The outlaws refuse to  
goe out to execution.

They kill themselves.

The miserable end of the  
banished men, which was  
also the end of the sedi-  
tion.

\* *oposundō*, significth pre-  
parry after the manner that  
Assets or Hurdles are platted.

\* *Isone*.

The Athenians take Ana-  
clorum from the Corinthi-  
ans, and put it into the  
hands of the Acarnanians  
\* This City belonged to the  
Corcyraeans and Corinthi-  
ans in common, but a  
little before this Warre, the  
Corinthians carry away  
captives the men that were  
in it, and possesse it alone:  
and those Corcyraeans  
wrought the Sedition before  
related.

The end of the seventh Summer.  
Arctonoe an Ambassadour from the King of Persia to the Lacedæmonians, intercepted, and brought to Athens, and his Letters read.

The King of Persia's Letters to the Lacedæmonians translated into Greek, and read at Athens.

The Eleans are suspected, and forced to pull downe their new built Wall.

#### THE EIGHTH YEERE.

The Lesbian Outlawes make warre vpon the Athenians dominions, in the Continent neere Lesbos.

\* Littorales. Cities situate on the Sea-shore.

held it with a Colonic sent thither from all parts of their A-  
owne Nation. And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, Aristides the sonne of Archippus, one of the Commanders of a Fleet which the Athenians had sent out to gather Tribute from their Confederates, apprehended Artaphernes *Busbol*, in the Towne of Eion, vpon the River *Arctonoe*, going from the King to Lacedæmon. When he was brought to Athens, the Athenians translated his Letters out of the *Assyrian* Language into Greek, and read them, wherein amongst many other things that were written to the Lacedæmonians, the principall was this, B  
That hee knew not what they meant, for many Ambassadors came, but they spake not the same things. If therefore they had any thing to say certaine, they should send some body to him, with this Persian. But Artaphernes they send afterwards away in a Gallie, with Ambassadors of their owne, to Ephesus. And there encountering the newest, that King Artaxerxes, the sonne of Xerxes, was lately dead, (for about that time he dyed) they returned homewards.

The same Winter also, the Chians demolished their new Wall, by command of the Athenians, vpon suspicion C  
that they intended some innovation, notwithstanding they had given the Athenians their faith, and the best security they could, to the intent they should let them bee as they were. Thus ended this Winter, and the seventh yeere of this Warre, writteth by Thucydides.

The next Summer, in the very beginning, at a change of the Moone, the Sunne was eclipsed in part; and in the beginning of the same Moneth, happened an Earthquake.

At this time, the Mitylenian, and other Lesbian Outlawes, D  
most of them residing in the Continent, with mercenary Forces out of Peloponnesus, and some which they leauied where they were, leaze on Rhœgium, and for two thousand Phœcean Staters, render it againe, without doing them other harme. After this they came with their Forces to Antander, and tooke that Citie also by Treason. They had likewise a Designe, to set free the rest of the Cities called \* *Actææ*, which were in the occupation formerly of the Mitylenians, but subiect to the Athenians: but about all the rest, Antander, which when they had once gotten, (for E  
there they might easily build Gallies, because there was store

A store of Timber, and mount *Idea* was about their heads) they might issue from thence with other their preparation, and infest Lesbos which was neere, and bring into their power the *Æolique* Townes in the Continent. And this were those men preparing.

The Athenians the same Summer, with sixty Gallies, 2000 men of Armes, and a few horsemen, taking with them also the Milesians, and some other of their Confederates made Warre vpon Cythera, vnder the Conduct of Nicias the sonne of Niceratus, Nicostratus the sonne of Diotrebhes, B  
and Anacles the sonne of Tolmaus. This \* Cythera is an Island vpon the Coast of Laconia, ouer against Malea. The Inhabitants be Lacedæmonians, of the same that dwell about them.

And euery yeere there goeth ouer vnto them from Sparta a Magistrate called \* *Cytherodices*. They likewise sent ouer men of Armes from time to time, to lie in Garrison there, and tooke much care of the place. For it was the place where their \* ships vsed to put in from Egypt, and Libia, and by which Laconia was the lesse infested by C  
theeues from the Sea, being that way onely subiect to that mischief. For the Island lyeth wholly out, into the Sicilian and Creticke Seas: The Athenians arriuing with their Army, with ten of their Gallies, and 2000 men of Armes of the Milesians, tooke a towne lying to the Sea, called Scandea, and with the rest of their forces, hauing landed in the parts of the Island towards Malea, marched into the Citie it selfe of the Cythereans, lying likewise to the Sea. The Cythereans they found standing all in Armes prepared for them, and after the battell began, the Cythereans for D  
a little while made resistance; but soone after turned their backs, and fled, into the higher part of the Citie; and afterwards compounded with Nicias and his fellow-Commanders, That the \* Athenians should determine of them whatsoeuer they thought good, but death. Nicias had had some conference with certaine of the Cythereans before; which was also a cause that those things which concerned the accord both now and afterwards, were both the sooner, and with the more fauour dispatched. For the Athenians did but remoue the Cythereans, and that also because they were Lacedæmonians, E  
and because the Island lay in that maner vpon the coast of Laconia. After this composition, hauing as they went by  
I i  
received

The Athenians led by Nicias, subdue Cythera, an Island ouer against Laconia, and inhabited by Lacedæmonians.

\* Now Cerigo.

\* The Iudge of Cythera.

\* *Scandææ*, Ships of the round forme of building, Merchant ships.

The Cythereans yeeld to Nicias, referring themselves to the people of Athens for any thing but death.  
\* The Athenian people.

The Athenians remoue them from their seats.

The Lacedæmonians begin to be dejected with their great losses.

\* Sphacteria, where their men were taken, and carried to Athens.

\* The Lacedæmonians received on their armed footmen, or men of Armes, in multitude and skill in fighting, farre much, as a particular virtue, and as for light-armed soldiers, they made lesse reckning, and once had such of them as were brought in by their Conjurates.

\* Sphacteria.

The Athenians waste the Coast of Laconia.

\* So called from *Xiuv*, a River, because it is full of Fishes.  
\* Malaga.

received *Scandea*, a Towne lying vpon the Hauen, and put a guard vpon the *Cythreans*, they sayled to *Afine* & most of the Townes vpon the Sea-side. And going sometimes a-land, and staying where they saw cause, wasted the Countrey for about seuen dayes together. The *Lacedæmonians* though they saw the *Athenians* had *Cythera*, and expected withall that they would come to Land, in the same manner, in their owne Territory, yet came not foorth with their vnited forces to resist them; but distributed a number of men of Armes into sundry parts of their Territory, to guard it wherefoeuer there was need, B and were otherwise also exceeding watchfull, fearing lest some innouation should happen in the State; as hauing received a very great and v unexpected losse in the \* *Iland*, and the *Athenians* hauing gotten *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and as being on all sides encompassed with a busie and vnauoydable Warre; In so much that contrary to their custome they ordayned 400 \* *Horsemen*, and some *Archers*. And if euer they were fearefull in matter of Warre, they were so now, because it was contrary to their owne way, to contend in a Nauall Warre, and against *Athenians*, who C thought they lost whatfoeuer they not attempted. Withall, their so many mis-fortunes, in so short a time, falling out so contrary to their owne expectation, exceedingly affrighted them. And fearing lest some such calamity should againe happen, as they had receiued in the \* *Iland*, they durst the lesse to hazzard battell; and thought that whatfoeuer they should goe about, would miscarry, because their mindes not vsed formerly to losses, could now warrant them nothing. As the *Athenians* therefore wasted the Maritime parts of the Countrey; and disbarked neere a D ny Garrison, those of the Garrison for the most part stirred not, both as knowing themselues singly to be too small a number, and as being in that maner dejected. Yet one Garrison fought about *Cortyta*, and *Aphrodisa*, and frighted in, the straggling rabble of light-armed Souldiers, but when the men of Armes had receiued them, it retyred againe, with the losse of a few whom they also rifled of their Armes. And the *Athenians*, after they had erected a *Trophi*, put off againe, and went to *Cythera*. From thence they sayled about to *Epidaurus*, called \* *Limera*, and E hauing wasted some part of that Territory, came to *Thyrea*,

A *Thyrea*, which is of the Territory called *Cynuria*, but is neuertheless the middle border betweene *Argia* and *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* possessing this Citie, gaue the same for an habitation to the *Æginetæ*, after they were driuen out of *Ægina*, both for the benefit they had receiued from them, about the time of the Earthquake, and of the insurrection of the *Helots*, and also for that being subiect to the *Athenians*, they had neuertheless gone euer the same way with the *Lacedæmonians*. When the *Athenians* were conning towards them, the *Æginetæ* left the Wall which B they hapned to be then building toward the Sea-side, and retired vp into the Citie aboue, where they dwelt, and which was not aboue tenne Furlongs from the Sea. There was also with them, one of those Garrisons which the *Lacedæmonians* had distributed into the feuerall parts of the Countrey, and these, though they helped them to build the Fort below, yet would not now enter with them into the Towne, (though the *Æginetæ* intreated them) apprehending danger in being coopt vp within the Wall; and therefore retiring into the highest ground, lay still C there, as finding themselues too weake to giue them Battell. In the meane time the *Athenians* came in, and marching vp, presently, with their whole Armie, won *Thyrea*, and burnt it, and destroyed whatfoeuer was in it. The *Æginetæ*, as many as were not slaine in the affray, they carried prisoners to *Athens*; amongst whom *Tantulus* also, the sonne of *Patroclus*, Captaine of such *Lacedæmonians* as were amongst them, was wounded, and taken aliue. They carried likewise with them some few men of *Cythera*, whom for safeties sake they thought good to remoue into some D other place. These therefore, the *Athenians* decreed, should be placed in the \* *Ilands*. And that the rest of the *Cythreans*, at the Tribute of foure Talents, should inhabite their owne Territorie. That the *Æginetæ*, as many as they had taken, (out of former inueterate hatred) should bee put to death. And that *Tantulus* should be put in bonds amongst those *Lacedæmonians* that were taken in the \* *Iland*.

In *Sicily* the same Summer, was concluded a cessation of Armes, first, betweene the *Camarinaans* and the *Geloans*. But afterwards the rest of the *Sicilians*, assembling by E their Ambassadors out of euery City at *Gela*, held a Conference amongst themselues, for making of a Peace:

I i 2

wherein,

The *Ath* *Æginetæ* burnt *Thyrea*, slay and make prisoners of all the Inhabitants being *Æginetæ*.

*Tantulus* a *Lacedæmonian* Captaine carried prisoner to *Athens*.

The Decree of the *Athenian* people concerning the *Cythreans*, the *Æginetæ* taken in *Thyrea*, and *Tantulus* a *Lacedæmonian* that was amongst them.  
\* *Cyclades*.  
The *Æginetæ* put to death.

\* *Sphacteria*.  
The *Sicilians* make a general peace, by the aduice of *Hermocrates*, and so dismissthe the *Athenians*, that waited to take advantage of their discord.

wherein, after many opinions deliuered by men disagree-  
ing, and requiring satisfaction, euery one as hee thought  
himselfe preiudiced, *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermon*, a  
*Syracusan*, who also preuailed with them the most, spake  
vnto the Assembly, to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF HER- MOCRATES for Peace.

**M**EN of Sicily, I am neither of the least Citie, nor of the  
most afflicted with Warre, that am now to speake, and to **B**  
deliuer the opinion which I take to conduce most to the common be-  
nefit of all Sicily. Touching Warre, how calamitous a thing it is,  
to what end should a man, particularizing the evils thereof, make a  
long speech before men that already know it? For neither doth the  
not knowing of them necessitate any man to enter into Warre, nor the  
feare of them, diuert any man from it, when he thinks it will turne  
to his aduantage. But rather it so fallies out, that the one thinks  
the gaine greater then the danger; and the other prefers danger be-  
fore present losse. But least they should both the one and the other  
doe it vnseasonably, exhortations vnto peace are profitable, and **C**  
will be very much worth to vs, if we will follow them, at this pre-  
sent. For it was out of a desire that euery Citie had to assure their  
owne, both that we fell our selues into the Warre, and also that wee  
endeuour now, by reasoning the matter, to returne to mutuall ami-  
ty. Which if it succeed not so well, that we may depart satisfied e-  
uery man with reason, wee will be at Warres againe. Neuerthelesse  
you must know, that this Assembly, if we be wise, ought not to bee  
onely for the commodity of the Cities in particular, but how to pre-  
serue Sicily in generall, now sought to bee subdued (at least in my  
opinion) by the Athenians. And you ought to thinke, that the **D**  
Athenians are more vrgent perswaders of the Peace then any  
words of mine; who hauing, of all the Grecians, the greatest  
power, lye here with a few Gallies, to obserue our errours, and by  
a lawfull title of alliance, handsomely to accomodate their naturall ho-  
stility, to their best aduantage. For if wee enter into a Warre, and  
call in these men, who are apt enough to bring their Armie in, we  
called, and if we weaken our selues at our owne charges, and withall  
cut out for them the dominion here, it is likely, when they shall  
see vs spent, they will sometime hereafter come vpon vs, with a  
greater Fleet, and attempt to bring all these States into their sub-  
jection. Now, if we were wise, we ought rather to call in **E**  
derates,

**A** derates, and vndergoe dangers, for the winning of somewhat that is  
none of ours, then for the empayring of what we already haue; and to  
beleue, that nothing so much destroyes a Citie as Sedition; and that  
Sicily, though wee the inhabitants thereof, bee insidiated by the A-  
thenians, as one body, is neuerthelesse Citie against Citie in Sediti-  
on within it selfe. In contemplation whereof, wee ought, man with  
man, and Citie with Citie, to returne againe into amity, and with  
one consent, to endeouour the safety of all Sicily; and not to haue this  
conceit, that though the \* Dorians be the Athenians enemies, yet  
the \* Chalcideans are safe, as being of the race of the Ionians.  
**B** For they inuade not these diuided races, vpon hatred of a side, but  
vpon a couetous desire of those necessities which we enioy in common.  
And this they haue proued themselves, in their coming hither to ayde  
the Chalcideans. For though they neuer receiued any aide by ver-  
tue of their League, from the Chalcideans, yet haue they on their  
part bene more forward to helpe them, then by the League they were  
bound vnto. Indeed the Athenians, that couet and meditate these  
things, are to be pardoned. I blame not those that are willing to reigne,  
but those that are most willing to be subiect. For it is the nature of  
man, euery where to command such as giue way, and to be shy of such  
**C** as assaile. Wee are too blame, that know this, and doe not provide  
accordingly, and make it our first care of all, to take good order against  
the common feare. Of which wee should soone bee deliuered, if wee  
would agree amongst our selues. For the Athenians come not a-  
gainst vs out of their owne Countrey, but from theirs here, that haue  
called them in. And so, not Warre by Warre, but all our quarrels shall  
be ended by peace, without trouble. And those that haue bene cal-  
led in, as they came with faire pretence to iniure vs, so shall they with  
faire reason bee dismissed by vs without their errand. And thus much  
for the profit that will be found by aduising wisely concerning the A-  
thenians. But when Peace is confessed by all men to be the best of  
things, why should wee not make it also in respect of our selues? Or  
doe you thinke perhaps, if any of you possesse a good thing, or bee pres-  
sed with an euill, that Peace is not better then Warre, to remoue the  
later, or preferue the former, to both? or that it hath not honours,  
and eminence more free from danger? or whatsoeuer else one might  
discourse at large concerning Warre? Which things considered, you  
ought not to make light of my aduice, but rather make vse of it, euery  
one to provide for his owne safety. Now if some man bee strongly con-  
ceited to goe through with some designe of his, be it by right or by vio-  
**E** lence, let him take heed that hee faile not, so much the more to his  
griefe, as it is contrary to his hope; knowing that many men ere now,  
hunting

\* The Dorians and Ionians are two Nations, the first of which almost all the people of Greece were descended from. The Chalcideans and Athenians were Ionians, and the Lacedaemonians and most of Peloponnesus were Dorians. Hence it is that the Chalcideans should be thought safe, though the Athenians inuaded Sicily, but the Dorians not.



hunting after reuenge on such as had done them iniury, and others A  
trusting by some strength they haue had, to take away anothers right,  
haue the first sort, in stead of being reuenged, been destroyed, and the  
other in stead of winning from others, left behind them what they had  
of their owne. For reuenge succeeds not according to Iustice, as that  
because an iniury hath beene done, it should therefore prosper, nor is  
strengih therefore sure, because hopefull. It is the instabili-  
ty of Fortune, that is most predominant in things to come, which though  
it be the most deceiueable of all things yet appears to be the most pro-  
fitable. For whilst every one feare it alike, we proceed against each  
other with the greater prouidence. Now therefore terrified doubly, B  
both with the implicate feare of the incertainty of euent, and with the  
terror of the Athenians present, and taking these for hindrances  
sufficient, to haue made vs come short of what we had seuerally con-  
ceiued to effect, let vs send away our enemies that houer ouer vs, and  
make an eternall peace amongst our selues, or if not that, then a Truce,  
at least for as long as may be, and put off our priuate quarrels to some  
other time. In summe, let vs know this, that following my counsell, we  
shall euery of vs haue our Cities free, whereby being Masters of our  
selues, we shall be able to remunerate according to their merit, such as  
doe vs good or harme. Whereas reiecting it and following the coun-  
sell of others, our contention shall no more be how to be reuenged, or at  
the best, if it be, we must be forced to become friends to our greatest  
enemies, and enemies to such as we ought not. For my part, as I sayd  
in the beginning, I bring to this the greatest Citie, and which is rather  
an assaylant then assayled; and yet foreseeing these things, I hold it fit  
to come to an agreement, and not so to hurt our enemies, as to hurt our  
selues more. Nor yet through foolish \* spight will I looke to be follow-  
ed as absolute in my will, and master of Fortune, which I cannot com-  
mand; but will also giue way where it is reason. And so I looke the rest  
should doe as well as I, and that of your selues, and not forced to it by D  
the enemy. For it is no dishonour to be ouercome kinsmen of kinsmen,  
one Dorian of another Dorian; and one Chalcidean of another  
of his owne race, or in sum, any one by another of vs being neighbours,  
and cohabiters of the same Region, encompassed by the Sea, and all cal-  
led by one name Sicilians. Who, as I conceiue, will both warre when  
it happens, and againe by common conferences make peace, by our owne  
selues. But when Forrainers inuade vs we shall, if wise, vnite all of  
vs to encounter them; in as much as being weakned singly, wee are in  
danger vniuersally. As for Confederates, let vs neuer hereafter, call  
in any, nor Arbitrators. For so shall Sicily attaine these two bene- E  
fits, to be ridde of the Athenians, and of Domestique Warre for the  
present,

\* spight.

A present, and to be inhabited by our selues with liberty, and less  
infidiated by others for the time to come.

Hermocrates hauing thus spoken, the Sicilians followed  
his aduice, and agreed amongst themselues, That the Warre  
should cease, euery one retaining what they then presently enioyed.  
And that the Camarinians should haue Morgantina, paying for  
the same vnto the Syracusians, a certaine summe of money then  
assessed.

They that were Confederates with the Athenians, cal-  
ling such of the Athenians vnto them, as were in authority,  
told them that they also were willing to compound, and  
be comprehended in the same Peace; And the Athenians  
approouing it, they did so; and hereupon the Athenians  
departed out of Sicily. The people of Athens, when their  
Generals came home banished two, namely Pythadorus and  
Sophocles; and laid a Fine vpon the third, which was Eury-  
medon, as men that might haue subdued the estates of Sicily,  
but had been \* bribed to returne. So great was their  
fortune at that time, that they thought nothing could  
C crosse them, but that they might haue achieved both easie,  
and hard enterprises with great & slender forces alike. The  
cause whereof, was the vnrasonable prosperity of most  
of their designes, subministring strength vnto their hope.

The same Summer the Megareans in the Cite of Mega-  
ra, pinched both by the Warre of the Athenians, who inua-  
ded their Territory, with their whole forces, euery yeere  
twice, and by their owne Outlawes from Pege, who in a  
sedition driuen out by the Commons, grievously afflicted  
them with robberies, began to talke one to another, how it  
D was fit to call them home againe, and not to let their Ci-  
tie by both these meanes to be ruined. The friends of  
those without, perceiuing the rumour, they also, more o-  
penly now, then before, required to haue it brought to  
Counsell. But the Patrons of the Commons, fearing that  
they with the Commons, by reason of the miseries they  
were in should not be able to carry it against the other  
side, made an offer to Hippocrates the sonne of Ariston, and  
Demosthenes the sonne of Alcibiades, Commanders of the  
Athenian Army, to deliuer them the City, as esteeming that  
E course lesse dangerous to themselves, then the reduction  
of those whom they had before driuen out. And they  
agreed,

The substance of the  
conditions of the Peace  
in Sicily.  
Camarina.

The Athenians depart Si-  
cily, and their Commans  
ders punished as sup-  
posed to haue lent money for  
a bribe.

\* Nothing was more frequent  
in the Athenian Assemblies  
at this time, when men things  
went amisse, to accuse one an-  
other of bribery; for it was a  
sure way to win fauour with  
the people, who thought that  
nothing was able to resist  
their power.

The Athenians attempt to  
take Megara by treason.

The heads of the Com-  
mons doe hinder the re-  
turne of the Outlawes  
plot, the betraying of the  
City to the Athenians.



The plot laid by the Traitors for the putting of the Athenians into the Towne.

\* This Island lying before the Haven Nisæa, made the Port, and the Athenians kept in it, an ordinary Garrison, every since they took it first, and could see all the Haven, and what vessels lay in it, but could not enter.

The plot of the Traitors, to give the Athenians the Long-walls.

\* To get booty from the Athenians.

\* Not the Gates of Megara, but the Gates in the Long-walls were into Nisæa, as appears by the Narration. \* as before.

\* To take it in, for it was almost morning.

The Athenians win the Long-walls.

\* Those that watched in that part of Nisæa, which was nearest to this Gate of the Long-walls.

agreed, that first, the Athenians should possess themselves A of the Long-walls, (these were about eight furlongs in length, and reached from the Citie to Nisæa, their Haven) thereby to cut off the aide of the Peloponnesians, in Nisæa, in which (the better to assure Megara to the side) there lay no other Souldiers in Garrison, but they. And then afterwards, that these men, would attempt to deliver them the City above, which would the more easily succeed, if that were effected first. The Athenians therefore, after all was done, and said on both sides, and every thing ready, layled away by night to \* Minoa, an Island of the Megare- B ans, with 600 men of Armes led by Hippocrates, and sette downe in a certaine pit, out of which Bricks had beene made for the walles, and which was not farre off. But they that were with the other Commander Demosthenes, light-armed Plataans, and others called Peripoli, lay in ambush at the Temple of Mars, not so farre off as the former. And none of the Citie perceived any thing of this, but onely such as had peculiar care to know the passages of this same night. When it was almost day, the Megare- C an Traitors did thus. They had beene accustomed long, as men that went out for \* booty, with leaue of the Magistrates, of whom they had obtained by good Offices, the opening of the \* Gates, to carry out a little Boate, \* such as wherein the watermen vsed an Oare in either hand, and to conueigh it by night, downe the Ditch to the Sea-side in a Cart, and in a Cart to bring it backe againe, and set it within the Gates, to the end that the Athenians which lay in Minoa, might not know where to watch for them, no Boat being to be seene in the Haven. At this time was that Cart at the Gates, which was opened according to D custome, as for the \* Boate. And the Athenians, seeing it (for so it was agreed on) arose from their Ambush, and ran with all speed, to get in before the Gates should be shut againe, and to be there whilst the Cart was yet in the Gates and kept them open. And first those Plataans, and Peripoli, that were with Demosthenes, ranne in, in that same place where the Trophee is now extant; and fighting presently within the Gates (for those Peloponnesians that were \* nearest heard the stirre,) the Plataans ouercame those that resisted, and made good the Gates for the Athe- E nian men of Armes, that were coming after.

After

A After this, the Athenian Souldiers, as they entred, went vpon euery one to the wall, and a few of the Peloponnesians that were of the Garrison, made head, at first, and fought, and were some of them slaine, but the most of them took their heeles; fearing in the night, both the enemy that charged them, and also the traitors of the Megareans that fought against them, apprehending that all the Megareans in generall had betrayed them. It chanced also that the Athenian Herald, of his owne discretion, made Proclamation, that if any Megaraan would take part with the Athenians, he should B come and lay downe his Armes. When the Peloponnesians heard this, they stayed no longer, but seriously beleecuing that they ioyntly warred vpon them, fled into Nisæa. As soone as it was day, the walls being now taken, and the Megareans being in a tumult within the Citie, they that had treated with the Athenians, and with them, the rest, as many as were conscious, said it was fit to haue the gates opened, and to goe out and giue the enemy battell. Now it was agreed on betweene them, that when the \* gates were open, the Athenians should rush in. And that themselves would be C easily knowne from the rest, to the end they might haue no harm done them, for that they would besmeare themselves with some ointment. And the opening of the gates would be for their greater safety. For the 4000 men of Armes of Athens, and 600 horsemen which according to the appointment were to come to the, hauing marched all night, were already arriued. When they had besmeared themselves and were now about the gates one of those who were priuy discovered the conspiracy to the rest that were not. These ioy- D ning their strength, came all together to the gates, denying that it was fit to goe out to fight; (For that neither in former times when they were stronger then now, durst they do so) or to put the Citie into so manifest a danger. And said, that if they would not be satisfied, the battell should be there right. Yet they discovered not that they knew of the practice, but only, as hauing given good aduice, meant to maintaine it. And they stayed at the gates, inso much as the traitors could not perform what they intended. The Athenian Commanders, knowing some cross accident had hapned, and that they could not take the Citie by assault, fell to E enclosing of Nisæa with a wall, which if they could take before ayde came, they thought Megara would the sooner yeeld. Iron was quickly brought vnto them from Athens, K k and

The Traitors giue aduice to open the Gates and giue battell.

\* Of the Citie it selfe of Megara.

The Treason discovered.

The Athenians failing of Megara, take Nisæa, and demolisheth the Long-walls.

and Masons, and whatsoeuer els. was necessary. And begin-  
 A ning at the \* wall they had won, when they had built crosse  
 ouer to the other side, from thence both wayes they drew  
 it on to the Sea on either side: *Nisæa*, and hauing distri-  
 buted the wo<sup>rk</sup>e amongst the Army, as well the Wall as  
 the Ditch, they serued themselves of the stones and bricke  
 of the suburbs, & hauing felled trees, and timber, they sup-  
 plied what was defectiue, with a strong Palissado; the  
 houses also themselves of the suburbs, when they had put  
 on battlements, serued them for a fortification. All that  
 day they wrought, the next day about Euening they had  
 B within very little finished. But then, they that were in *Ni-*  
*sæa*, seeing themselves to want victuall, (for they had none  
 but what came day by day from the Citie aboue) & with-  
 out hope that the *Peloponnesians* could quickly come to re-  
 lieue them, conceiuing also that the *Megareans* were their  
 enemies, compounded with the *Athenians* on these termes,  
 To be dismissed euery one at a certaine ranfome in mony; to deliuer  
 vp their armes; and the *Lacedæmonians*, both the Capitaine, and  
 whofoeuer of them else was within, to be at discretion of the *Athe-*  
 nians. Hauing thus agreed, they went out. And the *Atheni-*  
 C ans, when they had \* broken off the Long walls from the City  
 of *Megara*, and taken in *Nisæa*, prepared for what was fur-  
 ther to be done. *Brasidas* the sonne of *Tellis*, a *Lacedæmonian*,  
 happened at this time to be about *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, prepa-  
 ring of an army to go into *Thrace*. And when he heard of  
 the taking of the Long walls, fearing what might become of  
 the *Peloponnesians* in *Nisæa*, and lest *Megara* should be won,  
 sent vnto the *Bæotians*, willing them to meet him speedily  
 with their forces at *Tripodiscus* (a village of *Megara*, so cal-  
 led, at the foot of the hill *Geranea*) and marched presently  
 D himselfe with 2700 men of armes of *Corinth*, 400 of *Phlius*,  
 600 of *Sicyon*, and those of his owne, all that he had yet le-  
 uied; thinking to haue found *Nisæa* yet vntaken. When he  
 heard the contrary (for he set first towards *Tripodiscus* in  
 the night) with 300 men chosen out of the whole army,  
 before newes should arriue of his coming, he came vnseene  
 of the *Athenians* that lay by the Sea side, to the City of *Me-*  
*gara*, pretending in word, & intending also in good earnest,  
 if he could haue done it, to attempt vpo *Nisæa*, but desiring  
 to get into *Megara* to confirme it, and required to be let in,  
 E for that he was, he said, in hope to recouer *Nisæa*. But the  
*Megarean* Factions being afraid, \* one, lest he should bring  
 in

the wall of the City  
 was made of stones

Not pulled downe  
 there, but were pulled  
 out, to make a defence in any  
 part of the City, and they  
 were used to the walls of the  
 City.

Brasidas senteth 2700 men  
 from beinge rendred to  
 the Athenians.

The City doeth to put  
 him selfe into the City.

\* The Citizens of the Coun-  
 tiens.

A in the Outlawes, and cast out them; the \* other, lest the  
 Commons, out of this very feare, should assault them, when  
 by the City (being at battell within it selfe, and the *Atheni-*  
 ans lying in wait so neere) would be lost, receiued him not,  
 but resolu'd on both sides to sit still, and attend the suc-  
 cesse. For both the one faction and the other expected,  
 that the *Athenians*, and these that came to succour the City,  
 would ioyne battell; and then they might with more safe-  
 ty, such as were the fauoured side, turne vnto them that  
 had the victory. And *Brasidas*, not preuailing, went backe  
 B to the rest of the \* Army. Betimes in the morning, arriued  
 the *Bæotians*, hauing also intended to come to the aide of  
*Megara*, before *Brasidas* sent, as esteeming the danger to  
 concerne themselves, and were then with their whole for-  
 ces come forward as farre as *Platea*. But when they had  
 receiued also this message, they were a great deale the more  
 encouraged; and sent 2200 men of Armes, and 200 horse,  
 to *Brasidas*, but went backe with the greater part of their  
 Army. The whole Army being now together of no lesse  
 C then 6000 men of Armes. And the *Athenian* men of Armes  
 lying indeed in good order, about *Nisæa*, and the Sea side,  
 but the light-armed straggling in the Plaines, the *Bæotian*  
 horsemen came vnexpected vpon the light-armed Soul-  
 diers, and droue them towards the Sea. For in all this time  
 till now, there had come no aide at all to the *Megareans*  
 from any place. But when the *Athenian* horse went likewise  
 out to encounter them, they fought, and there was a battell  
 between the horsemen of either side, that held long, where-  
 in both sides claimed the victory. For the *Athenians* slew the  
 D Generall of the *Bæotian* horse, and some few others, and  
 rifled them, hauing themselves bin first chased by them to  
*Nisæa*. And hauing these dead bodies in their power, they  
 restored them vpon truce, and erected a Trophie. Neuer-  
 the lesse, in respect of the whole action, neither side went  
 off with assurance, but parting asunder, the *Bæotians* went  
 to the Army, and the *Athenians* to *Nisæa*.

After this, *Brasidas* with his Army, came downe neerer  
 to the Sea, and to the City of *Megara*; and hauing sea-  
 zed on a place of aduantage, set his Army in battell ar-  
 ray, and stood still. For they thought the *Athenians*  
 E would bee assaylants, and knew the *Megareans* stood  
 obseruing whether side should haue the Victory;  
 and

\* The Nobility.

Brasidas goeth backe to  
 Tripodiscus.  
 \* At Tripodiscus.

The Bæotians come with  
 their forces, and ioyne  
 with Brasidas.

The Bæotian, and Atheni-  
 an horse skirmish.

The whole Army on ei-  
 ther side, face one ano-  
 ther, but neither side  
 willing to begin.

\* Brasidas if he saved the Towne from the Athenians had his end. Therefore by showing him self ready if the Athenians would not fight, he gained this, that he should be let into the towne, which was all he can e for, and therefore mightily be counted a Victor.

\* *αὐτοῖσι*, without doubt.

\* The period is somewhat long, and seems to be one of the many that gave occasion to Dionysius Halicarnassus, to censure the Authors elocution.

The Megarens receiveth Brasidas and his Army.

The Megarean Outlawes recalled, and sworne to forget former quarrell.

and that it must needs fall out well for them both wayes; A first, because they should not be the assaylant, and voluntarily begin the battel and danger, since having shewed themselves ready to fight, the victory must also \* iustly be attributed to them \* without their labour. And next it must fall out well in respect of the Megareans. For if they should not haue come in fight, the matter had not beene any longer in the power of fortune, but they had without all doubt been presently depriued of the City, as men conquered. Whereas now, if haply, the Athenians declined battell likewise, they should obtaine what they came for B without stroke stricken. Which also indeed came to passe. \* For the Megareans, when the Athenians went out and ordered their Army without the Long-walls, but yet (because the enemy charged not) stood also still, (their Commanders likewise, considering that if they should begin the battell, against a number greater then their owne, after the greatest part of their enterprize was already achieved, the danger would be vnequall; For if they should overcome, they could win but Megara, and if they were vanquished, must lose the best part of their men of Armes; C Whereas the enemy, who out of the whole power, and number that was present in the field, did aduenture but euery one a part, would in all likelihood, put it to the hazard) And so for a while affronted each other, and neither doing any thing, withdrew againe, the Athenians first into Nisaea, and afterwards the Peloponnesians to the place from whence they had set forth; then, I say, the Megareans, such as were the friends of the Outlawes, taking heart, because they saw the Athenians were vnwilling to fight, set open the Gates to Brasidas as Victor, and to the rest of the Captaines of the seuerall Cities; And when they were in, D (those that had practised with the Athenians, being all the while in a great feare) they went to Councell. Afterwards, Brasidas, having dismissed his Confederates, to their seuerall Cities, went himselfe to Corinth, in pursute of his former purpose to leuy an Army for Thrace. Now the Megareans that were in the Citie, (when the Athenians also were gone home) all that had chiefe hand in the practice with the Athenians, knowing themselves discovered, presently slipt away; but the rest, after they had conferred E with the friends of the Outlawes, recalled them from

Pega,

A Pega, vpon great oathes administred vnto them, no more to remember former quarrels, but to giue the Citie their best aduice.

These, when they came into Office, tooke a view of the Armes, and disposing bands of Souldiers in diuers quarters of the Citie, picked out of their enemies, and of those that seemed most to haue co-operated in the treason with the Athenians, about a hundred persons; and having constrained the people to giue their sentence vpon them \* openly, when they were condemned, slew them; and established in the Citie, the estate almost of an Oligarchy. And this change of gouernment, made by a few vpon sedition, did neuerthelesse continue for a long time after.

The same Summer, when Antandrus was to be furnished by the Mitylenians as they intended, Demodicus, and Aristides, Captaines of certaines Gallies, set forth by the Athenians to fetch in Tribute, being then about Hellespont (for Lamachus that was the third in that Commission, was gone with ten Gallies into Pontus) hauing notice of the preparation made in that place; and thinking it would be dangerous to haue it happen there, as it had done in Anea, ouer against Samos, in which the Samian Outlawes, hauing settled themselves, ayded the Peloponnesians in matters of the Sea, by sending them Steersmen, and both bred trouble within the Citie, and entertained such as fled out of it, leuyed an Army amongst the Confederates, and marched to it, and hauing overcome in fight, those that came out of Antandrus against them, recovered the place againe. And not long after, Lamachus that was gone into Pontus, as he lay at Anchor in the Riuer Calix, in the territory of Heraclea, much raine hauing fallen aboue in the Countrey, and the streame of a Land Flood comming suddenly downe, lost all his Gallies, and came himselfe and his Army through the Territory of the Bithynians, (who are Thracians dwelling in Asia, on the other side) to Chalcedon, a Colony of the Megareans, in the mouth of Pontus Euxinus, by Land.

The same Summer likewise, Demosthenes, Generall of the Athenians, with fortie Gallies, presently after his departure out of Megaris, sayled to Naupactus. For certaine E men in the Cities thereabouts, desiring to change the forme of the Boeotian gouernment, and to turne it into a Democratic,

The Outlawes being in authority, put to death 100 of the aduerser faction.

\* Because they should not dare but to condemn them, yet they would not haue done, if their sentence had not by secret suggestion.

The Mitylenian Outlawes lose the City of Antandrus which they had intended to fortifie and make the seat of their Warre.

Lamachus loseth his ten Gallies by a sudden Land-flood, in Pontus.

Demosthenes goeth to Naupactus, vpon designe against the Boeotians.

The Plot laid be-  
tweene certaine *Bæoti-*  
*ans*, and the *Athenians*,  
how to bring *Bæotia* into  
the power of the *Atheni-*  
*ans*.

*Democratic*, according to the gouernment of *Athens*, practi- A  
sed with him and *Hippocrates*, to betray vnto him the  
estates of *Bæotia*: Induced thereunto, principally by *Pæc-*  
*dorus* a *Theban* Outlaw. And they ordered the designe  
thus. Some had vndertaken to deliuer vp *Sipha*. (*Sipha*  
is a Citie of the Territory of *Thespie*, standing vpon the  
Sea side, in the *Crissaan* Gulfe) and *Cheronea* (which was  
a Towne that payed duties to *Orchomenus*; called heretofore  
*Orchomenus* in *Minyeia*, but now *Orchomenus* in *Bæotia*) some  
others, of *Orchomenus*, were to surrender into their hands.  
And the *Orchomenian* Outlawes had a principall hand in B  
this, and were hyring Soldiers to that end out of *Peloponne-*  
*sus*. This *Cheronea* is the vmost Towne of *Bæotia* to-  
wards *Phanotis* in the Countrey of *Phocis*, and some *Phoci-*  
*ans* also dwelt in it. On the other side, the *Athenians* were to  
seaze on *Delium*, a place consecrated to *Apollo*, in the Terri-  
tory of *Tanagra*, on the part toward *Eubæa*. All this ought  
to haue been done together vpon a day appointed, to the  
end, that the *Bæotians* might not oppose them with their  
forces vnited, but might be troubled euery one to defend  
his owne. And if the attempt succeeded, and that they C  
once fortified *Delium*, they easily hoped, though no change  
followed in the state of the *Bæotians* for the present, yet be-  
ing possessed of those places, and by that meanes, continual-  
ly fetching in prey, out of the Countrey, because there was  
for euery one a place at hand to retire vnto, that it could  
not stand long at a stay; but that the *Athenians* ioyning with  
such of them, as rebelled, and the *Bæotians* not hauing their  
forces vnited, they might in time order the State to their  
owne liking. Thus was the Plot layed.

And *Hippocrates* himselfe, with the forces of the Citie, D  
was ready when time should serue to \* march; but sent  
*Demosthenes* before, with forty Gallies to *Naupactus*; to the  
end that he should leuy an Army of *Acaruanians*, and other  
their Confederates in these quarters, and sayle to *Sipha*, to  
receiue it by Treason. And a day was set downe betwixt  
them, on which these things should haue been done toge-  
ther.

*Demosthenes*, when he arriued and found the *Oeniades* by  
compulsion of the rest of *Acaruania*, entred into the *Atheni-*  
*an* Confederation, and had himselfe raised all the Confede- E  
rates thereabouts, made Warre, first vpon *Salynthius*, and  
the

\* Towards *Demissa*.

At the *Agræans*, and hauing taken in other places therea-  
bouts, stood ready when the time should require, to goe to  
*Sipha*.

About the same time of this Summer, *Brasidas* marching  
towards the Cities vpon *Thrace*, with 1700 men of Armes,  
when he came to *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, sent a Messenger  
before him to his friends at \* *Pharalus*, requiring them to be  
guides vnto him, and to his Army. And when there were  
come vnto him, *Panerus*, and *Dorus*, and *Hippolochidas*, and *To-*  
*rylaus*, and *Srophacus*, (who was the publique Hoste of the  
B *Coalcideans*) all which met him *Melitia*, a town of *Achaia*,  
he marched on. There were other of the *Thessalians* also  
that conuoyed him; and from *Larissa*, he was conuoyed by  
*Nicoquidas* a friend of *Perdiccas*. For it had bene hard to  
passe *Thessaly* without a guide, howsoeuer, but especially  
with an Army. And to passe through a neighbour Ter-  
ritory without leaue, is a thing that all *Grecians* alike are  
iealous of. Besides, that the people of *Thessaly* had euer  
borne good affection to the *Athenians*. Infomuch, as if by  
custome, the gouernment of that Countrey had not bene

C \* Lordly, rather then a \* Common-wealth he could neuer  
haue gone on. For also now as he marched forward, there  
met him at the Riuer *Enipeus*, others of a contrary mind to  
the former, that forbad him, and told him that he did vn-  
iustly to goe on without the common consent of all. But  
those that conuoyed him answered, that they would not  
bring him through against their wils; but that comming  
to them on a sudden, they conducted him as friends. And  
*Brasidas* himselfe said, he came thither a friend, both to the  
country, and to them; and that he bore Armes, not against  
D them, but against the *Athenians* their enemies. And that he  
neuer knew of any enmity, between the *Thessalians*, & *Lace-*  
*dæmonians*, whereby they might not vse one anothers ground;  
and that euery now he would not goe on without their con-  
sent; for neither could hee; but onely entreated them not  
to stop him. When they heard this, they went their wayes.  
And he, by the aduice of his guides, before any greater num-  
ber should vnite to hinder him, marched on with all possi-  
ble speed, staying no where by the way; and the same day  
he set forth from *Melitia*, he reached *Pharalus*; and encam-  
E ped by the Riuer *Apidanus*. From thence he went to *Phaci-*  
*um*. From thence, into *Peræbiu*. The *Peræbians*, though  
subiect

*Brasidas* passed through  
*Thessaly*, with 1700 men  
of Armes, to eile the  
*Chalcidians*, that delibera-  
ted a truce.

\* Towards the *Athenian* gou-  
ernment under the name  
of *Demosthenes*, a friend of  
the *Athenians*.

The soft answer of *Bras-*  
*idas*, notwithstanding, hee  
was reioiced to passe.

*Brasidas* goeth apace  
through *Thessaly*.

The cause why Perdiccas and the Chalcideans called in the Lacedæmonians into those parts.

The cause why the Lacedæmonians so willingly sent an army to them.

\* By invasion and ravaging the Country, from Pylus, and the Island Cythera.

\* their servants.

An impious Policy of the Lacedæmonians, in the destroying their Helotes.

subject to the *Thessalonians*, set him at *Dion*, in the Dominion of *Perdiccas*, a little City of the *Macedonians*, situate at the foot of *Olympus*, on the side toward *Thessalie*. In this manner, *Brasidas* ran through *Thessalie*, before any there could put in readinesse to stop him; and came into the Territorie of the *Chalcideans*, and to *Perdiccas*. For *Perdiccas*, and the *Chalcideans*, all that had revolted from the *Athenians*, when they saw the affaires of the *Athenians* prosper, had drawne this Armie out of *Peloponnesus* for feare: the *Chalcideans*, because they thought the *Athenians* would make Warre on them first, as having been also incited thereto, by those Cities amongst them that had not revolted; and *Perdiccas*, not that he was their open enemy, but because he feared the *Athenians* for ancient quarrels; but principally because he desired to subdue *Arrhibæus*, King of the *Lyncestians*. And the ill success which the *Lacedæmonians* in these times had, was a cause that they obtained an Armie from them, the more easily.

For the *Athenians* vexing *Peloponnesus*, and their particular \* Territory *Laconia* most of all, they thought the best way to diuert them, was to send an Armie to the Confederates of the *Athenians*, so to vex them againe. And the rather, because *Perdiccas*, and the *Chalcideans* were content to maintain the Armie, having called it thither to helpe the *Chalcideans* in their revolt. And because also they desired a pretence to send away part of their \* *Helotes*, for feare they should take the opportunity of the present state of their affaires, the enemies lying now in *Pylus* to innouate. For they did also this further. Fearing the youth, and multitude of their *Helotes*, (For the *Lacedæmonians* had euer many Ordinances, concerning how to look to the selues against the *Helotes*,) they caused Proclamation to be made, that as many of the, as claimed the estimation, to haue done the *Lacedæmonians* best seruice in their Warres should be made free; feeling them in this manner, and conceiuing that as they should euery one out of pride deeme himselfe worthy to be first made free, so they would sooneest also rebell against the. And when they had thus preferred about 2000, which also with Crownes on their heads, went in procession about the Temples, as to receiue their liberty, they, not long after made them away, and no man knew how they perished. And now at this

A this time with all their hearts they sent away 700 men of Armes more of the same men, along with *Brasidas*. The rest of the Army were Mercenaries hired by *Brasidas*, out of *Peloponnesus*. But *Brasidas* himselfe the *Lacedæmonians* sent out, chiefly, because it was his owne desire. Notwithstanding the *Chalcideans* also longed to haue him, as one esteemed also in *Sparta*, euery way an actiue man. And when he was out, he did the *Lacedæmonians* very great seruice. For by shewing himselfe at that present iust, and moderate towards the Cities, hee caused the most of them to revolt, and some of them he also tooke by Treason. Whereby it came to passe, that if the *Lacedæmonians* pleased to come to composition (as also they did) they might haue Townes to render and receiue reciprocally.

And also long after, after the *Sicilian Warre*, the vertue, and wisdom which *Brasidas* shewed now, to some knowne by experience, by others, beleueed vpon from report, was the principall cause that made the *Athenian* Confederates affect the *Lacedæmonians*. For being the \* first that went out, and esteemed in all points for a worthy man, he left behind him an assured hope, that the rest also were like him.

Being now come into *Thrace*, the *Athenians* vpon notice, thereof, declared *Perdiccas* an enemy, as imputing to him this expedition, and reinforced the Garrisons in the parts thereabouts.

*Perdiccas* with *Brasidas* and his Army, together with his owne Forces, marched presently against *Arrhibæus* the sonne of *Bromerus*, King of the *Lyncestians*, a people of *Macedonia*, confining on *Perdiccas* his dominion, both for a quarrell they had against him, and also as desiring to subdue him.

When he came with his Army, and *Brasidas* with him, to the place where they were to haue fallen in, *Brasidas* told him that hee desired, before hee made Warre, to draw *Arrhibæus* by parly, if he could, to a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For *Arrhibæus* had also made some proffer by a Herald, to commit the matter to *Brasidas* arbitrement. And the *Chalcidean* Ambassadors being present, gaue him likewise aduice, not to thrust himselfe into danger in fauour of *Perdiccas*, to the end they

The praise of Brasidas.

\* The first that went abroad for Governour into other States, since this Warre. For fifty yeeres before this Warre, *Paulanias* being the Governour of the Grecian Confederates, at *Bizantium*, behaved himselfe insolently, and then *Cimon* an *Athenian* by the vertues now praised in *Brasidas*, got the Confederates to leave the *Lacedæmonians*, and assist the *Athenians*. *Brasidas* ioynd with *Perdiccas*, marcheth towards *Lyncus*.

*Brasidas* refusing to make Warre on *Arrhibæus*.

For the offer of *Arrhibæus*.

And through the aduice of the *Chalcideans*.



they might haue him more prompt in their owne affaires. **A** Besides, the Ministers of *Perdiccas*, when they were at *Lacedæmon*, had spoken there, as if they had meant to bring as many of the places about him as they could, into the *Lacedæmonian* League. So that *Brasidas* fauoured *Arrhibæus*, for the publike good of their owne State. But *Perdiccas* said that he brought not *Brasidas* thither, to be a fudge of his Controuersies, but to destroy those enemies which he should shew him. And that it will be an iniury, seeing he payes the halfe of his Army, for *Brasidas* to parly with *Arrhibæus*. Neuerthelesse, *Brasidas* whether *Perdiccas* **B** would, or not, and though it made a quarrell, had conference with *Arrhibæus*, by whom also hee was induced to withdraw his Army. But from that time forward, *Perdiccas* in stead of halfe, paid but a third part of his Army, as conceiuing himselfe to haue been iniured.

The same Summer, a little before the Vintage, *Brasidas* hauing ioyned to his owne, the forces of the *Chalcideans*, marched to *Acanthus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*. And there arose sedition about receiuing him, betweene such as had ioyned with the *Chalcideans* in calling him thither, and the common people. Neuerthelesse, for feare of their fruits which were not yet gotten in, The multitude was won by *Brasidas* to let him enter alone, and then (after he had said his mind) to aduise what to doe amongst themselves. And presenting himselfe before the multitude, (for he was not vneloquent, though a *Lacedæmonian*;) he spake to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS.

**M**E N of *Acanthus*, The reason why the *Lacedæmonians* haue sent me, and this Army abroad, is to make good what we gaue out in the beginning for the cause of our Warre against the *Athenians*, which was, that we meant to make a Warre for the Libertie of Greece. But if we be come late, as deceived by the Warre there, in the opinion we had, that we our selves should soone haue pulled the *Athenians* downe, without any danger of yours, no man hath reason therefore to blame vs. For we are come as soone as occasion serued, and with your helpe will do our best, to bring them vnder. But I wonder why you shut me forth of **E**  
your

Cometh there in disaste  
to Perdiccas.

Brasidas cometh before  
Acanthus.

And is receiued without  
his army.

**A** your gates and why I was not welcome. For we *Lacedæmonians* haue vndergone this great danger, of passing many dayes iournie through the Territory of Strangers, and shewed all possible zeale, because we imagined that we went to such Confederates, as before wee came, had vs present in their hearts, and were desirous of our coming. And therefore it were hard, that you should now bee otherwise minded, and withstand your owne, and the rest of the Grecians liberty; not onely in that your selues resist vs, but also because others whom I goe to, will be the lesse willing to come in; making difficulty, because you to whom I came first, hauing a flourishing City, and being **B** esteemed wise, haue refused vs: For which I shall haue no sufficient excuse to pleade, but must be thought either to pretend to set up liberty vniusly, or to come weake, and without power to maintaine you against the *Athenians*. And yet against this same Army I now haue, when I went to encounter the *Athenians* at *Nisæa*, though more in number, they durst not hazzard battell. Nor is it likely that the *Athenians* will send forth so great a number against you, as they had in their Fleet there at *Nisæa*. I come not hither to hurt, but to set free the Grecians, and I haue the *Lacedæmonian* Magistrates bound vnto me by great Oathes, that whatsoeuer Confederates shall be added to their side, at least by mee, shall **C** still enioy their owne Lawes. And that wee shall not hold you as Confederates to vs, brought in either by force, or fraud, but on the contrary, be Confederates to you, that are kept in seruitude by the *Athenians*. And therefore I clayme not onely that you be not iealous of mee, especially hauing giuen you so good assurance, or thinke me vnable to defend you, but also that you declare your selues boldly with mee. And if any man be vnwilling so to doe, through feare of some particular man, apprehending that I would put the Citie into the hands of a few, let him cast away that feare; for **D** I came not to side, nor doe I thinke I should bring you an assured liberty, if neglecting the ancient vse here, I should enthrall, either the Multitude, to the Few, or the Few to the Multitude. For to be gouerned so, were worse then the domination of a Forrainger. And there would result from it to vs *Lacedæmonians*, not thanks for our labours, but in stead of honour and glory, an imputation of those \* crimes for which we make Warre amongst the *Athenians*, and which would be more odious in vs then in them, that neuer pretended the \* vertue. For it is more dishonourable, at least, to men in dignity, to amplyse their estate by specious fraud, then by open violence. For the **E** later assayleth with a certaine right of power giuen vs by Fortune, but the other, with the treachery of a wicked conscience.

L 1 2

But

\* Ambition and desire to  
subdue other States.

\* The desire to affect other  
States.



But besides the oath which they haue sworne already, the greatest A further assurance you can haue, is this, That our actions weighed with our words, you must needs beleue, that it is to our profit to doe, as I haue told you. But if after these promises of mine, you shall say, you cannot, and yet for as much as your affection is with vs, will claime impunity for reiecting vs; Or shall say that this liberty I offer you seemes to bee accompanied with danger, and that it were well done to offer it to such as can receiue it, but not to force it vpon any. Then will I call to witnesse the Gods, and \* Heroes of this place, that my counsell which you refuse, was for your good, and will indouour by wasting of your Territory to compell you to it. Nor shall I thinke I doe you therein, any wrong; But haue reason for it from two necessities, one, of the Lacedæmonians, lest whilest they haue your affections, and not your society, they should receiue hurt from your contribution of money to the Athenians; another, of the Grecians, lest they should be hindered of their liberty by your example; for otherwise indeed we could not iustly doe it; nor ought we Lacedæmonians to set any at liberty against their wills, if it were not for some common good. We couet not dominion ouer you, but seeing we haste to make others lay downe the same, we should doe iniury to the greater C part, if bringing liberty to the other States in generall, we should tolerate you to crosse vs. Deliberate well of these things, strue to be the beginners of Liberty in Greece, to get your selues eternall glory, to preserue euery man his priuate estate from dammage, and to inuest the whole Citie with a most honourable \* Title. Thus spake Brasidas.

The Acanthians, after much said on either side, partly for that which Brasidas had effectually spoken, and partly for feare of their fruits abroad, the most of them decreed D to reuolt from the Athenians, hauing giuen their votes in secret. And when they had made him take the same oath, which the Lacedæmonian Magistrates tooke, when they sent him out; namely, that what Confederates soeuer he should ioine to the Lacedæmonians, should enioy their owne Lawes, they receiued his Army into the City. And not long after, reuolted Stagyru, another Colony of the Andrians. And these were the Acts of this Summer.

In the very beginning of the next Winter, when the Bæ- E otian Cities should haue been deliuered to Hippocrates and Demosthenes,

\* See the place in the  
Part to haue been given  
to a gadon in a mountain.

The rule of a free City.

The result of the action.

The result of the action.

The end of the eighth  
Summer.

A Demosthenes, Generals of the Athenians, and that Demosthenes should haue gone to Siphæ, and Hippocrates to Delium, ha- uing mistaken the dayes, on which they should haue both set forward, Demosthenes went to Siphæ \* first, and hauing with him the Acarnans, and many Confederates of those parts in his Fleet, yet lost his labour. For the Treason was detected by one Neomachus a Phocæan, of the Towne of Phanotis, who told it vnto the Lacedæmonians, and they againe vnto the Bæotians. Whereby the Bæotians concur- ring vniuersally to relieue those places, (for Hippocrates B was not yet gone to trouble them in their owne seuerall Territories) preoccupied both Siphæ, and Chæronea. And the Conspirators knowing the errour, attempted in those Cities no further.

But Hippocrates hauing raised the whole power of the Citie of Athens, both Citizens and others that dwelt a- mongst them, and all strangers, that were then there, arri- ued \* afterwards at Delium, when the Bæotians were now returned from Siphæ, and there stayed, and tooke in Delium a Temple of Apollo with a wall; in this manner. Round C about the Temple, and the whole consecrated ground, they drew a Ditch, and out of the Ditch, in stead of a wall, they cast vp the earth, and hauing driuen downe piles on either side, they cast thereinto the matter of the Vineyard about the Temple, which to that purpose they cut downe, together with the Stones and Bricks of the ruined buildings. And by all meanes heightened the fortificati- on, and in such places as would giue leaue, erected Tur- rets of wood vpon the same. There was no Edifice of the Temple standing, for the Cloyster that had been was fal- D len downe. They began the worke, the third day after they set forth from Athens, and wrought all the same day, and all the fourth and the fifth day, till dinner. And then being most part of it finished, the campe came backe from Delium, about ten Furlongs homewards. And the light- armed Souldiers went most of them presently away, but the men of Armes, laid downe their Armes there, and rested. Hippocrates staid yet behind, and tooke order about the Garrison, and about the finishing of the remainder of fortification. The Bæotians tooke the same time to assem- E ble at Tanagra; and when all the Forces were come in, that from euery Citie were expected, and when they vnder- stood

Demosthenes, who was  
sent by the Athenians to  
Siphæ, and was taken  
there, and was led  
backe to Athens.

\* See the place in the  
Part to haue been given  
to a gadon in a mountain.

The Treason detected.

Hippocrates, who was  
sent by the Athenians to  
Delium, and was taken  
there, and was led  
backe to Athens.

\* See the place in the  
Part to haue been given  
to a gadon in a mountain.

The army of the Athe-  
nians, hauing taken De-  
lium, began to retire.

The Bæotians follow them

\* Boeotians, as eleuen in number.

\* It seems that the severall States of Boeotia being free of themselves, and holding together, were united and, as one, resist from them, generally, the first, the Boeotians, and then they had the leading of the common forces by number.

flood that the Athenians drew homewards, though the rest A of the \* Boeotian Commanders, which were eleuen, approached not giving battell, because they were not now in Boeotia (for the Athenians, when they laid downe their Armes, were in the Confines of Oropia) yet Pagondas the sonne of Aioladas, being the \* Boeotian Commander \* for Thebes, whose turne it was to haue the leading of the Army, was, together with Ariantidas the sonne of Lyfmachidas, of opinion on to fight, and held it the best course to try the fortune of a battell; wherefore calling them vnto him euery Company by it selfe, that they might not be all at once from their B Armes, he exhorted the Boeotians to march against the Athenians, and to hazard battell, speaking in this manner.

### THE ORATION OF PAGONDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN of Boeotia, it ought neuer to haue so much as entered into the thought of any of vs the Commanders, that because we finde not the Athenians now in Boeotia, it C should therefore be vnfit to giue them battell. For they, out of a bordering Countrey haue entered Boeotia, and fortified in it, with intent to waste it, and are indeed enemies in whatsoever ground wee find them, or whence soeuer they come, doing the acts of hostility. But now if any man thinke it also vnwise, let him henceforth be of another opinion. For providence in them that are invaded, endureth not such deliberation concerning their owne, as may be used by them, who retaining their owne, out of desire to enlarge, voluntarily invade the estate of another. And it is the custome of this Countrey of yours, when a forraine enemy comes against you, to fight with him, D both on your owne, and on your neighbours ground alike; but much more you ought to doe it, against the Athenians, when they be borderers. \* For liberty with all men, is nothing else but to be a match for the Cities that are their neighbours. With these then that attempt the subingation, not onely of their neighbours, but of estates farre from them, why should we not try the utmost of our fortune? We haue for example, the estate that the Euboeans ouer against vs, and also the greatest part of the rest of Greece do liue in vnder them. And you must know, that though others fight with their neighbours, about the bounds of their Territories, wee E if we be vanquished shall haue but one bound amongst vs all; so that

\* So that to fore as a State hath neighbours strong enough to invade it, it is no more to be thought a free State.

A that wee shall no more quarrell about limits. For if they enter, they will take all our seuerall states into their owne possession by force. So much more dangerous is the neighbourhood of the Athenians, then of other people. And such as vpon confidence in their strength invade their neighbours, (as the Athenians now doe) vse to bee bolde in warring on those that sit still, defending themselves onely in their owne Territories; whereas they be lesse vrgent to those that are ready to meete them without their owne limits, or also to beginne the Warre when opportunity serueth. We haue experience hereof in these same men; for after wee had overcome them at Coronea, at what time B through our owne sedition, they held our Countrey in subiection, wee established a great security in Boeotia, which lasted till this present. Remembring which, wee ought now, the elder sort to imitate our former acts there, and the younger sort, who are the children of those valiant Fathers, to endeavour not to disgrace the vertue of their Houses; but rather with confidence that the God, whose Temple fortified they vnlawfully dwell in, will bee with vs, the Sacrifices wee offered him appearing faire, to march against them, and let them see, that though they may gaine what they couet, when they invade such as will not fight, yet men that haue the generosity to hold their owne in liberty by C battell, and not invade the state of another vnjustly, will neuer let them goe away vnsloughten.

Pagondas with this exhortation perswaded the Boeotians to march against the Athenians, and making them \* rise, led them speedily on, for it was drawing towards night, and when he was neere to their Army, in a place, from whence by the interposition of a Hill they saw not each other, making a stand, he put his Armie into order, and prepared to giue Battell. When it was told Hippocrates, who was D then at Delium, that the Boeotians were marching after them, he sends presently to the Armie, commanding them to bee put in array, and not long after hee came himselfe, hauing left some 300. Horse about Delium, both for a guard to the place, if it should be assaulted, and withall to watch an opportunity to come vpon the Boeotians when they were in fight. But for these, the Boeotians appointed some Forces purposely to attend them. And when all was as it should be, they shewed themselves from the toppe of the Hill. Where they sat downe with their Armes, in E the same order they were to fight in; being about seuen thousand men of Armes, of light-armed Souldiers, about tenne

\* It was the fashion in those times, for the Souldiers to sit downe with their Armes by them, when they staide any where in the Field.

The order of the Army of the Boeotians.

\* The Lake Copais.

The order of the army of the Athenians.

tenne thousand, a thousand Horsemen, and five hundred A Targettiers. Their right Wing consisting of the *Thebans*, and their partakers; In the middle battell were the *Haliartians*, *Coroneans*, *Copeans*, and the rest that dwell about the \* Lake; In the left were the *Thebians*, *Tanagræans*, and *Orchomenians*. The Horsemen, and light-armed Souldiers were placed on either wing. The *Thebans* were ordered by twenty five in File, but the rest, every one as it fell out. This was the preparation and order of the *Bæotians*.

The *Athenian* men of Armes, in number, no fewer then B the enemy, were ordered by eight in File throughout. Their Horse they placed on either Wing; but for light-armed Souldiers, armed as was fit, there were none, nor was there any in the City. Those that went out, followed the Campe, for the most part without Armes, as being a generall expedition both of Citizens, and Strangers; and after they once began to make homeward, there stayed few behind. When they were now in their order, and ready to ioine battell, *Hippocrates* the Generall came into the Army of the *Athenians*, and encouraged them, speaking to C this effect.

### THE ORATION OF HIPPOCRATES to his Souldiers.

MEN of Athens, my exhortation shall be short, but with valiant men, it hath as much force as a longer, and is for a remembrance, rather then a command. Let no man thinke, because it is in the Territory of another, that we therefore precipitate our selues into a great danger that did not concerne vs. For D in the Territory of these men, you fight for your owne. If wee get the victory, the Peloponnesians will neuer invade our Territories againe, for want of the *Bæotian* Horsemen. So that in one battell, you shall both gaine this Territory, and free your owne. Therefore march on against the enemy, every one as becommeth the dignity, both of his naturall Citie, (which he glorieth to be chiefe of all Greece) and of his Ancestors, who hauing ouercome these men at Oenophyta, vnder the Conduct of Myronides, were in times past Masters of all *Bæotia*.

Whiles *Hippocrates* was making this exhortation, and had E

A had gone with it ouer halfe the Army, but could proceed no further, the *Bæotians*, (for *Pagonidas* likewise made but a short exhortation, and had there sung the *Paean*) came downe vpon them from the hill. And the *Athenians* likewise went forward to meet them, so fast, that they met together running. The vtmost parts of both the Armies neuer came to ioine, hindred both by one, and the same cause, for certaine currents of water kept them asunder. But the rest made sharpe battell, standing close, and struiuing to put by each others Bucklers. The left wing of the *Bæotians*, to B the very middle of the Army was ouerthrowne by the *Athenians*, who in this part had to deale, amongst others principally with the *Thebians*. For whilest they that were placed within the same wing, gaue backe, and were circled in by the *Athenians* in a narrow compasse, those *Thebians* that were slaine, were hewed downe in the very fight. Some also of the *Athenians* themselues, troubled with inclosing the, through ignorance slew one another. So that the *Bæotians* were ouerthrowne in this part, and fled to the other part, where they were yet in fight. But the right wing wherein C the *Thebans* stood, had the better of the *Athenians*, and by little and little, forced them to giue ground, and followed vpon them from the very first. It hapned also that *Pagonidas*, whilst the left wing of his Army was in distresse, sent two Companies of Horse secretly about the hill; whereby that wing of the *Athenians* which was victorious, apprehending vpon their sudden appearing that they had bin a fresh Army, was put into affright, and the whole Army of the *Athenians*, now doubly terrified, by this accident, and by the *Thebans* that continually won ground, & brake their ranks, D betooke themselues to flight. Some fled toward *Delium*, and the sea; and some towards *Oropus*; others toward the mountaine *Parnethus*, and others other wayes, as to each appeared hope of safety. The *Bæotians*, especially their horse, & those *Locrians* that came in, after the enemy was already defeated, followed, killing the. But night surprising them, the multitude of the that fled, was the easier saued. The next day, those that were gotten to *Oropus* and *Delium*, went thence by Sea to *Athens*, hauing left a Garrison in *Delium*, which place, notwithstanding this defeat, they yet retayned. E The *Bæotians*, when they had erected their Trophy, taken away their owne dead, rifled those of the enemy, and left a M m guard

The *Bæotians* interrupt the Oration.

The *Athenians* flee.

guard vpon the place, returned backe to Tanagra, and there A  
 entred into consultation, for an assault to be made vpon De-  
 lium. In the meane time, a Herald sent from the Athenians,  
 to require the bodies, met with a Herald by the way, sent  
 by the Boeotians, which turned him backe, by telling him he  
 could get nothing done, till himselfe was returned from the  
 Athenians. This Herald, when he came before the Athenians,  
 deliuered vnto them what the Boeotians had giuen him in  
 charge; namely, That they had done iniustly, to transgresse the co-  
 muniuersall law of the Grecians; being a constitution receiued by them  
 all, that the Inuader of anothers country, shall abstaine from all holy B  
 places in the same. That the Athenians had fortified Delium, and  
 dwelt in it, and done whatsoeuer else men vse to doe in places profane,  
 and had drawne that water to the common vse, which was vnlawfull  
 for themselves to haue touched, saue onely to wash their hands for the  
 sacrifice. That therefore the Boeotians, both in the behalfe of the god,  
 and of themselves, inuoking Apollo, and all the interested \* spirits,  
 did warne them to be gone, and to remoue their stuffe out of the Tem-  
 ple. After the Herald had said this, the Athenians sent a He-  
 rald of their owne to the Boeotians, Denying that either they had  
 done any wrong to the holy place already, or would willingly doe any C  
 hurt to it hereafter. For neither did they at first enter into it, to such  
 intent; but to requite the greater injuries which had benee done vnto  
 them. As for the law which the Grecians haue, it is no other, but that  
 they which haue the dominion of any territory great or small, haue euer  
 the Temples also, besides the accustomed rites, may superinduce what  
 other they can. For also the Boeotians, and most men else, all that ha-  
 uing drinen out another nation, possesse their territory, did at first in-  
 uade the Temples of others, and make them their owne. That therefore,  
 if they could win from them more of their Land, they would keepe it;  
 and for the part they were now in, they were in it with a good will, and D  
 would not out of it, as being their owne. That for the water, they medled  
 with it vpon necessity, which was not to be ascribed to insolence, but to  
 this, that fighting against the Boeotians that had inuaded their ter-  
 ritory first, they were forced to vse it. For whatsoeuer is forced by War,  
 or danger, hath in reason a kind of pardon, euen with the god himselfe.  
 For the Altars, in cases of inuoluntary offences, are a refuge; and  
 they are said to violate Lawes, that are euill without constraint, not  
 they that are a little bold vpon occasion of distresse.

That the Boeotians themselves, who require restitution of the ho-  
 ly places, for a redemption of the dead, are more irreligious by farre, E  
 then they, who, rather then let their Temple goe, are content to goe  
 without

Dispute about giuing  
 leaue to the Athenians  
 to take vp their dead.  
 The message of the Boe-  
 otians to the Athenians.

\* Inuolunt.

The message of the Athe-  
 nians to the Boeotians, by  
 a friend of their owne.

without that which were fit for them to receiue. And they bad  
 him say plainly, That they would not depart out of the Boeotian  
 Territory, for that they were not now in it, but in a Territory which  
 they had made their owne by the \* Sword; And neuerthelesse, re-  
 quired Truce according to the Ordinances of the Country, for the  
 fetching away of the dead. To this the Boeotians answered,  
 That if the dead were in Boeotia they should quit the ground; and  
 take with them, whatsoeuer was theirs. But if the dead were in  
 their owne Territory, the Athenians themselves knew best what to  
 doe. For they thought, that though Oropia, wherein the  
 dead lay, (for the battell was fought in the border be-  
 tweene Attica and Boeotia) by subiection belonged to the  
 Athenians, yet they could not fetch them off by force; and  
 for Truce, that the Athenians might come safely on Athenian  
 ground, they would giue none, but conceived it was a  
 handsome answer, to say, That if they would quit the ground,  
 they should obtaine whatsoeuer they required. Which when the  
 Athenian Herald heard, he went his way without effect.  
 The Boeotian, presently sent for Darters and Slingers from  
 the Townes on the Melian Gulfe, and with these, and with C  
 two thousand men of Armes, of Corinth, and with the  
 Peloponnesian Garrison that was put out of Nisaea, and with  
 the Megareans, all which arriued after the battell, they mar-  
 ched forthwith to Delium, and assaulted the wall, and  
 when they had attempted the same many other wayes, at  
 length they brought to it an Engine, wherewith they also  
 tooke it, made in this manner. Hauing slit in two a great  
 Mast, they made hollow both the sides, and curiously set  
 them together againe in forme of a Pipe. At the end of it  
 in chaines they hung a Caldron, and into the Caldron from D  
 the end of the Mast, they conveyed a snowt of Iron, hauing  
 with Iron also armed a great part of the rest of the wood.  
 They carried it to the wall, being farre off, in Carts, to that  
 part where it was most made vp, with the matter of the  
 Vineyard, and with wood. And when it was to, they ap-  
 plied a paire of great bellowes to the end next themselves,  
 and blew. The blast passing narrowly through into the  
 Caldron, in which were coales of fire, brimstone, and pitch,  
 raised an exceeding great flame, and set the wall on fire; so  
 that no man being able to stand any longer on it, but aban-  
 doning the same, and betaking themselves to flight, the  
 wall was by that meanes taken.

M m 2

Of

\* Sould by the Sword.

The reply of the Boe-  
 otians.

The forme of an Engine,  
 wherewith they set the  
 wall on fire.

Delium recovered by the  
 Boeotians.

Of the Defendants, some were slaine, and 200 taken A prisoners. The rest of the number recovered their Gallies; and got home. *Delium* thus taken on the seuenteenth day after the battell, and the Herald, which not long after, was sent againe about the fetching away of the dead, not knowing it, the *Baotians* let him haue them, and answered no more as they had formerly done. In the battell there dyed *Baotians* few lesse then five hundred. *Athenians*, few lesse then a thousand, with *Hippocrates* the Generall; but of light-armed Souldiers, and such as carried the prouisions of the Army, a great number.

Not long after this battell, *Demosthenes*, that had been with his Army at *Sighe*, seeing the Treason succeeded not, hauing aboard his Gallies, his Army of *Acarmanians*, and *Agræans*, and foure hundred men of Armes of *Athens*, landed in *Sicyonia*. But before all his Gallies came to Shoare, the *Sicyonians*, who went out to defend their Territory, put to flight such as were already landed, and chased them backe to their Gallies; hauing also slaine some, and taken some alive. And whē they had erected a Trophy, they gaue Truce to the *Athenians* for the fetching away of their dead.

About the time that these things past at *Delium*, dyed *Sitalces*, King of the *Odrysians*, ouercome in battell, in an expedition against the *Triballians*; And *Seuthes* the son of *Spartocus*, his brothers sonne, succeeded him, in the kingdom both of the *Odrysians*, and of the rest of *Thrace*, as much as was before subiect to *Sitalces*.

The same Winter, *Brasidas*, with the Confederates in *Thrace*, made Warre vpon *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians*, scituated on the Riuer *Strymon*. The place whereon the City now standeth, *Aristagoras* of *Miletus*, had formerly attempted to inhabite, when he fled from King *Darius*, but was beaten away by the *Edonians*. Two and thirty yeeres after this, the *Athenians* assayed the same, and sent thither ten thousand of their owne Citie, and of others as many as would goe. And these were destroyed all by the *Thracians* at *Drabescus*.

In the 29 yeere after, conducted by *Agnon* the sonne of *Nicias*, the *Athenians* came againe, and hauing driuen out the *Edonians*, became Founders of this place, formerly called the *Nine-ways*. This Army lay then at *Eion*, a Towne of E Traffique by the Sea-side, subiect to the *Athenians*, at the mouth

The *Baotians* deliuer to the *Athenians* their dead.

*Demosthenes* landing in *Sicyonia*, is beaten backe by the Inhabitants.

*Sitalces* King of *Thrace*, dyeth, and *Seuthes* his brothers sonne succeedeth him.

*Brasidas* goeth to *Amphipolis*.

The originall of *Amphipolis*.

*Agnon* Founder of *Amphipolis*.

A mouth of the Riuer *Strymon*; five and twenty Furlongs from the Citie; *Agnon* named this City *Amphipolis*, because it was surrounded by the Riuer *Strymon*, that runnes on either side it. When he had taken it in, with a long wall from Riuer to Riuer, he put Inhabitants into the place, being conspicuous round about, both to the Sea, and Land.

Against this Citie marched *Brasidas* with his Armie, dislodging from *Arne* in *Chalcidea*. Being about twilight come as farre as *Aulon* and *Bromiscus*, where the Lake *Bolbe* B entreth into the Sea, hee caused his Armie to suppe, and then marched forward by night. The weather was foule, and a little it snowed, which also made him to march the rather, as desiring that none of *Amphipolis*, but onely the Traytors, should bee aware of his comming. For there were both *Argilians* that dwelt in the same Citie, (now *Argilus* is a Colonie of the *Andrians*) and others, that contriued this, induced thereunto, some by *Perdiccas*, and some by the *Chalcideans*. But about all, the *Argilians* beeing of a City neere vnto it, and euer suspected by the *Athenians*, and C secret enemies to the place, as soone as opportunity was offered, and *Brasidas* arriued, (who had also long before dealt vnderhand with as many of them as dwelt in *Amphipolis*, to betray it) both receiued him into their owne Citie, and revolting from the *Athenians*, brought the Armie forward the same night, as farre as to the bridge of the Riuer. The Towne stood not close to the Riuer, nor was there a Fort at the Bridge then, as there is now, but they kept it onely with a small guard of Souldiers. Hauing easily forced this guard, both in respect of the Treason, and of D the weather, and of his owne vnexpected approach, hee passed the Bridge, and was presently master of whatsoeuer the *Amphipolitans* had, that dwelt without. Hauing thus suddenly passed the Bridge, and many of those without beeing slaine, and some fled into the Citie, the *Amphipolitans*, were in very great confusion at it, and the rather, because they were iealous one of another. And it is said, that if *Brasidas* had not sent out his Armie to take bootie, but had marched presently to the Citie, hee had in all likelihood taken it then. But so it was, that he pitch- E ed there, and fell vpon those without, and seeing nothing succeeded by those within, lay still vpon the place. But the

The *Athenians* con- sider the *Argilians*.

*Argilus* revolteth.

*Brasidas* winneth the Bridge, and is master of all betwene it and the Citie.



The Amphipolitans send for aide to Thucydides, the Author of this Historie.

the contrary Faction to the Traytors, being superiour in A number, whereby the Gates were not opened presently, both they and *Eucles* the Generall, who was then there for the *Athenians*, to keep the towne, sent vnto the other Generall, *Thucydides* the sonne of *Olorus*, the Writer of this Historie, who had charge in *Thrace*, and was now about *Thasus* (which is an Iland, and a Colonie of the *Parians*, distant from *Amphipolis*, about halfe a dayes sayle) requiring him to come and releue them.

When he heard the newes, he went thitherwards in all haste, with seuen Gallies which chanced to be with him B at that time. His purpose principally was, to preuent the yeelding vp of *Amphipolis*, but if he should faile of that, then to possesse himselfe of *Eion*, before *Brasidas* his coming.

*Brasidas*, in the meane time, fearing the aid of the Gallies, to come from *Thasus*, and hauing also beene informed that *Thucydides* possessed mines of gold in the parts of *Thrace* thereaboues, and was thereby of ability amongst the principall men of the Continent, hastid by all meanes to get *Amphipolis*, before he should arriue; lest otherwise at his C comming, the *Commons* of *Amphipolis*, expecting that he would leuy *Confederates*, both from the Sea side, and in *Thrace*, and releue them, should thereupon refuse to yeeld. And to that end, offered them a moderate composition, causing to be proclaimed, That whosoever *Amphipolitan*, or *Athenian* would, might continue to dwell there, and enjoy his owne, with equall and like forme of gouernment. And that he that would not, should haue five dayes respite to be gone, and carry away his good.

*Brasidas*, fearing to be preuented by *Thucydides*, hasteth by easie conditions, to procure the Towne to yeeld.

When the *Commons* heard this, their mindes were turned; and the rather, because the *Athenians* amongst them were but few, and the most, were a promiscuous multitude; And the kinsmen of those that were taken without, flocked together within, and in respect of their feare, they all thought the Proclamation reasonable. The *Athenians* thought it so, because they were willing to goe out, as apprehending their owne danger to be greater, then that of the rest, and withall, not expecting aid in haste; and the rest of the multitude, as being thereby both deliuered of the danger, and withall to retaine their Citie, with the E equall forme of gouernment. Insomuch, that they which conspired

A conspired with *Brasidas*, now openly iustified the offer to be reasonable, and seeing the minds of the *Commons* were now turned, and that they gaue care no more to the words of the *Athenian* Generall, they compounded, and vpon the conditions proclaimed, receiued him. Thus did these men deliuer vp the City.

*Amphipolis* yeelded.

*Thucydides* with his Gallies, arriued in the euening of the same day at *Eion*. *Brasidas* had already gotten *Amphipolis*, and wanted but a night of taking *Eion* also, for if these Gallies had not come speedily to relieue it, by next morning it had beene had.

*Thucydides* commeth too late to releue *Amphipolis*, and putteth himselfe into *Eion*.

After this, *Thucydides* assured *Eion*, so as it should be safe, both for the present, though *Brasidas* should assault it, and for the future; and tooke into it, such as according to the Proclamation made, came downe from *Amphipolis*. *Brasidas*, with many Boats came suddenly downe the Riuer to *Eion*, and attempted to seaze on the point of the ground lying out from the wall into the Sea, and thereby to command the mouth of the Riuer; he assayed also the same, at the same time by Land, and was in both beaten off; but C *Amphipolis* hee furnished with all things necessary.

And defendeth it against *Brasidas*.

Then reuolted to him *Myrcinus*, a City of the *Edonians*, (*Pittacus*, the King of the *Edonians*, being slaine by the sons of *Goaxus*, and by *Braure* his owne wife.) And not long after, *Gapselus* also, and *Oesyme*, Colonies of the *Thasians*. *Perdiccas* also, after the taking of these places, came to him, and helped him in assuring of the same. After *Amphipolis* was taken, the *Athenians* were brought into great feare; especially, for that it was a City that yeelded them much profit, both in Timber which is sent them for the building D of Gallies, and in reuenue of money; and because also, though the *Lacedaemonians* had a passage open to come against their *Confederates* (the *Thessalians* conuoying them) as farre as to *Strymon*, yet if they had not gotten that Bridge, the Riuer being vpwards, nothing but a vast Fenne, and towards *Eion*, well guarded with their Gallies, they could haue gone no further, which now they thought they might easily doe; and therefore feared lest their *Confederates* should reuolt. For *Brasidas* both shewed himselfe otherwise very moderate, and also gaue E out in speech, that he was sent forth to recouer the liberty of Greece. And the Cities, which were subiect to the

Great inclination of the people of thole parts to come in to *Brasidas*.

The *Athenians* begin to feare.

*Athenians*,



Athenians, hearing of the taking of *Amphipolis*, and what Assurance he brought with him, and of his gentleness besides, were extremely desirous of innouation; and sent Messengers priuily to bid him draw neere, euery one struing who should first reuolt. For they thought they might doe it boldly, falsely estimating the power of the Athenians to be lesse then afterwards it appeared, and making a iudgment of it according to blind wilfulness, rather then safe forecast. It being the fashion of men, what they wish to be true to admit, euen vpon an vngrounded hope, and what they wish not, with a \* Magistrall kind of arguing to reiect. Withall, because the Athenians had lately receiued a blow from the Boeotians, and because Brasidas had said, not as was the truth, but as serued best to allure them, that when he was at *Nisaea*, the Athenians durst not fight with those forces of his alone, they grew confident thereon, and beleued not that any man would come against them. But the greatestt cause of all was, that for the delight they tooke at this time to innouate, and for that they were to make triall of the Lacedaemonians, not till now angry, they were content by any means to put it to the hazzard. Which being perceiued, the Athenians sent Garrison Souldiers into those Cities, as many as the shortness of the time, and the season of Winter would permit. And Brasidas sent vnto Lacedaemon, to demand greater forces; and in the meane time prepared to build Gallies on the Riuer of *Strymon*. But the Lacedaemonians, partly through enuy of the principall men, and partly, because they more affected the redemption of their men taken in the \* Iland, and the ending of the Warre, refused to furnish him.

The same Winter, the Megareans hauing recovered their Long-walls, holden by the Athenians, rased them to the very ground.

Brasidas, after the taking of *Amphipolis*, hauing with him the Confederates, marched with his Army into the Territory called *Aëte*. This *Aëte* is that prominent Territorie, which is disioyned from the Continent, by a Ditch made by the \* King. And *Athos* a high mountaine in the same, determineth at the *Aegean Sea*. Of the Cities it hath one is *Sane*, a Colony of the *Andrians*, by the side of the said Ditch, on the part which looketh to the Sea, towards, Eubœa;

\* λογισμὸν αὐτοκρατείας.

The Athenians send Garrisons to the places thereabouts.

Brasidas cruied at home.

\* Σπινθηρία.

The Megareans demolish their Long-walls, which were before but disioyned from the City, by the Athenians.

Brasidas inuadeth the Territory of *Aëte*, where *Athos* standeth.

\* Νεσος ὅταν ἐβλήθη ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

A Eubœa; The rest are *Thyssus*, *Cleone*, *Acrothoi*, *Olophycus*, and *Dion*, and are inhabited by promiscuous Barbarians of \*two languages; some few there are also of the Chalcidean Nation, but the most are *Pelasgiques*, of those *Tyrrene Nations* that once inhabited *Athens*, and *Lemnos*; and of the *Bisaltique* and *Chrestonique Nations*, and *Edonians*; and dwell in small Cities, the most of which yeelded to Brasidas. But *Sane*, and *Dion* held out; for which cause he stayed with his Army and wasted their Territories. But seeing they would not hearken vnto him, he led his Army presently against *Torone* of *Chalcidea*, held by the Athenians. He was called in by the Few, who were ready withall to deliuer him the Citie, and arriuing there a little before breake of day, he sate downe with his Army at the Temple of *Cassor* and *Pollux*, distant about three Furlongs from the Citie. So that to the rest of the City, and to the Athenian Garrison in it, his comming was vnperceiued. But the Traitors knowing hee was to come, (some few of them, being also priuily gone to him) attended his approach, and when they perceiued he was come, they tooke in vnto them seuen men, armed onely with Daggers, (for of twenty appointed at first to that seruice, seuen only had the courage to go in, and were led by *Lyfistratus* of *Olynthus*) which getting ouer the wal towards the main Sea vnseen, went vp (for the Towne standeth on a hils side) to the watch that kept the vpper end of the Towne, and hauing slaine the watchmen, brake open the Posterne Gate towards *Canastrea*. Brasidas this while, with the rest of his Army, lay still, and then comming a little forward, sent 100 Targettiers before, who when the Gates should be opened, and signe agreed on be set vp, should run in first. These men expecting long, and wondering at the matter, by little and little were at length come vp close to the City. Those *Toroneans* within, which helped the men that entred to performe the enterprize, when the Posterne Gate was broken open, and the Gate leading to the Market place opened likewise, by cutting asunder the Barre, went first and fetcht some of them about to the Posterne, to the end that they might suddenly affright such of the Towne as knew not the matter, both behind, and on either side, and then they put vp the signe appointed, which was fire, and receiued the rest of the Targettiers by the Gate that leadeth to the Market place.

\* The Greeke, and their own Barbarian.

Torone reuolteth to Brasidas.

The manner how the Towne was betrayed.

N n

Brasidas

The Towne taken.

*Brasidas*, when he saw the signe, made his Army rise, and with a huge cry of all at once, to the great terrour of those within, entred into the City running. Some went directly in by the Gate, and some by certaine squared Timber-trees, which lay at the wall (which hauing been lately downe, was now againe in building) for the drawing vp of Stone. *Brasidas* therefore, with the greatest number, be-tooke himsele to the highest places of the City, to make sure the winning of it, by possessing the places of aduan-tage.

The Athenians escape into a Castle of the same name called *Lecythus*.

But the rest of the Rabble ran disperfed here and B there, without difference. When the Towne was taken, the most of the *Toroneans* were much troubled, because they were not acquainted with the matter, but the Con-spirators, and such as were pleased with it, ioyned them-selues presently with those that entred. The *Athenians* (of which there were about fifty men of Armes asleepe in the Market place) when they knew what had happened, fled all, except some few that were slaine vpon the place, some by Land, some by water in two Gallies that kept watch there, and saued themselves in *Lecythus*, which was C a Fort which they themselves held, cut off from the rest of the City to the Sea-ward, in a narrow *Isthmus*. And thither also fled all such *Toroneans* as were affected to them. Being now day, and the City strongly possessed, *Brasidas* caused a Proclamation to be made, that those *Toroneans* which were fled with the *Athenians*, might come backe, as many as would, to their owne, and Inhabite there in security. To the *Athenians* he sent a Herald, bidding them depart out of *Lecythus*, vnder Truce, with all that they had, as a place D that belonged to the *Chalcidians*. The *Athenians* denyed to quit the place, but the Truce they desired for one day, for the taking vp of their dead. And *Brasidas* granted it for two. In which two dayes, hee fortified the build-ings neere, and so also did the *Athenians* theirs. Hee also called an Assembly of the *Toroneans*, and spake vnto them, as hee had done before to the *Acanthians*, adding, That there was no iust cause, why either they that had praetised to put the Citie into his hands, should be the worse thought of, or accounted Traitors for it, seeing that they did it, with no intent to bring the Citie into seruitude, nor were hired there-into with money, but for the benefit, and liberis of E the

*Brasidas* his speech to the *Toroneans*.

A the Citie; or that they which were not made acquainted with it, should thinke, that themselves were not to reape as much good by it as the others. For he came not to destroy either City, or man. But had therefore made that Proclamation touching those that fled with the *Athenians*, because he thought them neuer the worse for that friendship, and made account when they had made tryall of the *Lace-dæmonians*, they would shew as much good will also vnto them, or rather more, in as much as they would behaue themselves with more equity; and that their present feare, was onely vpon want of tryall. Withall, he wished them to prepare themselves to be true Confederates B for the future, and from hence forward, to looke to haue their faults imputed. For, for what was past he thought they had not done any wrong, but suffered it rather from other men that were too strong for them and therefore were to be pardoned, if they had in ought beene a-gainst him.

When he had thus said, and put them againe into heart, the Truce being expired, he made diuers assaults vpon *Lec- C cythus*. The *Athenians* fought against them from the Wall, though a bad one, and from the houses, such as had Battlements, and for the first day kept them off. But the next day, when the enemies were to bring to the Wall a great Engine, out of which they intended to cast fire vpon their Wooden Fences, and that the Army was now com-ming vp to the place where they thought they might best apply the Engine, and which was easiest to be assaulted, The *Athenians*, hauing vpon the top of the building, erected a Turret of Wood, and carried vp many Buckets of Water, and many men being also gone vp into it, the build- D ing ouercharged with weight, fell suddenly to the ground, and that with so huge a noyse, that though those which were neere and saw it, were grieued more then afraid, yet such as stood further off, especially the farthest of all, sup-posing the place to be in that part already taken, fled as fast as they could towards the Sea, and went aboard their Gallies.

*Brasidas*, when he perceiued the Battlements to be aban-doned, and saw what had happened, came on with his Army, and presently got the Fort, and slew all that he found within it. But the rest of the *Athenians*, which before abandoned the place, with their Boats and Gallies, E put themselves into *Pallene*.

There was in *Lecythus* a Temple of *MYNERVA*.  
N n 2 And

*Brasidas* takes the *Lecythus*.

\* 30 pound, 15 shillings sterling.

THE NINTH  
YEERE.  
Truce for a yeere.  
The motives to Truce  
on either side.

The Articles of the  
Truce.

And when *Brasidas* was about to giue the assault, hee **A** had made Proclamation, that whosoever first scaled the wall, should haue \* 30 *Mine* of siluer, for a reward. *Brasidas* now conceiuing that the place was won, by meanes not humane, gaue those 30 *mine*; to the Goddesse, to the vse of the Temple. And then pulling downe *Lecythus*, he built it anew, and consecrated vnto her the whole place. The rest of this Winter, he spent in assuring the places he had already gotten, and in contriuing the conquest of more. Which Winter ending, ended the eighth yeere of this Warre.

The *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, in the Spring of the Summer following, made a cessation of Armes, presently, for a yeere, hauing reputed with themselves, the *Athenians*, that *Brasidas* should by this meanes cause no more of their Cities to reuolt, but that by this leaseure they might prepare to secure them; and that if this suspension liked them, they might afterwards make some agreement for a longer time; The *Lacedæmonians*, that the *Athenians* fearing what they feared, would vpon the taste of this intermission of their miseries, and weary-life, be the willinge **C** to compound, and with the restitution of their men, to conclude a Peace for a longer time. For they would faine haue recovered their men, whilest *Brasidas* his good fortune continued, and whilest, if they could not recouer them, they might yet (*Brasidas* prospering, and setting them equall with the *Athenians*) try it out vpon euen termes, and get the victory. Whereupon a suspension of Armes was concluded, comprehending both themselves, and their Confederates, in these words:

Concerning the Temple and Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, it **D** seemeth good vnto vs, that whosoever will, may without fraud, and without feare, aske counsell thereat, according to the Lawes of his Countrey. The same also seemeth good to the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, here present, and they promise moreouer, to send Ambassadors to the *Bœotians* and *Phœceans*, and doe their best to persuade them to the same.

That concerning the treasure belonging to the god, we shall take care to find out those that haue offended therein, both wee and you, proceeding with right and equity, according to the Lawes of our seuerall States. And that whosoever else will, may doe the same, euery **E** one according to the Law of his owne Countrey.

If

**A** If the *Athenians* will accord that each side shall keepe within their owne bounds, retaining what they now possesse, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the rest of the Confederates, touching the same, thinke good, thus,

That the *Lacedæmonians* in *Coryphasium*, stay within the mountaines of *Buphras*, and *Tomeus*, and the *Athenians* in *Cythera*, without ioyning together in any League, either we with them, or they with vs.

That those in *Nisæa* and *Minoa*, passe not the high way, which from the Gate of *Megara*, neere the temple of *Nisus*, leadeth to the **B** Temple of *Neptune*, and so straight forward to the Bridge that lies ouer into *Minoa*. That the *Megareans* passe not the same Highway, nor into the Island which the *Athenians* haue taken; Neither hauing commerce with other.

That the *Megareans* keepe what they now possesse in *Troezen*, and what they had before by agreement with the *Athenians*, and haue free Nauigation, both vpon the Coastes of their owne Territories, and their Confederates.

That the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall passe the Seas not in a \* long Ship, but in any other boat, rowed with *Oares*, of burden not exceeding 500 Talents. That the *Heralds* and **C** Ambassadors that shall passe betweene both sides for the ending of the Warre, or for trials of Iudgement, may goe, and come, without impeachment, with as many followers as they shall thinke good, both by Sea, and Land.

That during this time of Truce, neither we nor you receiue one anothers fugitiues free, nor bond.

That you to vs, and we to you shall afford Law according to the vse of our seuerall States, to the end our Controuersies may be decided Iudicially, without Warre.

**D** This is thought good by the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates. But if you shall conceiue any other Articles more faire, or of more equity then these, then shall you goe and declare the same at *Lacedæmon*. For neither shall the *Lacedæmonians*, nor their Confederates refuse any thing, that you shall make appeare to be iust. But let those that goe, goe with full Authority, euen as you doe now require it of vs. That this Truce shall be for a yeere.

The people decreed it. *Acamantis* was \* President of the Assembly. *Phænippus* the \* Scribe. *Niciades* \* Ouerseer, and *Laches* pronounced these words: With good fortune to the **E** people of *Athens*, a suspension of Armes is concluded, according as the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates haue agreed;

\* Long Ships were of vse for the Warre, and therefore here excluded yet they had leane to use vessels that went with the Oare, so they were of another forme.

\* ἐπιστάτης.  
\* ἑγερταγός.  
\* συνέτακτος, sometimes was the name of an Officer that kept the Citizell, which Office was but for a day, and he that had it, was one of the slaves.

February.

\*As was done, they sacrificed at the making of all accords between Cities.

The revolt of Scione.

Brasidas goeth over in a Boat, but with a Gally before him, and his reason.

agreed; And they consented before the people, that the suspension A should continue for a yeere; beginning that same day, being the fourteenth of the moneth \* Elaphebolion. In which time the Ambassadors and Heralds going from one side to the other, should treat about a finall end of the Warres. And that the Commanders of the Army, and the Presidents of the City calling an Assembly, the Athenians should hold a Councell touching the manner of Embassage, for ending of the Warre first. And the Ambassadors there present should now immediately sweare this Truce for a yeere. The same Articles, the Lacedæmonians propounded, and the Confederates agreed vnto, with the Athenians; and their Confederates in Lacedæmon, on the twelfth day of the Gerastion. The men that agreed vpon these Articles, and \*sacrificed, were these, viz. Of the Lacedæmonians, Taurus the sonne of Echotimidæ, Atheneus the sonne of Pericleidas, and Philocharidas, the sonne of Eryxidædas. Of the Corinthians, Eneas the sonne of Ocytes, and Euphamidas the sonne of Aristonymus. Of the Sicyonians, Damotimas the sonne of Naucrates, and Onesimus the sonne of Megacles. Of the Megareans, Nicasus the sonne of Cenalus, and Menecrates the sonne of Amphidorus. Of the Epidaurians, Amphias the sonne of Eupæidas, Of the Athenians, the Generals themselves, Nicostratus the sonne of Diotrephes, Nicias the sonne of Niceratus, and Autocles the sonne of Tolmaeus. This was the Truce, and during the same, they were continually in Treaty, about a longer Peace.

About the same time, whilst they were going to and fro, Scione a City in Pallene revolted from the Athenians to Brasidas. The Scioneans say that they be Pellenians descended of those of Peloponnesus, and that their Ancestors passing the Seas from Troy, were driuen in by a Tempest, which tossed the Achæans vp and downe, and planted themselves in the place they now dwell in. Brasidas vpon their revolt, went ouer into Scione by night, and though he had a Gallie, with him that went before, yet he himselfe followed a loose, in a Light-horseman. His reason was this, that if his Light-horseman should be assaulted by some greater Vessell, the Gally would defend it; But if hee met with a Gally equall to his owne, hee made account that such a one would not assault his Boat, but rather the Gally, whereby he might in the meane time goe through in safety. When he was ouer, and had called the Scioneans to assembly, he spake vnto them as hee had done

A done before to them of Acanthus, and Torone, adding, That they of all the rest were most worthy to be commended, in as much as Pallene, being cut off in the Isthmus by the Athenians that possesse Potidæa, and being no other then Ilanders, did yet of their owne accord come forth to meet their liberty, and stayed not through cowardlinesse, till they must of necessity haue been compelled to their owne manifest good. Which was an argument, that they would valiantly vndergoe any other great matter, to haue their State ordered to their mindes. And that he would verily hold them for most faithfull friends to the Lacedæmonians, and also otherwise B doe them honour. The Scioneans were erected with these words of his; and now euery one alike encouraged, as well they that liked not what was done, as those that liked it, entertained a purpose, stoutly to vndergoe the Warre; and receiued Brasidas both otherwise honourably, and crowned him with a Crowne of gold, in the name of the Citie, as the deliuerer of Greece. And priuate persons honoured him with Garlands, and came to him, as they vse to doe, to a Champion that hath wonne a prize. But he leauing there a small Garrison for the present, came backe, C and not long after, carried ouer a greater Army, with designe, by the helpe of those of Scione, to make an attempt vpon Menda and Potidæa. For he thought the Athenians would send succours to the place, as to an Island; and desired to preuent them. Withall he had in hand a practise with some within to haue those Cities betrayed. So he attended, ready to vndertake that enterprize.

But in the meane time, came vnto him in a Gally, Aristonymus for the Athenians, and Atheneus for the Lacedæmonians, that carried about the newes of the Truce. Whereupon D he sent away his Army againe to Torone. And these men related vnto Brasidas, the Articles of the agreement. The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, in Thrace approoued of what was done, and Aristonymus had in all other things satisfaction; But for the Scioneans, whose revolt by computation of the dayes, he had found to be after the making of the Truce, he denied that they were comprehended therein. Brasidas said much in contradiction of this, and that the Citie revolted before the Truce, and refused to render it. But when Aristonymus had sent to Athens, to informe them of the matter, the Athenians were ready presently to haue sent an Army against Scione. The Lacedæmonians

Brasidas receiued the Scioneans.

The honour done to Brasidas by the Scioneans.

Brasidas receiued newes of the suspension of Armes.

Difference betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, about the restitution of Scione, which revolted after the Truce made, but before the Lacedæmonians knew of it.

The Athenians prepare  
to Warre on Scione.

Decree of the Athenians  
againſt Scione.

The revolt of Menda.

\* Sure he would not reſiſt  
them.

Perdiccas and Braſidas  
ioynly invade Arrhibæus.

nians in the meane time, ſent Ambaſſadours to the Atheni-  
ans, to tell them, that they could not ſend an Army againſt  
it without breach of the Truce, and vpon Eraſidas his  
word, challenged the City to belong vnto them, offering  
themſelues to the deciſion of Law. But the Athenians  
would by no meanes put the matter to iudgement. But  
meant, with all the ſpeed they could make, to ſend an Ar-  
my againſt it. Being angry at the heart, that it ſhould  
come to this paſſe, that euen Ilanders durſt reuolt, & truſt  
to the vnprofitable helpe of the ſtrength of the Lacedæmo-  
nians by Land. Beſides, tonching the time of the reuolt, B  
the Athenians had more truth on their ſide then themſelues  
alleadged. For the reuolt of the Scioneans was after the  
Truce two dayes. Whereupon, by the aduice of Cleon,  
they made a Decree, to take them by force, and to put them  
all to the Sword. And forbearing Warre in all places elſe,  
they prepared themſelues onely for that.

In the meane time reuolted alſo Menda in Pallene, a Co-  
lony of the Eretrians. Theſe alſo Braſidas receiued into  
protection, holding it for no wrong, becauſe they came in  
openly in time of Truce. And ſomewhat there was alſo, C  
which he charged the Athenians with, about breach of the  
Truce. For which cauſe the Mendeans had alſo beene the  
bolder, as ſure of the intention of Braſidas, which they  
might gueſſe at by Scione, in as much as he could not be  
gotten to deliuer it. Withall, the Few were they, which  
had practiſed the reuolt, who being once about it, would  
by no meanes giue it ouer, but fearing leſt they ſhould bee  
diſcouered, forced the multitude, contrary to their owne  
inclination to the ſame. The Athenians being hereof pre-  
ſently aduertified, and much more angry now then before, D  
made preparation to Warre vpon both, and Braſidas ex-  
pecting that they would ſend a Fleet againſt them, receiued  
the women and children of the Scioneans, and Mendeans  
into Olynthus in Chalcidea, and ſent ouer thither 500 Pelopon-  
neſian men of Armes, and 300 Chalcidean Targettiers, and  
for Commander of them all, Polydamidas. And thoſe  
that were left in Scione, and Menda, ioyned in the admini-  
ſtration of their affaires, as expecting to haue the Athenian  
Fleet immediately with them.

In the meane time Braſidas, and Perdiccas, with ioynt E  
forces march into Lynceus againſt Arrhibæus, the ſecond time.

Perdiccas

A Perdiccas led with him the power of the Macedonians his  
ſubiects, and ſuch Grecian men of Armes as dwelt among  
them. Braſidas beſides the Peloponneſians that were left  
him, led with him the Chalcideans, Acantiſians, and the reſt,  
according to the Forces they could ſeuerally make. The  
whole number of the Grecian men of Armes were about  
3000. The horſemen, both Macedonians, and Chalcide-  
ans, ſomewhat leſſe then 1000; but the other Rabble of  
Barbarians was great. Being entred the Territory of Arrhi-  
bæus, and finding the Lynceſteans encamped in the field, B  
they alſo ſate downe oppoſite to their Campe. And the  
Foot of each ſide, being lodged vpon a hill, and a Plain lying  
betwixt them both, the horſemen ran downe into the  
ſame, and a ſkirmiſh followed, firſt betweene the Horſe  
onely of them both; but afterwards, the men of Armes of  
the Lynceſteans, coming downe to aide their Horſe from  
the hill, and offering battell firſt, Braſidas and Perdiccas drew  
downe their Army likewise, and charging, put the Lynce-  
ſtians to flight, many of which being ſlaine, the reſt retired  
to the hill top, and lay ſtill. After this, they erected a Tro-  
phy and ſtayed two or three dayes expecting the Illyrians, C  
who were coming to Perdiccas vpon hire, and Perdiccas  
meant afterwards to haue gone on againſt the Villages  
of Arrhibæus one after another, and to haue ſitten ſtill there  
no longer. But Braſidas hauing his thoughts on Menda, left  
if the Athenians came thither before his returne, it ſhould  
receiue ſome blow; ſeeing withall that the Illyrians came  
not, had no liking to doe ſo, but rather to retire. Whileſt  
they thus varied, word was brought that the Illyrians had  
betrayed Perdiccas, & ioyned themſelues with Arrhibæus. So D  
that now it was thought good to retyre, by them both, for  
feare of theſe, who were a warlike people, but yet for the  
time when to march, there was nothing concluded by reaſon  
of their variance. The next night, the Macedonians, and mul-  
titude of Barbarians (as it is viſuall with great Armies to be  
terrified vpon cauſes vknowne) being ſuddenly affrighted  
and ſuppoſing them to be many more in number then they  
were, and euen now vpon them, betooke themſelues to pre-  
ſent flight, & went home. And Perdiccas, who at firſt knew  
not of it, they conſtrained when he knew, before he had E  
ſpoken with Braſidas, (their Campes being farre aſunder)  
to be gone alſo. Braſidas betimes in the morning, when hee  
vnderſtood

The Lynceſteans flie.

Perdiccas expecteth in-  
cerary aide out of Illyria.

The Illyrians come and  
turne to Arrhibæus.

The Macedonians vpon a  
ſudden feare run away,  
and deſert Braſidas.

Braſidas his retreat.



understood that the *Macedonians* were gone away without him, and that the *Illyrians*, and *Arrhibaeans* were comming vpon him, putting his men of Armes into a square forme, and receiuing the multitude of his light-armed into the midst, intended to retire likewise. The youngest men of his Souldiers, he appointed to run out vpon the enemy, when they charged the Army any where with shot; and he himselfe with three hundred chosen men, marching in the Rere, intended, as he retyred, to sustaine the formost of the enemy fighting, if they came close vp. But before the enemy approached, he encouraged his Souldiers, as the shortnesse of time gaue him leaue, with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF  
BRASIDAS to his  
Souldiers.

**M**EN of Peloponnesus, If I did not mistrust, in respect you are thus abandoned by the *Macedonians*, and that the Barbarians which come vpon you, are many, that you were afraid, I should not at this time instruct you, and encourage you as I doe. But now against this desertion of your companions, and the multitude of your enemies, I will endeavour with a short instruction and hortatue, to giue you encouragement to the full. For, to be good Souldiers, is vnto you naturall, not by the presence of any Confederates, but by your owne valour; and not to feare others for the number, seeing you are not come from a Citie where the Many beare rule ouer the Few, but the Few ouer Many, and haue gotten this for power by no other meanes then by ouercomming in fight. And as these Barbarians, whom through ignorance you feare, you may take notice both by the former battels fought by vs against them before, in fauour of the *Macedonians*, and also by what I my selfe coniecture, and haue heard by others, that they haue no great danger in them. For when any enemy whatsoever maketh shew of strength, being indeed weake, the truth once knowne, doth rather serue to embolden the other side, whereas against such as haue valour indeed, a man will bee the boldest, when hee knoweth the least. These men here, to such as haue not tryed them, doe indeed make terrible offers; for the sight of their number, is fearefull; the greatnesse of their cry intolerable; and the

vaine

**A** vaine shaking of their weapons on high, is not without signification of menacing. But they are not answerable to this, when with such as stand them, they come to blowes. For fighting without order, they will quit their place without shame, if they be once pressed, and seeing it is with them, honourable alike to fight, or run away, their valours are neuer called in question. And a battell wherein euery one may doe as he list, affords them a more handsome excuse to saue themselves. But they trust rather in their standing out of danger, and terrifying vs a farre off, then in comming to hands with vs, for else they would rather haue taken that course then this. And you see manifestly, that all that was before terrible in them, is in effect little, and serues onely to urge you to be going, with their shew and noyle. Which if you sustaine at their first comming on, and againe withdraw your selues still, as you shall haue leasure, in your order and places, you shall not onely come the sooner to a place of safety, but shall learne also against hereafter, that such a Rabble as this, to men prepared to endure their first charge, doe but make a flourish of valour, with threats from a farre, before the battell; but to such as giue them ground, they are eage enough to seeme couragious, where they may doe it safely.

**C** When *Brasidas* had made his exhortation, he led away his Army. And the Barbarians seeing it, pressed after them with great cries and tumult, as supposing he fled. But seeing that those who were appointed to runne out vpon them, did so, and met them, which way soeuer they came on; and that *Brasidas* himselfe with his chosen band sustained them where they charged close, and endured the first brunt, beyond their expectation, and seeing also that afterwards continually when they charged, the other receiued them and fought, and when they ceased, the other retired, then at length the greatest part of the Barbarians forbore the Grecians, that with *Brasidas* were in the open field, and leauing a part to follow them with shot, the rest ranne with all speed after the *Macedonians* which were fled, of whom, as many as they ouertooke, they slew; and withall, præpossest the passage; which is a narrow one betwene two hills, giuing entrance into the Countrey of *Arrhibaeus*, knowing that there was no other passage, by which *Brasidas* could get away. And when he was come to the very strait, they were going about him, to haue cut him off. He, when he saw this, commanded the 300 that were with him, to runne euery man as fast

*Brasidas* draweth away his army, and the Barbarians follow him.

The *Illyrians* pursue the *Macedonians*, leauing part of their army to follow *Brasidas*.

*Brasidas* seazeth the top of the hill by which he was to passe.



as he could to one of the tops, which of them they could A  
easiest get vp to, and try if they could driue downe those  
*Barbarians* that were now going vp to the same, before any  
greater number was about to hemme them in. These ac-  
cordingly fought with, and ouercame those *Barbarians* vp-  
on the hill and thereby the rest of the Army marched the  
more easily to the top. For this beating of them from the  
vantage of the hill, made the *Barbarians* also afraid, so that  
they followed them no further, conceiuing withall, that  
they were now at the Confines, & already escaped through.  
*Brasidas*, hauing now gotte the hills, & marching with more B  
safety, came first the same day to *Arnissa*, of the dominion of  
*Perdiccas*. And the Soldiers of these lues being angry with  
the *Macedonians*, for leauing them behind, whatsoeuer teems  
of Oxen, or fardles fallen from any man (as was likely to  
happen in a retreat, made in feare, and in the night) they  
lighted on by the way, the Oxen they cut in pieces, & took  
the fardles to these lues. And from this time did *Perdiccas*  
first esteeme *Brasidas* as his enemy, and afterwards hated the  
*Peloponnesians*, not with ordinary hatred for the *Athenians*  
sake, but being vtterly fallen out with him, about his own C  
particular interest, fought meanes as soone as he could, to  
compound with these, & to be disleagued from the other.

*Brasidas* at his returne out of *Macedonia* to *Torone*, found  
that the *Athenians* had already taken *Menda*, and therefore  
staying there (for he thought it impossible to passe ouer in-  
to *Pallene*, and to recouer *Menda*) he kept good watch vpon  
*Torone*. For about the time that these things passed amongst  
the *Lyncestians*, the *Athenians* after all was in readinesse, set  
sayle for *Menda* and *Scione*, with 50 Gallies, whereof 10  
were of *Chius*, and 1000 men of Armes of their owne City, D  
600 Archers, 1000 *Thracian* Mercenaries, and other Tar-  
gettiers of their owne Confederates thereabouts, vnder the  
conduct of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, and *Nicostratus* the son  
of *Diorrephes*. These lanching from *Pollida* with their Gal-  
lies, and putting in at the Temple of *Neptune*, marched pre-  
sently against the *Mendeans*. The *Mendeans* with their own  
forces, 300 of *Scione* that came to aide them, and the aydes  
of the *Peloponnesians*, in all 700 men of Armes, and *Polyda-*  
*midas* their Commander, were encamped vpon a strong hill  
without the City. *Nicias* with 120 light armed Souldiers E  
of *Methone*, and 60 chosen men of Armes of *Athens*, and all  
his

The flight of *Brasidas*  
Souldiers against the  
*Macedonians* for abandon-  
ing them.

*Perdiccas* and *Brasidas* fall  
out.

The *Mendeans* encampe  
without the Citie.

A his Archers attempting to get vp by a path that was in  
the hills side, was wounded in the attempt, and could not  
make his way by force. And *Nicostratus* with all the rest of  
the Army, going another way farther about, as he climbed  
the hill being hard of access, was quite disordered, and the  
whole Army wanted little of being vtterly discomfited.  
So for this day, seeing the *Mendeans* and their Confederates  
stood to it, the *Athenians* retired, and pitched their Campe.  
And at night the *Mendeans* retired into the City. The next  
day the *Athenians* sayling about vnto that part of the City B  
which is towards *Scione*, seized on the suburbs, and all that  
day wasted their fields, no man coming forth to oppose  
them; for there was also sedition in the Citie, and the 300  
*Scioneans* the night following went home againe. The next  
day, *Nicias* with the one halfe of the Army marched to the  
Confines, and wasted the Territory of the *Scioneans*, and  
*Nicostratus* at the same time with the other halfe, sate down  
against the City, before the higher Gates towards *Pollida*.  
*Polydamidas* (for it fell out that the *Mendeans*, & their aides  
had their Armes lying within the wall, in this part) set his  
C men in order for the battell, and encouraged the *Mendeans*  
to make a sally. But when one of the faction of the Com-  
mons in sedition, said to the contrary, that they would not  
goe out, and that it was not necessary to fight, and was vp-  
on this contradiction, by *Polydamidas* pulled and molested,  
the Commons in passion presently tooke up their Armes,  
and made towards the *Peloponnesians*, and such other with  
them as were of the contrary faction; and falling vpon  
them, put them to flight, partly with the suddenesse of the  
charge, and partly through the feare they were in of the  
D *Athenians*, to whom the Gates were at the same time ope-  
ned: For they imagined that this insurrection was by some  
appointment made betweene them. So they fled into the  
Citadell, as many as were not presently slaine, which was  
also in their owne hands before. But the *Athenians* (for now  
was *Nicias* also come backe, and at the Towne side) rushed  
into the City, with the whole Army, and rifled it, not as ope-  
ned to them by agreement, but as taken by force. And  
the Captaines had much adoe to keepe them that they al-  
so killed not the men. After this, they bade the *Mendeans*  
E vnto the same forme of government they had done before,  
and to giue iudgement vpon those they thought the prin-  
cipall

*Nicias* wounded.

Sedition in the Citie.

The Gates opened to  
the *Athenians* vpon sedi-  
tion.

*Menda* pillaged by the  
*Athenians*.

The Athenians leade their army against Scione.

cipall authors of the reuolt, amongst themselves. Those A that were in the Cittadell, they shut vp with a wall reaching on both sides to the Sea, and left a guard to defend it; and hauing thus gotten *Menda*, they led their Army against *Scione*.

The *Scioneans*, and the *Peloponnesians*, comming out against them, possessed themselves of a strong hil before the Citie, which if the enemy did not winne, he should not be able to enclose the City with a wall. The *Athenians* hauing strongly charged them with shot, and beaten the defendants from it, encamped vpon the hill, and after they B had set vp their Trophy, prepared to build their wall about the Citie. Not long after, whilest the *Athenians* were at worke about this, those aides that were besieged in the Cittadell of *Menda*, forcing the watch by the Sea-side, came by night, and escaping most of them through the Campe before *Scione*, put themselves into that City.

*Perdiccas* maketh Peace with the *Athenians*.

As they were enclosing of *Scione*, *Perdiccas* sent a Herald to the *Athenian* Commanders, and concluded a Peace with the *Athenians*, vpon hatred to *Brasidas*, about the retreat made out of *Lyncus*, hauing then immediately begun to C treat of the same. For it happened also at this time, that *Iſchagoras* a *Lacedæmonian* was leading an Army of foot vnto *Brasidas*. And *Perdiccas*, partly because *Nicias* aduised him, seeing the Peace was made, to giue some cleare token that he would be firme; and partly because he himselfe desired not that the *Peloponnesians* should come any more into his Territories, wrought with his hostes in *Thessaly*, hauing in that kind, euer vsed the prime men, and so stopped the Army and Munition, as they would not so much as try the *Thesſalians*, whether they would let them passe or not. D Neuerthelesse *Iſchagoras*, and *Ameinias*, and *Aristeus* themselves went on to *Brasidas*, as sent by the *Lacedæmonians* to view the state of affaires there. And also tooke with them from *Sparta*, contrary to the Law, such men as were but in the beginning of their youth to make them gouernours of Cities, rather then to commit the Cities to the care of such as were there before. And *Clearidas* the sonne of *Eleonymus*, they made gouernour of *Amphipolis*, and *Episēlidas* the sonne of *Hegesander*, gouernour of *Torone*.

The walls of *Thespie* demolished by the *Thebans*.

The same Summer, the *Thebans* demolished the walles E of the *Thespians*, laying Atticisme to their charge. And though

A though they had euer meant to doe it, yet now it was easier, because the flower of their youth was slaine in the battell against the *Athenians*.

The Temple of *Iuno* in *Argos*, was also burnt downe the same Summer, by the negligence of *Chrysis* the Priest, who hauing set a burning Torch by the Garlands, fell asleepe, inſomuch as all was on fire, and flamed out before shee knew. *Chrysis* the same night, for feare of the *Argiues*, fled presently to *Phlius*, and they according to the Law formerly vsed, chose another Priest in her roome, called *Phaeinis*. B Now when *Chrysis* fled, was the eighth yeere of this Warre ended, and halfe of the ninth.

*Scione* in the very end of this Summer was quite enclosed, and the *Athenians* hauing left a guard there, went home with the rest of their Army.

The Winter following, nothing was done betweene the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, because of the Truce. But the *Mantineans*, and the *Tegeate*, with the Confederates of both, fought a battell at *Laodicea*, in the Territory of *Oreſſus*, wherein the victory was doubtfull, for either side put C to flight one Wing of their enemies, both sides set vp Trophies, and both sides sent of their spoyle vnto *Delphi*. Neuerthelesse, after many slaine on either side, and equall battell, which ended by the comming of night, the *Tegeate* lodged all night in the place, and erected their Trophy then presently, whereas the *Mantineans* turned to *Bucolion*, and set vp their Trophy afterwards.

The same Winter ending, and the Spring now approaching, *Brasidas* made an attempt vpon *Potidea*; For coming by night, he applyed his Ladders, and was thitherto D vnderſeene. He tooke the time to apply his Ladders, when the Bell passed by, and before he that carried it to the next, returned. Neuerthelesse, being discovered, he scaled not the Wall, but presently againe withdrew his Army with speed, not staying till it was day. So ended this Winter, and the ninth yeere of this Warre written by

THUCYDIDES.

\* \* \*

E

The Temple of *Iuno* in *Argos* burnt by negligence of an old woman Priest.

*Phaeinis*, Priest of *Iuno*, in the place of *Chrysis*.

Siege laid to *Scione*. The end of the ninth Summer.

Battell betweene the *Mantineans* and the *Tegeate*.

*Brasidas* attempteth *Potidea*.

The end of the ninth yeere.



THE  
FIFTH BOOKE  
OF THE HISTORY OF  
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

*The former yeeres Truce ended, Cleon warreth on the Chalcidicke Cities, and recovereth Torone. Phæax is sent by the Athenians, to moue a Warre amongst the Sicilians. Cleon and Brasidas, who were on both sides the principall maintainers of the Warre, are both slaine at Amphipolis. Presently after their death, a Peace is concluded, and after that againe, a League betwene the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians. Diuers of the Lacedæmonian Confederates hereat discontented, seeke the (confederacy of the Argiues. These make League, first with the Corinthians, Eleans, and Mantineans, then with the Lacedæmonians; and then againe (by the artifice of Alcibiades) with the Athenians. After this the Argiues make Warre vpon the Epidaurians; and the Lacedæmonians vpon the Argiues. The Athenian Captaines and the Melians treat by way of Dialogue, touching the yeelding of Melos, which the Athenians afterwards besiege and winne. These are the Actes of almost sixe yeeres more of the same Warre.*

**T**HE Summer following, the Truce for a yeere, which was to last till the \* *Pythian* Holidayes, expired. During this Truce, the Athenians remoued the *Delians* out of *Delos*; because though they were consecrated, yet for a certaine crime committed of old, they esteemed them polluted persons; because also they thought there wanted this part to make perfect the

Pp

purgation

The Truce for a yeere expired.  
\* Excesses dedicated to Apollo, and celebrated at Delphi, about the 12 of the month Elaphobolium, as may be gathered by the beginning of the Truce on that day.  
The *Delians* remoued out of *Delos*, upon superstition.

The Delians seat them-  
selues in Adramyttium.Cleon goeth out with an  
Army into the parts  
vpon Torone.

He assaulteth Torone.

\* Into the Haven of To-  
rone.Pafitelidas with the Gar-  
rison of the Towne, en-  
deuoureth to defend it.

Cleon taketh Torone.

Pafitelidas, a Lacedemonian  
Captaine, taken alive.

purgation of the Iland; in the purging whereof, as I de- A  
clared \* before, they thought they did well to take vp the  
sepulchres of the dead. These *Delians* seated themselves af-  
terwards, euery one as he came, in *Adramyttium* in *Asia*, a  
Towne giuen vnto them by *Pharnaces*.

After the Truce was expired, *Cleon* preuailed with the  
*Athenians*, to be sent out with a Fleet against the Cities, ly-  
ing vpon *Thrace*; He had with him of *Athenians*, 1200 men  
of Armes, and 300 horsemen; Of Confederates more, and  
thirty Gallies. And first arriuing at *Scione*, which was yet  
besieged, he tooke aboard some men of Armes, of those B  
that kept the siege, and sayled into the Haven of the *Colo-  
phonians*, not farre distant from the Citie of *Torone*. And  
there hauing heard by fugitiues, that *Brasidas* was not in  
*Torone*, nor those within sufficient to giue him battell, hee  
marched with his Army to the City, and sent ten of his  
Gallies about into the \* Haven. And first he came to the  
New-wall, which *Brasidas* had raised about the Citie to  
take in the Suburbs, making a breach in the Old-wall, that  
the whole might be one Citie. And *Pasitelidas*, a *Lacedemo-  
nian*, Captaine of the Towne, with the Garrison there pre- C  
sent, came to the defence, & fought with the *Athenians* that  
assaulted it. But being oppressed, (and the Gallies which  
were before sent about, being by this time come into the  
Hauen) *Pasitelidas* was afraid, lest those Gallies should take  
the Towne, vnfurnished of defendants, before he could get  
backe, and that the *Athenians* on the other side should winne  
the wall, and he be intercepted betweene them both; and  
thereupon abandoned the wall, and ran backe into the Ci-  
tie. But the *Athenians* that were in the Gallies, hauing ta-  
ken the towne before he came, and the Land-army follow-  
ing in after him, without resistance, and entering the City by  
the breach of the Old-wall, slew some of the *Peloponnesi-  
ans*, and *Toroneans* on the place; and some others, amongst  
whom was the Captaine *Pasitelidas*, they tooke alive. *Brasi-  
das* was now comming with aide towards *Torone*, but ad-  
uertised by the way, that it was already lost, went backe  
again, being about forty Furlongs short of preuenting  
it. *Cleon* and the *Athenians* erected two Trophies, one at  
the Hauen, another at the Wall.

The Women and Children of the *Toroneans*, they made E  
slaves, but the men of *Torone*, and the *Peloponnesians*, and  
such

A such *Chalcideans* as were amongst them, in all, about 700;  
they sent away prisoners to *Athens*. The *Peloponnesians*  
were afterward, at the making of the Peace, dismissed, the  
rest were redeemed, by the *Olynthians* by exchange of man  
for man.

About the same time the *Baotians* tooke *Panactum*, a  
Fort of the *Athenians*, standing in their Confinnes, by treason.

*Cleon*, after he had settled the Garrison in *Torone*, went  
thence by Sea about the mountaine *Athos*, to make Warre  
against *Amphipolis*.

B About the same time *Phæax* the sonne of *Erasistratus*, who  
with two others was sent Ambassador into *Italy*, and *Sicily*,  
departed from *Athens* with two Gallies. For the *Leontines*,  
after the *Athenians*, vpon the making of the Peace, were  
gone out of *Sicily*, receiued many strangers into the freedom  
of their City, and the Commons had a purpose also to haue  
made diuision of the Land. But the great men perceiuing it,  
called in the *Syracusians*, and draue the Commons out. And  
they wandred vp and down euery one as he chanced, & the  
great men, vpon conditions agreed on with the *Syracusians*, a-  
bandoning and deserting that city, went to dwell with the  
priuiledge of free Citizens in *Syracusa*. After this againe,  
some of them, vpon dislike, relinquished *Syracusa*, and seized  
on *Phocæa*, a certaine place, part of the City of the *Leontines*,  
and vpon *Bricinnia*, a Castle in the *Leontine* Territory; thi-  
ther also came vnto them most of the Commons, that had  
before been driuen out, and settling themselves, made  
Warre from those places of strength. Vpon intelligence  
hereof, the *Athenians* sent *Phæax* thither, to perswade their  
Confederates there, and, if they could, all the *Sicilians* ioynt-  
ly, to make Warre vpon the *Syracusians* that were now be-  
ginning to grow great, to try if they might thereby  
preserue the common people of the *Leontines*. *Phæax*  
arriuing, preuailed with the *Camarinæans*, and *Agrigentines*:  
but the businesse finding a stop at *Gelas*, hee went vnto no  
more, as conceiuing he should not be able to perswade the.  
So he returned through the cities of the *Siculi* vnto *Catana*,  
hauing been at *Bricinnia*, by the way, and there encouraged  
them to hold out, and from *Catana* he set saile, and depar-  
ted. In his voyage to *Sicily*, both going and comming, hee  
dealt as hee went by, with sundry Cities also of *Italy*,  
to enter into friendship with the *Athenians*.

Seven hundred men sent  
prisoners to Athens.Panactum taken by the  
Baotians.

Cleon goeth to Amphipolis.

Phæax sent Ambassador  
to the Sicilians.The Leontine Commons  
driven out of the City  
by the Syracusians.The Leontine Nobility be-  
come Syracusians, and goe  
to Syracuse to dwell.The Leontines make War  
on the Syracusians.Phæax moueth the Sicili-  
ans to Warre vpon the  
Syracusians.The Gelans stop the mo-  
tion made by Phæax.

He also lighted on those *Locrians*, which hauing dwelt A once in *Messina*, were afterwards driuen out againe; being the same men, which after the Peace in *Sicily*, vpon a fedition in *Messina*, wherein one of the factious called in the *Locrians*, had been then sent to inhabite there, and now were sent away againe. For the *Locrians* held *Messina* for a while. *Phæax* therfore chaneing to meet with these, as they were going to their owne City; did them no hurt, becaule the *Locrians* had been in speech with him about an agreement with the *Athenians*. For when the *Sicilians* made a generall Peace, these onely of all the Confederates; refused B to make any Peace at all with the *Athenians*. Nor indeed would they haue done it now; but that they were constrained thereunto by the Warre they had with the *Itonians*, and *Melæans* their owne Colonies and borderers. And *Phæax*, after this, returned to *Athens*.

*Phæax* maketh Peace with the *Locrians*.

*Cleon* maketh Warre on *Amphipolis*.

\* *Stagirus* the Citie where *Aristotle* was born.  
*Gampselus* taken by *Cleon*.

*Brasidas* stretcheth downe ouer against *Cleon*, at *Cerdyllum*.

The Forces of *Brasidas*.

*Cleon*, who was now gone from *Torone*, and come about to *Amphipolis*, making *Eion* the seat of the Warre, assaulted the Citie of \* *Stagirus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*, but could not take it; But *Gampselus*, a Colony of the *Thasians* hee tooke by assault. And hauing sent Ambassadors to *Perdiccas*, to will him to come to him with his forces, according to the League; and other Ambassadors into *Thrace* vnto *Pollis*, King of the *Edonians*, to take vp as many mercenary *Thracians*, as he could, he lay still in *Eion*, to expect their comming. *Brasidas* vpon notice hereof, fate downe ouer against him at *Cerdyllum*. This is a place belonging to the *Argilians*; standing high, and beyond the Riuer, not farre from *Amphipolis*; and from whence hee might discerne all that was about him. So that *Cleon* could not but be seene, if he should rise with his Army to goe against *Amphipolis*; which he expected he would doe; and that in contempe of his small number, he would goe vp with the Forces he had then present. Withall he furnished himselfe with 1500 mercenary *Thracians*; and tooke vnto him all his *Edonians*, both horsemen, and Targettiers. He had also of *Myrcinians*, and *Chalcidæans*, 1000 Targettiers besides them in *Amphipolis*. But for men of Armes, his whole number was at the most 2000; and of Grecian horsemen 300. With 1400 of these, came *Brasidas*, and fate down at *Cerdyllum*, the rest stood ready ordered with *Charidas* their Captaine, within *Amphipolis*. *Cleon* for a while lay still, E

A still, but was afterwards forced to doe as was expected by *Brasidas*. For the Souldiers being angry with their stay there, and recounting with themselves, what a command his would be, and with what ignorance, and cowardize, against what skill and boldnesse of the other, and how they came forth with him against their wils; he perceiued their muttering, and being vnwilling to offend them with so long a stay in one place, dislodged, and led them forward. And he tooke the same course there, which hauing succeeded well before at *Pylus*, gaue him cause to thinke himselfe to haue some iudgement. For he thought not that any body would come forth to giue him battell, and gaue out, he went vp principally to see the place: And stayed for greater forces; not to secure him in case he should be compelled to fight, but that he might therewith enuiron the Citie on all sides at once, and in that manner take it by force. So he went vp, and set his Army down on a strong hill before *Amphipolis*, standing himselfe to view the Fens of the riuer *Strymon*, and the scituation of the Citie towards *Torone*; and thought he could haue retired againe C at his pleasure without battell. For neither did any man appeare vpon the walls, nor come out of the Gates which were all fast shut; insomuch as he thought he had committed an error, in comming without Engines, because he thought he might by such meanes haue wonne the Citie, as being without defendants. *Brasidas*, as soone as he saw the *Athenians* remoue, came downe also from *Cerdyllum*, and put himselfe into *Amphipolis*. He would not suffer them to make any sally, nor to face the *Athenians* in order of battell; mistrusting his owne Forces, which he thought inferiour, not in number (for they were in a manner equal) but in worth (for such *Athenians* as were there, were pure, and the *Lemnians*, and *Imbrians* which were amongst them, were of the very ablest;) but prepared to set vpon them by a wile. For if he should haue shewed to the enemy both his number, and their Armour, such as for the present they were forced to vse, he thought that thereby he should not so soone get the victory, as by keeping them out of sight, and out of their contempt, till the very point. Wherefore chusing to himselfe 1500 men of D Armes, and committing the charge of the rest to *Cleandrus*; he resolved to set suddenly vpon them before they should retire;

*Cleon* goeth vp to *Amphipolis* against his owne minde.

*Cleon*, not expecting a sally, vieweth the scituation of the Towne.

*Brasidas* putteth himselfe into *Amphipolis*.

A Stratagem of *Brasidas*.

retire; as not expecting to take them so alone another A time, if their succours chanced to arrive. And when he had called his Souldiers together, to encourage them, and to make knowne unto them his designe, he said as followeth.

### THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS to his Souldiers.

**M**EN of Peloponnesus, as for your Countrey, how by valour it hath ever retained her liberty; and that being Dorians, you are now to fight against Ionians, of whom you were ever wont to get the victory, let it suffice that I have touched it thus briefly. But in what manner I intend to charge, that, I am now to enforme you of; lest the venturing by few at once, and not altogether, should seeme to proceed from weaknesse, and so dishearten you. I doe coniecture that it was in contempt of vs, and as not expecting to be fought withall, that the enemy both came vp to this place, and that they haue now betaken themselues carelesly, and out of order to view the Countrey. But he that best observing such errorrs in his enemies, shall also, to his strength, giue the onset, not alwayes openly, and in ranged battell, but as is best for his present aduantage, shall for the most part attaine his purpose. And these wiles carry with them the greatest glory of all, by which deceiuing most the enemy, a man doth most benefit his friends. Therefore whilest they are secure without preparation, and intend, for ought I see, to steale away, rather then to stay, I say, in this their loosnesse of resolution, and before they put their minds in order, I for my part, with those I haue chosen, will, if I can, before they get away fall in vpon the midst of their Army, running. And you Clearidas, afterwards, as soone as you shall see me to haue charged, and (as it is probable) to haue put them into affright, take those that are with you, both Amphipolitans, and all the rest of the Confederates, and setting open the Gates, runne out vpon them, and with all possible speed, come vp to stroke of hand (for there is great hope this way to terrifie them, seeing they which come after, are ever of more terrour to the enemy, then those that are already present, and in fight.) And be valiant, as is likely you should that are a Spartan, and you Confederates, follow manfully, and beleene that the parts of a good Souldier, are willingnesse, sense of shame, and obedience to his Leaders; and that this day you shall either gaine your selues liberty by your valour, and to be called Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, or else not onely to serue the Athenians your selues, and at the best

A best if you be not led Captiues, nor put to death, to be in greater seruitude then before, but also to be the hinderers of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians. But be not you cowards, seeing how great a matter is at stake: and I for my part will make it appeare, that I am not more ready to perswade another, then to put my selfe into action.

When Brasidas had thus said, he both prepared to goe out himselfe, and also placed the rest that were with Clearidas before the Gates, called the Thracian Gates, to issue forth afterwards as was appointed. Now Brasidas hauing been in sight, when he came downe from Cerdylum, and againe when he sacrificed in the City, by the Temple of Pallas, which place might be seene from without, it was told Cleon, whilst Brasidas was ordering of his men, (for he was at this time gone off a little to looke about him) that the whole Army of the enemies was plainly to be discerned within the Towne, and that the feet of many men, and horses, ready to come forth, might be discerned from vnder the Gate. Hearing this, he came to the place, and when he saw it was true, being not minded to fight, vntill C his aides arrived, and yet making no other account, but that his retreat would be discouered, he commanded at once to giue the signall of retreat, and that, as they went, the left Wing should march formost, which was the only meanes they had to withdraw towards Eion. But when he thought they were long about it, causing the right Wing to wheel about, and lay open their disarmed parts to the enemy, hee led away the Army himselfe. Brasidas at the same time, hauing spied his opportunity, and that the Army of the Athenians remoued, said to those about him, and the rest, D These men stay not for vs; it is apparant by the wagging of their Speares, and of their heads. For where such motion is, they vse not stay for the charge of the enemy: Therefore open me some body the Gates appointed, and let vs boldly and speedily sally forth vpon them. Then hee went out himselfe at the Gate towards the Trench, and which was the first Gate of the Long-wall, which then was standing, and at high speed tooke the straight way, in which, as one passeth by the strongest part of the Towne, there standeth now a Trophy. And charging vpon the midst of the Athenian Army, E which was terrified both with their owne disarray, and the valour of the man forced them to flie. And Cleagidas, (as

Brasidas prepareth to assault the army of the Athenians.

Cleon is admonished of a sally towards:

And leadeth his army backe.

Brasidas taketh this opportunity for this sally.



*Brasidas is wounded and killed.*

*Cleon fleeth, and is slaine.*

*Brasidas his army getteth the victory.*

*Brasidas liueth onely so long as to know he had the victory.*

*The honour done to Brasidas after his death.*

*\* Killed sacrifices vnto him.*

*\* Orfamed.*

*\* Whom they true founder.*

(as was appointed) hauing issued out, by the *Thracian* A Gates, was withall comming vpon them. And it fell out that the *Athenians* by this vnexpected and sudden attempt, were on both sides in confusion; and the left wing which was next to *Eion*, and which indeed was marching away before, was immediately broken off, from the rest of the Army, and fled. When that was gone, *Brasidas* comming vp to the right wing, was there wounded. The *Athenians* saw not when he fell, and they that were neere, tooke him vp, and carried him off. The right wing stood longer to it; and though *Cleon* himselfe presently fled, (as B at first he intended not to stay) and was intercepted by a *Myrcinian* Targettier, and slaine, yet his men of Armes casting themselues into a circle, on the top of a little hill, twice or thrice resisted the charge of *Clearidas*, and shrunke not at all, till begirt with the *Myrcinian* and *Chalcidean* horse, and with the Targettiers, they were put to flight by their Darts. Thus the whole Army of the *Athenians*, getting away with much adoe ouer the hills, and by seuerall wayes: all that were not slaine vpon the place, or by the *Chalcidean* horse, and Targettiers, recovered *Eion*. C The other side taking vp *Brasidas* out of the battell, and hauing so long kept him aliue, brought him yet breathing into the City. And he knew that his side had gotten the victory; but expired shortly after. When *Clearidas* with the rest of the Army, were returned from pursute of the enemy, they rifled those that were slaine, and erected a Trophie.

After this the Confederates following the Corpes of *Brasidas*, all of them in their Armes, buried him in the City at the publique charge, in the entrance of that which is now the Market place. And the *Amphipolitans* afterwards hauing taken in his Monument with a wall, \* killed vnto him, as to a \* Heroe, honoured him with Games and anniuersary sacrifice, and attributed their Colony vnto him, as to the Founder; pulling downe the Edifices of \* *Agnon*, and defacing whatsoeuer Monument might maintaine the memory of his foundation. This they did both for that they esteemed *Brasidas* for their preseruer, and also because at this time, through feare of the *Athenians*, they courted the *Lacedaemonians* for a League. As for *Agnon*, E because of their hostility with the *Athenians*, they thought it

A it neither expedient for them to giue him honours, nor that they would be acceptable vnto him if they did. The dead bodies they rendred to the *Athenians*; of whom there were slaine about 600, and but seuen of the other side, by reason, that it was no set battell, but fought vpon such an occasion and precedent affright. After the dead were taken vp, the *Athenians* went home by Sea, and *Clearidas*, and those with him, stayed to settle the estate of *Amphipolis*.

About the same time of the Summer now ending, *Ramphias*, *Aniocharidas*, and *Epicydidas*, *Lacedaemonians*, were leading a supply towards the parts vpon *Thrace*, of 500 men B of Armes, and when they were come to *Heraclea*, in *Trachinia* they stayed there, to amend such things as they thought amisse; Whilst they stayed, this battell was fought. And the Summer ended.

The next Winter they that were with *Ramphias*, went presently forward, as farre as the hill *Pierium* in *Thessaly*. But the *Thessalians* forbidding them to goe on, and *Brasidas* to whom they were carrying this Army being dead, they returned homewards; conceiuing that the opportunity C now serued not, both because the *Athenians* were vpon this ouerthrow gone away, and for that they themselues were vnable to performe any of those designs, which the other had intended. But the principall cause of their returne was this, that they knew at their comming forth, that the *Lacedaemonians* had their mindes, more set vpon a Peace, then Warre.

Presently after the battell of *Amphipolis*, and returne of *Ramphias* out of *Thessaly*, it fell out, that neither side did any act of Warre, but were inclined rather to a Peace; D the *Athenians* for the blow they had receiued at *Delium*, and this other, a little after, at *Amphipolis*; and because they had no longer that confident hope in their strength, on which they relyed, when formerly they refused the Peace, as hauing conceiued vpon their present successe, that they should haue had the vpper hand.

Also they stood in feare of their owne Confederates, lest emboldned by these losses of theirs, they should more and more reuolt, and repented that they made not the Peace, after their happy successe at *Pylus*, when occasion E was offered to haue done it honourably. And the *Lacedaemonians* on the other side did desire Peace, because

*Supplies going to Brasidas, stay by the way at Heraclea.*

*The end of the tenth Summer. The supplies going to Brasidas, hearing of his death, returne to Lacedaemon.*

*The Athenians, and Lacedaemonians incline to Peace.*

*The causes why the Athenians desired Peace.*

*The causes why the Lacedaemonians desired peace*

because the Warre had not proceeded as they expected: for A they had thought they should in a few yeeres haue warred downe the power of *Athens*, by wasting their Territory; and because they were falne into that calamity in the Island, the like whereof had neuer happened vnto *Sparta* before: because also their Countrey was continually rauaged by those of *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and their *Helotes* continually fled to the Enemy; and because they feared lest those which remained, trusting in them that were runne away, should in this estate of theirs, raise some inuouation, as at other times before they had done. Withall it hapned, that B the 35. yeeres peace with the *Argiues* was now vpon the point of expiring, and the *Argiues*\* would not renew it, without restitution made them of *Cynuria*; so that to warre against the *Argiues* and the *Athenians* both at once, seemed impossible. They suspected also, that some of the Cities of *Peloponnesus* would reuolt to the *Argiues*, as indeed it came afterwards to passe. These things considered, it was by both parts thought good to conclude a Peace; but especially by the *Lacedemonians*, for the desire they had to recover their men taken in the Island; for the *Spartans* that were amongst them, were both of the prime men of the City, and their kinsmen. And therefore they began to treat, presently after they were taken.

But the *Athenians*, by reason of their prosperity, would not lay downe the War at that time on equall termes. But after their defeat at *Delium*, the *Lacedemonians* knowing they would be apter now to accept it, made that Truce for a yeere, during which they were to meet, and consult about a longer time. But when also this other ouerthrow happened to the *Athenians* at *Amphipolis*, and that both *Cleon* and *Brasidas* were slaine (the which on either side were most opposite to the Peace; the one, for that hee had good successe and honour in the Warre; the other, because in quiet times his euill actions would more appeare, and his calumniationes bee the lesse beleueed) those two that in the two States aspired most to bee chiefe, *Pleistomanax* the sonne of *Pausanias*, and *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, who in Military charges had beene the most fortunate of his time, did most of all other desire to haue the Peace goe forward; *Nicias*, because he was desirous, hauing hitherto neuer beene ouerthrowne, to carry his

\* *Ampelidas* and *Lichas* were sent to *Argos* to renew the Peace; but the *Argiues* would not renew it, because the *Lacedemonians* would not restore the *Argiues* the dangerous *Lichas* who was with the *Athenians*, refused it.

*Cleon* and *Brasidas* opposers of the Peace for secular ends.

*Pleistomanax* and *Nicias* persuaders to Peace.

*Nicias* his ends in seeking Peace.

A his good fortune through, and to giue both himselfe, and the Citie rest from their troubles for the present; and for the future to leaue a name, that in all his time hee had neuer made the Common-wealth miscarry: which hee thought might be done by standing out of danger, and by putting himselfe as little as hee might into the hands of Fortune: And to stand out of danger is the benefit of Peace. *Pleistomanax* had the same desire, because of the imputation laid vpon him, about his returne from exile, by his enemies, that suggested vnto the *Lacedemonians* vpon B euery losse they receiued, that the same befell them, for hauing contrary to the Law repealed his banishment. For they charged him further, that hee and his Brother *Aristocles*, had suborned the Prophetesse of *Delphi*, to answer the \* *Deputies* of the *Lacedemonians* when they came thither, most commonly with this, That they should bring backe the seed of the \* *Semigol*, the sonne of *Iupiter*, out of a strange Countrey into his owne: and that if they did not, they should plow their land with a siluer plough: and so at length to haue made the *Lacedemonians*, 19. yeeres after, with such Dances and Sacrifices as they who were the first founders of *Lacedemon* had ordained to be vsed, at the enthroning of their Kings, to fetch him home againe, who liued in the meane time in exile in the Mountaine *Lycæum*, in a House whereof the one halfe was part of the Temple of *Iupiter*, for feare of the *Lacedemonians*, as being suspected to haue taken a bribe to withdraw his Armie out of *Attica*.

Being troubled with these imputations, and considering with himselfe, there being no occasion of calamity in time of Peace, and the *Lacedemonians* thereby recouering their men, that he also should cease to bee obnoxious to the calumniationes of his enemies; whereas in Warre, such as had charge, could not but bee quarrelled vpon their losses, hee was therefore forward to haue the Peace concluded.

And this Winter they fell to treaty, and withall the *Lacedemonians* braued them with a preparation already making against the Spring, sending to the Cities about for that purpose, as if they meant to fortifie in *Attica*, to the end that the *Athenians* might giue them the better care. When after many meetings, and many demands, E on eyther side, it was at last agreed, that Peace should

The reason why *Pleistomanax* desired the peace.

\* *Socrates*, Ambassadors to the Oracles: so called.

\* *Hercules*, from whom *Pleistomanax* was descended.

*Pleistomanax* banished for withdrawing his Army out of *Attica*.

The *Lacedemonians* desiring the peace, make shew of Warre.

Peace concluded.

The Bœotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megareans, refuse to be comprehended.

THE ARTICLES OF THE PEACE BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS, AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

\* The Articles about matters of Religion.

be concluded, each part rendring what they had taken in the Warre, saue that the Athenians should hold Nisæa, (for when they likewise demanded Plataea, and the Thebans answered that it was neither taken by force, nor by treason, but rendred voluntarily, the Athenians said that they also had Nisæa in the same manner.) The Lacedæmonians calling together their Confederates, and all but the Bœotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megareans, (for these disliked it) giuing their votes for the ending of the Warre, they concluded the Peace, and confirmed it to the Athenians with sacrifice, and swore it, and the Athenians againe vnto them, vpon these Articles.

The Athenians, and Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, haue made Peace, and sworne it, Citie by Citie, as followeth:

Touching the publique Temples, it shall bee lawfull to whomsoever will, to sacrifice in them, and to haue access vnto them, and to aske counsell of the Oracles in the same, and to send their \* Deputies vnto them, according to the custome of his Countrey, securely both by Sea and Land.

The whole place consecrate, and Temple of Apollo, in Delphi, C and Delphi it selfe, shall be gouerned by their owne Law, taxed by their owne State, and indged by their owne Iudges, both City and Territory, according to the institution of the place.

The Peace shall endure betweene the Athenians, with their Confederates, and the Lacedæmonians with their Confederates, for fiftie yeeres, both by Sea and Land, without fraud, and without harme-doing.

It shall not be lawfull to beare Armes, with intention of hurt, neither for the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, against the Athenians, nor for the Athenians and their Confederates, against D the Lacedæmonians, by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

If any Controuerfie shall arise betweene them, the same shall be decided by Law, and by Oath, in such manner as they shall agree on.

The Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall render Amphipolis to the Athenians.

The Inhabitants, of whatsoever City the Lacedæmonians shall render vnto the Athenians, shall be at liberty, to goe forth whither they will, with bagge and baggage.

Those Cities which paid the tribute, taxed in the \* time of Aristides, continuing to pay it, shall be gouerned by their owne Lawes, and

\* In 448 B.C. was the first time that the Athenians began to command the rest of Greece or so soon the end of the Median War, the Lacedæmonians left that Command, the Athenians undertooke it, and taxed the several Cities to tribute towards the Warre. The War ended, the tribute ceased not.

A and now that the Peace is concluded, it shall be lawfull for the Athenians, or their Confederates, to beare Armes against them, or to doe them any hurt, as long as they shall pay the said tribute. The Cities are these, Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, Spartolus. And they shall be Confederates of neither side, neither of the Lacedæmonians, nor of the Athenians. But if the Athenians can perswade these Cities vnto it, then it shall bee lawfull for the Athenians to haue them for Confederates, hauing gotten their consent.

B The Mecybernians, Sanæans, and Singæans, shall inhabite their owne Cities, on the same conditions, with the Olynthians and Acanthians.

The Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, shall render Panactum vnto the Athenians. And the Athenians shall render to the Lacedæmonians, \* Coryphæum, Cythera, Methone, Pteleum, and Atalante.

C They shall likewise deliuer whatsoever Lacedæmonians are in the prison of Athens, or in any prison of what place soeuer, in the Athenian dominion; and dismisse all the Peloponnesians, besieged in Scione; and all that Brasidas did there put in, and whatsoever Confederates of the Lacedæmonians are in prison, either at Athens, or in the Athenian State. And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall deliuer whomsoever they haue in their hands of the Athenians, or their Confederates, in the same manner.

Touching the Scioneans, Toronæans, and Sermylitis, and whatsoever other Citie belonging to the Athenians, the Athenians shall doe with them, what they thinke fit.

D The Athenians shall take an Oath to the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, Citie by Citie; and that Oath shall be the greatest that in each Citie is in use; The thing that they shall sweare, shall be this. I stand to these Articles, and to this Peace, truly and sincerely. And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall take the same Oath to the Athenians. This oath they shall on both sides euery yeere renew, and shall erect Pillars, [inscribed with this Peace] at Olympia, \* Pythia, and in the Isthmus; at Athens, within the Cittadell; and at Lacedæmon, in the \* Amycleum.

E And if any thing be on either side forgotten, or shall be thought fit vpon good deliberation to be changed, it shall be lawfull for them to doe it, \* in such manner as the Lacedæmonians, and Athenians shall thinke fit, jointly.

\* The promontory of Coryphæum, put here for Argilus.

\* By Delphi where the Pythian games were kept.

\* Amyclæum, a Temple of Apollo.

\* This Article displeased the Confederates of Lacedæmon, because the Articles might by this be changed without them.

This

\* February.

This Peace shall take beginning from the 24 of the moneth Artemisium, Pleistolas being Ephore, at Sparta, and the 15 of \* Elaphebolium, after the account of Athens, Alcæus, being Archon.

They that tooke the Oath, and sacrificed, were these; of the Lacedæmonians, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Ischagoras, Philocaridas, Zeuxidas, Antheppus, Tellis, Alcénidas, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. Of the Athenians these, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthidemus, Procles, Pythadorus, Agnon, Myrtillus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocetes, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes

This Peace was made in the very \* end of Winter, and the Spring then beginning, presently after the Citie Barchanals, and full tenne yeeres, and some few dayes ouer, after the first inuasion of Attica, and the beginning of this Warre. But now for the certainty hereof, let a man consider the times themselves, and not trust to the account of the names of such as in the seuerall places, bare chiefe offices, or for some honour to themselves, had their names ascribed, for markes to the actions foregoing. For it is not exactly knowne who was in the beginning of his office, or who in the midst, or how he was, when any thing fell out. But if one reckon the same by Summers and Winters, according as they are written, hee shall finde by the two halfe yeeres, which make the whole, that this first Warre was of tenne Summers, and as many Winters continuance.

The Lacedæmonians (for it fell vnto them by lot to begin the restitution) both dismissed presently those Prisoners they had then in their hands, and also sent Ambassadors, Ischagoras, Menas, and Philocaridas into the parts vpon Thrace, with command to Clearidas to deliuer vp Amphipolis to the Athenians, & requiring the rest of their Confederates there to accept of the Peace in such manner as was for euery of them accorded. But they would not doe it, because they thought it was not for their aduantage. And Clearidas also, to gratifie the Chalcideans, surrendered not the City, alledging that hee could not doe it whether they would or not. And comming away soone after with those Ambassadors to Lacedæmon, both to purge himselfe, if he should bee

\* It appears here that the moneth Elaphebolion amongst the Athenians was the last moneth of their 15<sup>th</sup> inter quarter.

The true way of accounting the yeeres of this Warre.

The Lacedæmonians begin to performe the Articles, & presently deliuer their prisoners.

The Amphipolitans refuse to render themselves vnder the Athenians.

A bee accused by those with Ischagoras, for disobeying the States command, and also to try if the Peace might by any meanes be shaken: when he found it firme, hee himselfe beeing sent backe by the Lacedæmonians, with command principally to surrender the place, and if he could not doe that, then to draw thence all the Peloponnesians that were in it, immediately tooke his iourney. But the Confederates chanced to bee present themselves in Lacedæmon, and the Lacedæmonians required such of them as formerly refused, that they would accept the Peace: but they, vpon the same pretence on which they had reiected it before, said, B That vnlesse it were more reasonable, they would not accept it. And the Lacedæmonians seeing they refused, dismissed them, and by themselves entred with the Athenians into a League; because they imagined that the Argives would not renew their Peace (because they had refused it before, when Amphelidas and Lichas went to Argos,) and held them for no dangerous Enemies without the Athenians: and also conceiued, that by this meanes the rest of Peloponnesus would not stirre; for if they could, they would turne to the Athenians. Wherefore the Ambassadors of Athens being then present, and conference had, they agreed, and the Oath and League was concluded on, in the termes following.

The Lacedæmonians shall be Confederates with the Athenians for fiftie yeeres.

If any enemy inuade the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and doe the Lacedæmonians any harme, the Athenians shall ayde the Lacedæmonians against them in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the Enemy, after he hath spoiled the Countrey, shall be gone away, then that Citie shall be held as enemy both to the Lacedæmonians and to the Athenians, and shall be warred vpon by them both; and both Cities shall againe lay downe the Warre ioyntly. And this to be done iustly, readily, and sin. erely.

And if any enemy shall inuade the Territories of the Athenians, and doe the Athenians any harme, then the Lacedæmonians shall ayde the Athenians against them, in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the enemy, after hee hath spoiled the Countrey, shall bee gone away, then shall that Citie be held for enemy both to the Lacedæmonians and to the Athenians, and shall bee warred vpon by both, and both the Cities shall againe lay downe the Warre together.

Clearidas endeoureth to dissolue the Peace.

The Lacedæmonians make league with the Athenians.

THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGUE BETWEENE THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND THE ATHENIANS.

together. And this to be done iustly, readily, and sincerely. A

If their slaves shall rebell, the Athenians shall assist the Lacedæmonians with all their strength possible.

\* Bacchanalia Urbica,  
which were celebrated yearly,  
not much before this time.

These things shall be sworne vnto by the same men on eyther side that swore the peace, and shall be every yeere renewed by the Lacedæmonians at their comming to the \*Bacchanals at Athens; and by the Athenians at their going to the Hyacinthian Feast at Lacedæmon; and either side shall erect a Pillar [inscribed with this League] one at Lacedæmon, neere vnto Apollo in the Amycleum, another at Athens, neere Minerua in the Citadell.

If it shall seeme good to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians B to adde or take away any thing touching the League, it shall be lawfull for them to doe it ioyntly.

Of the Lacedæmonians took the Oath, these, Pleistoanax, Agis, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antippos, Alcidas, Tellis, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. Of the Athenians, Lampon, Istmionicus, Laches, Nicias, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Agnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus and Demosthenes. C

The Athenians deliuer the  
prisoners taken at Pylos.

This League was made not long after the Peace. And the Athenians deliuered to the Lacedæmonians the men they had taken in the Island; and by this time began the Summer of the eleuenth yeere. And hitherto hath bene written these tenne yeeres which this first Warre continued, without intermission.

THE ELEVENTH  
YEERE.

After the Peace and League made betweene the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, after the tenne yeeres Warre, Pleistolas being Ephore at Lacedæmon, and Alcæus Archon of Athens; though there were Peace to those that had accepted it; yet the Corinthians and some Cities of Peloponnesus, endeouored to ouerthrow what was done, and presently arose another stirre, by the Confederates, against Lacedæmon. And the Lacedæmonians also after a while became suspect vnto the Athenians, for not performing somewhat agreed on in the Articles. And for sixe yeeres and tenne moneths, they abstayned from entring into each others Territories with their Armes: but the Peace being but weake, they did each other abroad what harme they could; and in the end, were forced to dissolue the Peace, made E

The Lacedæmonians slacke  
in performance of the  
Articles of the Peace.

A made after those ten yeeres, and fell againe into open War. This also hath the same Thucydides of Athens, written from point to point, by Summers and Winters, as euery thing came to passe, vntill such time as the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, had made an end of the Athenian dominion, and had taken their Long-walls, and Peiræus. To which time from the beginning of the War, it is in all 27 yeeres.

From the beginning to  
this end of the Warre  
27 yeeres.

As for the composition betweene, if any man shall thinke it not to be accounted with the War, he shal thinke amisse. For let him look into the actions that passed as they are distinctly set down, and he shall find, that, that deserueth not to be taken for a Peace, in which they neither rendred all, nor accepted all, according to the Articles. Besides, in the Mantinean and Epidaurian wars, and in other actions, it was on both sides infringed. Moreouer, the Confederates on the borders of Thrace continued in hostility as before; and the Bæotians had but a truce from one ten dayes to another. So that with the first ten yeeres war, and with this doubtfull cessation, & the war that followed after it, a man shal find, counting by the times, that it came to iust so many yeeres, and some few dayes; & that those who built vpon the prediction of the Oracles, haue this number onely to agree. C

The time of this Peace,  
not to be reckoned  
Peace.

And I remember yet, that from the very beginning of this War, and so on, till the end, it was vttered by many, that it should be of thrice 9 yeeres continuance. And for the time therof I liued in my strength, & applied my mind to gaine an accurate knowledge of the same. It hapned also that I was banished my countrey for 20 yeeres, after my charge at Amphipolis, whereby being present at the affaires of both, and especially of the Lacedæmonians, by reason of my exile I could, at leasure the better learn the truth of all that passed. D

The number of yeeres  
which the whole Warre  
lasted.

Thucydides, for his ill  
success at Amphipolis, ban-  
ished Athens for 20 yeeres.

The quarrels therefore, & perturbations of the Peace, after those ten yeeres, & that which followed, according as from time to time the Warre was carried, I will now pursue. After the concluding of the 50 yeeres Peace, and the League which followed, and when those Ambassadors which were sent for, out of the rest of Peloponnesus, to accept the said Peace, were departed from Lacedæmon, the Corinthians (the rest going all to their owne Cities) turning first to Argos, entred into Treaty with some of the Argiue Magistrates, to this purpose, That the Lacedæmonians had made a Peace and League with the Athenians, their heretofore mortall enemies, tending not to the E

The Corinthians contriue  
with the Argiues to make  
a League in Peloponnesus  
without the Lacedæmo-  
nians.



benefit, but to the enslaving of *Peloponnesus*, it behoued A them to consider of a course, for the safety of the same, and to make a Decree, That any City of the *Grecians* that would, and were a free City, and admitted the like, and equall trials of Iudgement with theirs, might make a League with the *Argives*, for the one mutually to aide the other, and to assigne them a *Few* men, with absolute authority from the State, to treat with; and that it should not be motioned to the People, to the end, that if the multitude would not agree to it, it might be vnknowne that euer they had made such a motion, affirming that many would B come into this Confederacy vpon hatred to the *Lacedemonians*. And the *Corinthians*, when they had made this ouerture, went home. These men of *Argos*, hauing heard them, and reported their proposition, both to the Magistrates, & to the People, the *Argives* ordered the same accordingly, and elected 12 men, with who it should be lawfull for any *Grecian* to make the League that would, except the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, with neither of which they were to enter into any League, without the consent of the *Argive* People. And this the *Argives* did the more willingly admit, as well for that they saw the *Lacedemonians* would C make Warre vpon them, (for the Truce betweene them was now vpon expiring) as also because they hoped to haue the Principality of *Peloponnesus*. For about this time *Lacedemon* had but a bad report, and was in contempt for the losses it had receiued. And the *Argives* in all points were in good estate, as not hauing concurred in the *Attique* War, but rather been in peace with both, and thereby gotten in their reuenue. Thus the *Argives* receiued into League all such *Grecians* as came vnto them.

First of all therefore, came in, the *Mantineans*, and their D Confederates, which they did for fear of the *Lacedemonians*. For a part of *Arcadia*, during the warre of *Athens*, was come vnder the obedience of the *Mantineans*, ouer which, they thought, the *Lacedemonians*, now they were at rest, would not permit them any longer to comand. And therefore they willingly ioyned with the *Argives*, as being they thought, a great City, euer enemy to the *Lacedemonians*, & gouerned as their owne by *Democracy*. When the *Mantineans* had reuolted the rest of *Peloponnesus* began also to mutter amongst them- E selues, that it was fit for them to do the like; conceiuing that there was somewhat in it, more then they knew, that made

Twelve men chosen at Argos to treat about a League.

The *Mantineans* enter League with the *Argives*.

The rest of *Peloponnesus* incline to the same League.

A made the *Mantineans* to turne, and were also angry with the *Lacedemonians* amongst many other causes; for that it was written in the *Articles* of the *Attique* Peace, That it should be lawfull to add to, or take away from the same, whatsoeuer should seeme good to the two Cities of the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*. For this was the Article that the most troubled the *Peloponnesians*, and put them into a ieaousie that the *Lacedemonians* might haue a purpose ioyning with the *Athenians* to bring them into subiection. For in iustice the power of changing the *Articles*, ought to haue beene B ascribed to all the Confederates in generall. Whereupon, many fearing such an intention, applyed themselves to the *Argives*, euery one feuerally struing to come into their League.

The *Lacedemonians* perceiuing this stirre to begin in *Peloponnesus*, and that the *Corinthians* were both the contriuers of it, and entred themselves also into the League with *Argos*, sent Ambassadors vnto *Corinth*, with intention to preuent the sequell of it, and accused them, both for the whole designe, and for their owne reuolt in particular, C which they intended to make from them, to the League of the *Argives*; saying that they should therein infringe their oath, and that they had already done vniustly, to refuse the Peace made with the *Athenians*; for as much as it is an Article of their \* League, that what the maior part of the Confederates should conclude, vnlesse it were hindred by some God or Heroe, the same was to stand good. But the *Corinthians* (those Confederates which had refused the Peace as well as they, being now at *Corinth*; for they had sent for them before) in their answer to the *Lacedemonians*, did not D openly alledge the wrongs they had receiued; as that the *Athenians* had not restored *Solium*, nor *Anactorium*, nor any thing else they had in this Warre lost, but pretended not to betray those of *Torace*, for that they had in particular taken an oath vnto them, both when (together with *Potidea*) they first reuolted and also another afterwards. And therefore they said they did not breake the oath of their League, by reiecting the Peace with *Athens*. For hauing sworne vnto them by the Gods, they should in betraying them, offend the Gods. And whereas it is said, *Vnlesse some God or* E *Heroe hinder it*, This appeareth to be a Diuine hinderance. Thus they answered for their old oath.

R r 2

Then,

The Article of adding and altering nullified.

The *Lacedemonians* expostulate with the *Corinthians*, about this League with *Argos*.

\* The *Peloponnesian* League against *Athens*.

The Apologie of the *Corinthians* for their refusing the Peace.

Their answer touching their League with *Argos*.



Then, for their League with the *Argives*, they gave this answer: That when they had advised with their friends, they would doe afterwards what should be iust. And so the Ambassadors of *Lacedæmon* went home. At the same time were present also in *Corinth*, the Ambassadors of *Argos*, to invite the *Corinthians* to their League, and that without delay. But the *Corinthians* appointed them to come againe at their next sitting.

Presently after this, came vnto them an Ambassage also from the *Eleans*. And first, they made a League with the *Corinthians*; and going thence to *Argos*, made a League with the *Argives*; according to the \* declaration before mentioned. The *Eleans* had a quarrell with the *Lacedæmonians* concerning *Lepreum*. For the *Lepreates*, hauing heretofore warred on certaine of the *Arcadians*, and for their aid called the *Eleans* into their Confederacy, with condition to giue the moiety of the Land to be won from them, when the Warre was ended, the *Eleans* gaue vnto the *Lepreates*, the whole Land to be enioyed by themselves, with an imposition thereon of a \* Talent to be paid to *Iupiter Olympian*, which they continued to pay, till the beginning of the *Athenian* Warre. But afterwards, vpon pretence of that Warre, giuing ouer the payment, the *Eleans* would haue forced them to it againe. The *Lepreates* for helpe, hauing recourse to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the cause being referred to their decision, the *Eleans* afterwards, vpon suspicion that the *Lacedæmonians* would not do them right, renouaced the reference, and wasted the Territory of the *Lepreates*. The *Lacedæmonians* neuerthelesse gaue sentence, That the *Lepreates* should be at liberty to pay it, or not, and that the *Eleans* did the iniury; and because the *Eleans* had not stood to the reference, the *Lacedæmonians* put into *Lepreum*, a Garrison of men of Armes. The *Eleans* taking this, as if the *Lacedæmonians* had receiued their reuolted City, and producing the Article of their League, That what euery one possessed, when they entred into the Attique Warre; the same they should possesse when they gaue it ouer, reuolted to the *Argives*, as wrong'd, and entred league with them, as is before related.

After these, came presently into the *Argiue* League, the *Corinthians*, and the *Chalcideans* vpon *Thrace*. The *Bæotians* also, and *Megareans* threatned as much, but because they thought the *Argiue* Democracy would not be so commodi-

The *Eleans* make a league first with *Corinth*, then with *Argos*.

\* The decree of the *Argiues* that any Grecian that would make a league with them, should giue to the Commissioners by them chosen to that purpose.

\* 120 pound ten shillings sterling.

Quarrell of the *Eleans* against the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Corinthians*, and the Townes vpon *Thrace* enter into the league with *Argos*.

ous for them, who were gouerned according to the gouernment of the *Lacedæmonians* by *Oligarchie*, they stirred no further in it.

About the same time of this Summer, the *Athenians* expugned *Sciône*, slew all that were within it at mans estate, made slaues of the women and children, and gaue their Territory to the *Plateans*.

They also replanted the *Delians*, in *Delos*, both in consideration of the defeates they had receiued after their expulsion, and also because the Oracle at *Delphi* had commanded it.

The *Phoceans* and *Locrians* also began a Warre at that time against each other.

And the *Corinthians* and *Argiues*, being now leagued, went to *Tegea*, to cause it to reuolt from the *Lacedæmonians*; conceiuing it to be an important piece of *Peloponnesus*, and making account, if they gained it to their side, they should easily obtaine the whole. But when the *Tegeates* refused to become enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians*, who till then had beene very forward, grew lesse violent, and were afraid, that no more of the rest would come in. Neuerthelesse they went to the *Bæotians*, and solicited them to enter into league with them; and the *Argiues*, and to doe as they did. And the *Corinthians* further desired the *Bæotians* to goe along with them to *Athens*, and to procure for them the like ten dayes Truce, to that which was made betweene the *Athenians* and *Bæotians*, presently after the making of the fifty yeeres Peace, on the same termes that the *Bæotians* had it; and if the *Athenians* refused, then to renounce theirs, and make no more Truces hereafter without the *Corinthians*. The *Corinthians* hauing made this request, the *Bæotians* willed them touching the League with the *Argiues* to stay a while longer, and went with them to *Athens*, but obtained not the ten dayes Truce, the *Athenians* answering, that if the *Corinthians* were Confederates with the *Lacedæmonians*, they had a Peace already. Neuerthelesse, the *Bæotians* would not relinquish their ten dayes Truce, though the *Corinthians* both required the same, and affirmed that it was so before agreed on. Yet the *Athenians* granted the *Corinthians* a cessation of Armes, but \* without solemne ratification.

The same Summer the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole power,

The *Athenians* recouer *Sciône*.

The *Delians* replanted in *Delos*.

*Phocias* and *Locris* in Warre.

The *Corinthians* seeke to turne the Cities of *Caponeus* and other Confederates from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Argiues*.

The *Corinthians* seeke the ten dayes Truce with *Athens*, as the *Bæotians* had it.

The *Bæotians* take time to answer, concerning a League with *Argos*.

The *Athenians* deny the ten dayes Truce to the *Corinthians*.

\* *demolished*. The *Lacedæmonians* demolish the Fort of *Cysela*.

power, vnder the Conduct of *Pleistoanax*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, made Warre vpon the *Parrhasians* of *Arcadia*, subiects of the *Mantineans*, partly as called in, by occasion of sedition, and partly because they intended, if they could, to demolish a fortification which the *Mantineans* had built, and kept with a Garrison in *Cypsela*, in the Territory of the *Parrhasians*, towards *Sciritis* of *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* therefore wasted the Territory of the *Parrhasians*. And the *Mantineans* leauing their owne Citie to the Custody of the *Argiues*, came forth to aide the *Parrhasians* their Confederates. But being unable to defend both the Fort of *Cypsela*, and the Cities of the *Parrhasians* too, they went home againe; and the *Lacedæmonians* when they had set the *Parrhasians* at liberty, and demolished the fortification, went home likewise.

The same Summer, when those Souldiers which went out with *Brasidas*, and of which *Clearidas*, after the making of the Peace, had the charge, were returned from the parts vpon *Thrace*, the *Lacedæmonians* made a decree, that those *Helots* which had fought vnder *Brasidas*, should receiue their liberty, and inhabite where they thought good; but not long after, they placed them, together with such others as had been newly enfranchised in *Lepreum*, a City standing in the Confines betweene *Laconia*, and the *Eleans*, with whom they were now at variance.

Fearing also lest those Citizens of their owne, which had been taken in the \* Island, and had deliuered vp their Armes to the *Athenians*, should vpon apprehension of disgrace for that calamity, if they remained capable of honours, make some innouation in the State, they disabled them, though some of them were in office already; and their disablement was this, That they should neither beare office, nor be capable to buy and sell, yet in time they were againe restored to their former honours.

The same Summer also, the *Dictideans* tooke *Thyssus*, a Towne in Mount *Athos*, and Confederate of the *Athenians*.

This whole Summer there was continuall commerce betweene the *Athenians* and the *Peloponnesians*; neuertheless they began, both the *Athenians*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, to haue each other in suspition immediately after the Peace, in respect of the places not yet mutually surrendered. For the *Lacedæmonians*, to whose lot it fell to make restitution

The *Lacedæmonians* put a Garrison into *Lepreum*, of men newly enfranchised.

\* *Sphacteria*, or against *Pylus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* disabled those that were taken in *Sphacteria*, to be in office, or to make bargain.

The *Dictideans* take *Thyssus* from the *Athenians*.

Jealousie betweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

A tion first, had not rendred *Amphipolis*, and the other Cities, nor had caused the Peace to be accepted by the Confederates vpon *Thrace*, nor by the *Boeotians*, nor *Corinthians*, though they had euer professed, that in case they refused, they would ioyne with the *Athenians*, to bring them to it by force, and had prefixed a time (though not by writing) within the which, such as entred not into this Peace, were to be held as enemies vnto both. The *Athenians* therefore, when they saw none of this really performed, suspected that they had no sincere intention, and thereupon refused to render *Pylus*, when they required it; nay, they repented that they had deliuered vp the prisoners they tooke in the Island; and detained the rest of the Townes they then held, till the *Lacedæmonians* should haue performed the conditions on their part also. The *Lacedæmonians*, to this, alledged, That they had done what they were able to doe. For they had deliuered the *Athenian* prisoners that were in their hands, and had withdrawne their Souldiers from the parts vpon *Thrace*, and whatsoever else was in their owne power to performe. But *Amphipolis* they said, was not in their power to surrender. That they would endeavour to bring the *Boeotians* and *Corinthians*, to accept the Peace, and to get *Panactum* restored, and all the *Athenian* prisoners in *Boeotia*, to be sent home. And therefore desired them to make restitution of *Pylus*, or if not so, at least to draw out of it, the *Messenians* and *Helotes* (as they for their part had drawne their Garrisons out of the Townes vpon *Thrace*) and if they thought good, to keepe it with a Garrison of *Athenians*. After diuers, and long Conferences had this Summer, they so farre preuailed with the *Athenians*, at the last, as they drew thence, all the *Messenians*, and *Helotes*, and all other *Laconian* fugitiues, and placed them in *Cranij*, a City of *Cephallenia*. So for this Summer there was Peace, and free passage from one to another.

In the beginning of Winter, (for now there were other *Ephores* in office; not those in whose time the Peace was made, but some of them that opposed it) Ambassadors being come from the Confederates; and the *Athenian*, *Boeotian*, and *Corinthian* Ambassadors being already there, and hauing had much conference together, but concluded nothing, *Cleobulus*, and *Xenares*, *Ephores* that most desired the dissolution of the Peace, when the rest of the Ambassadors were gone home, entred into priuate Conference with

*Amphipolis* not yet rendered, nor the Peace accepted in the port of *Thrace*, nor by the *Boeotians* and *Corinthians*.

The *Athenians* refuse to render *Pylus*.

The Apologie of the *Lacedæmonians* for not performing the Articles.

The *Athenians* draw the *Messenians* and *Helotes* out of *Pylus*.

The end of the eleuenth Summer.

The *Lacedæmonian Ephores* endeavour to dissolve the peace.

A proposition of a league  
betweene the *Lacedæmo-  
nians*, *Argives*, *Bæotians*  
and *Corinthians*.

with the *Bæotians* and *Corinthians*, exhorting them to A  
runne both the same course, and aduised the *Bæotians* to  
endouour first to make a League themselves with the  
*Argives*, and then to get the *Argives* together with  
themselves, into a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For  
that they might by this meanes avoyd the necessity of ac-  
cepting the Peace with *Athens*. For the *Lacedæmonians*  
would more regard the friendship and League of the *Ar-  
gives*, then the enmitie and dissolution of the Peace with  
the *Athenians*. For hee knew the *Lacedæmonians* had euer  
desired to haue *Argos* their friend vpon any reasonable con- B  
ditions, because they knew that their Warre without  
*Peloponnesus*, would thereby bee a great deale the easier.  
Wherefore they entreated the *Bæotians* to put *Panactum*  
into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the end that if they  
could get *Pylus* for it in exchange, they might make War  
against the *Athenians* the more commodiously.

The *Argives* propound a  
League to the *Bæotians*  
and *Corinthians*.

The *Bæotians* and *Corinthians* being dismissed by *Xenares*  
and *Cleobulus*, and all the other *Lacedæmonians* of that Fa-  
ction, with these points to be deliuered to their Common-  
wealths, went to their seuerall Cities. And two men of C  
*Argos*, of principall authority in that Citie, hauing wait-  
ted for, and met with them by the way, entred into a trea-  
ty with them, about a League betweene the *Argives* and  
the *Bæotians*, as there was betweene them and the *Corinthi-  
ans*, and the *Eleans*, and *Mantineans* already. For they  
thought, if it succeeded, they might the more easily haue  
either Warre or Peace, (forasmuch as the cause would  
now bee common) either with the *Lacedæmonians*, or  
whomsoever else it should be needfull.

And promise to send  
Ambassadors into *Bæo-  
tia* to that purpose.

When the *Bæotian* Ambassadors heard this, they were wel D  
pleased. For as it chanced, the *Argives* requested the same  
things of them, that they, by their friends in *Lacedæmon*,  
had beene sent to procure of the *Argives*. These men there-  
fore of *Argos*, when they saw that the *Bæotians* accepted of  
the motion, promised to send Ambassadors to the *Bæoti-  
ans* about it, and so departed.

When the *Bæotians* were come home, they related there  
what they had heard, both at *Lacedæmon*, and by the way,  
from the *Argives*. The *Gouernours* of *Bæotia* were glad  
thereof, and much more forward in it now, then formerly E  
they had beene, seeing that not onely their friends in *La-  
cedæmon*

A *Lacedæmon* desired, but the *Argives* themselves hastned to  
haue done the selfe-same thing. Not long after this, the  
Ambassadors came to them from *Argos*, to sollicit the dis-  
patch of the businesse before propounded, but the *Gouer-  
nours* of *Bæotia* commended onely the proposition, and dis-  
missed them, with promise to send Ambassadors about the  
League to *Argos*. In the meane time the *Gouernours* of  
*Bæotia* thought fit, that an oath should first be taken by  
themselves, and by the Ambassadors from *Corinth*, *Megara*,  
and the Confederates vpon *Thrace*, to giue mutuall assi-  
stance vpon any occasion to them that should require it, B  
and neither to make War nor Peace without the common  
consent. And next that the *Bæotians* and *Megareans*, (for  
these two ran the same course) should make a League with  
the *Argives*. But before this oath was to be taken, the *Go-  
uernours* of *Bæotia* communicated the businesse to the 4 *Bæotian*  
Councils, in the which the whole authority of the State  
consisteth, and withall presented their aduice, That any Ci-  
ty that would, might ioyne with them, in the like oath for mutuall  
assistance. But they that were of these Councils approued C  
not the proposition, because they feared to offend the *Lace-  
dæmonians* in being sworne to the *Corinthians*, that had reuol-  
ted from their confederacy. For the *Gouernours* of *Bæotia* had  
not reported vnto them, what had past at *Lacedæmon*, how  
*Cleobulus*, and *Xenares* the *Ephores*, and their friends there, had  
aduised them, to enter first into league with the *Argives*, and  
*Corinthians*, and then afterwards to make the same league  
with the *Lacedæmonians*. For they thought that the Coun-  
cels, though this had neuer been told them, would haue de-  
creed it no otherwise then they vpon premeditation should D  
aduise: So the businesse was checked, and the Ambassa-  
dors from *Corinth*, and from the Cities vpon *Thrace*, depar-  
ted without effect. And the *Gouernours* of *Bæotia*, that were  
before minded, if they had gotten this done, to haue leagued  
themselves also with the *Argives*, made no mention of the  
*Argives* in the Councils at all, nor sent the Ambassadors to  
*Argos*, as they had before promised, but a kind of carelesse-  
nesse and delay possessed the whole businesse.

The same Winter the *Olympians* tooke *Mecyberne*, held  
with a Garrison of the *Athenians* by assault.

E After this the *Lacedæmonians* (for the conferences be-  
tweene the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians* about restitu-  
tion

The *Bæotians* propound  
an oath betweene them-  
selves, the *Corinthians*,  
*Chalcidians*, and *Megareans*,  
of mutuall assistance.

The *Argive* League with  
the *Bæotians*, falleth off.

*Mecyberne* taken from the  
*Athenians* by assault.

The *Lacedæmonians* enter  
into a League with the  
*Bæotians*, knowing it to be  
against iustice.

tion reciprocally continued still) hoping that if the *Athenians* should obtaine from the *Bæotians*, *Panaetum*; that then they also should recover *Pylus*, sent Ambassadors to the *Bæotians*, which request that *Panaetum*, and the *Athenian* prisoners might be put into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they might get *Pylus* restored in exchange. But the *Bæotians* answered, that vnlesse the *Lacedæmonians* would make a particular League with them, as they had done with the *Athenians*, they would not doe it. The *Lacedæmonians*, though they knew they should therein wrong the *Athenians*, for that it was said in the Articles, that neither party should make either League, or Warre, without the others consent, yet such was their desire to get *Panaetum*, to exchange it for *Pylus*, and withall, they that longed to breake the Peace with *Athens*, were so eager in it, that at last they concluded a league with the *Bæotians*, Winter then ending, and the Spring approaching. And *Panaetum* was presently pulled downe to the ground. So ended the eleuenth yeere of this Warre.

THE TWELFTH  
YEERE.  
The Argives seeke Peace  
with the Lacedæmonians.

In the Spring following, the *Argives*, when they saw that the Ambassadors which the *Bæotians* promised to send vnto them, came not, and that *Panaetum* was razed, and that also there was a priuate league made betweene the *Bæotians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, were afraid lest they should on all hands be abandoned; and that the Confederates would all goe to the *Lacedæmonians*. For they apprehended that the *Bæotians* had been induced, both to raze *Panaetum*, and also to enter into the *Athenian* Peace, by the *Lacedæmonians*; and that the *Athenians* were priuy to the same. So that now they had no meanes to make league with the *Athenians* neither; whereas before they made account that if their truce with the *Lacedæmonians* continued not, they might vpon these differences, haue ioyned themselves to the *Athenians*. The *Argives* being therefore at a stand, and fearing to haue Warre all at once with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Tegeats*, *Bæotians*, and *Athenians*, as hauing formerly refused the truce with the *Lacedæmonians*, and imagined to themselves the principality of all *Peloponnesus*; they sent Ambassadors with as much speed as might be, *Eustrophus* & *Eson* persons, as they thought most acceptable vnto them, with this cogitation, that by compounding with the *Lacedæmonians*, as well as for their present estate they might, howsoeuer the world went, they should at least liue at quiet.

When

A When these Ambassadors were there, they fell to treat of the Articles vpon which the agreement should be made. And at first the *Argives* desired to haue the matter referred, either to some priuate man, or to some City, concerning the Territory of *Cynuria*, about which they haue alwayes differed, as lying on the borders of them both (it containeth the Cities of *Thyrea* and *Anthema*, and is possessed by the *Lacedæmonians*) But afterwards, the *Lacedæmonians* not suffering mention to be made of that, but that if they would haue the Truce goe on as it did before, they might; the *Argive* Ambassadors, got them to yeeld to this, That for the present, an accord should be made for fifty yeeres, but withall, that it should be lawfull neuerthelesse, (if one challenged the other thereunto) both for *Lacedæmon*, and *Argos* to try their Titles to this Territory by battell, so that there were in neither City, the Plague or a Warre to excuse them; (as once before they had done, when as both sides thought they had the victory.) And that it should not be lawfull for one part to follow the chase of the other further then to the bounds either of *Lacedæmon* or *Argos*.

The Territory of *Cynuria*, ground of the quarrels betweene *Lacedæmon* and *Argos*.

An odde condition of a Truce.

C And though this seemed to the *Lacedæmonians* at first to be but a foolish proposition, yet afterwards, (because they desired by all meanes to haue friendship with the *Argives*) they agreed vnto it, and put into writing what they required. Howsoeuer, before the *Lacedæmonians* would make any full conclusion of the same, they willed them to returne first to *Argos*, and to make the People acquainted with it, and then, if it were accepted, to returne at the *Hyacinthian* Feast and sweare it. So these departed.

Whilest the *Argives* were treating about this, the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, *Andromenes*, and *Phadimus*, and *Antimenidas*, Commissioners for receiuing of *Panaetum*, and the prisoners from the *Bæotians*, to render them to the *Athenians*, found that *Panaetum* was demolished, and that their pretext was this, That there had been anciently an Oath by occasion of difference betweene the *Athenians* and them, That neither part, should inhabite the place solely, but ioynly both. But for the *Athenian* prisoners, as many as the *Bæotians* had, they that were with *Andromenes* receiued, conuoyed and deliuered them vnto the *Athenians*, and withall told them of the razing of *Panaetum*, alledging it as rendred, in that, no enemy of *Athens* should dwell in it hereafter.

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors require *Pylus* in exchange for *Panaetum*.

St 2

But

The Athenians take in cull part, both the raising of *Panaetum*, and the League made with the *Baotians*.

The Argives make League with Athens, by means of *Alcibiades*.

The cause why *Alcibiades* desireth to breake with the *Lacedaemonians*.

*Alcibiades* sendeth for the Argives to Athens to make a League.

But when this was told them, the *Athenians* made it a **A** haynous matter, for that they conceiued that the *Lacedaemonians* had done them wrong, both in the matter of *Panaetum* which was pulled downe, and should haue beene rendred standing; and because also they had heard of the priuate League made with the *Baotians*, whereas they had promised to ioyne with the *Athenians* in compelling such to accept of the Peace, as had refused it; withall they weighed whatsoeuer other points the *Lacedaemonians* had beene short in, touching the performance of the Articles, and thought themselues abused; so that they answered the *B* *Lacedaemonian* Ambassadors roughly, and dismissed them.

This difference arising betweene the *Lacedaemonians*, and the *Athenians*, it was presently wrought vpon by such also of *Athens*, as desired to haue the Peace dissolued.

Amongst the rest was *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, a man though yong in yeeres, yet in the dignity of his Ancestors honoured as much as any man of what Citie soeuer: Who was of opinion, that it was better to ioyne with the *Argives*; not onely for the matter it selfe, but also out of stomacke, labouring to crosse the *Lacedaemonians*, because they **C** had made the Peace by the meanes of *Nicias*, and *Laches*, without him; whom for his youth they had neglected, and not honoured, as for the ancient hospitality betweene his house and them, had been requisite, which his father had indeed renounced, but he himselfe by good Offices done to those prisoners, which were brought from the Iland, had a purpose to haue renewed. But supposing himselfe on all hands disparaged, he both opposed the Peace at first, alledging that the *Lacedaemonians* would not be constant; and that they had made the Peace, onely **D** to get the *Argives* by that meanes away from them, and afterwards to invade the *Athenians* againe, when they should be destitute of their friends; And also as soone as this difference was on foote, he sent presently to *Argos* of himselfe, willing them with all speed to come to *Athens*, as being thereunto inuited; and to bring with them the *Eleans* and *Mantineans*, to enter with the *Athenians* into a League, the opportunity now seruing; and promising that he would helpe them all he could.

The *Argives* hauing heard the message, and knowing **E** that the *Athenians* had made no League with the *Baotians*,

*tians*, and that they were at great quarrell with the *Lacedaemonians*, neglected the Ambassadors they had then in *Lacedaemon*, (whom they had sent about the Truce) and applied themselues to the *Athenians*, with this thought, that if they should haue Warre, they should by this meanes be backed with a City that had been their ancient friend, gouerned like their owne by *Democrasy*, and of greatest power by Sea. Whereupon they presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens* to make a League; and together with theirs, went also the Ambassadors of the *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*. Thither also with all speed came the *Lacedaemonian* Ambassadors, *Philocharidas*, *Leon*, and *Endius*, persons accounted most gracious with the *Athenians*, for feare, left in their passion, they should make a League with the *Argives*; and withall to require the restitution of *Pylus* for *Panaetum*, and to excuse themselues concerning their League with the *Baotians*, as not made for any harme intended to the *Athenians*.

Now speaking of these things before the Councell, and how that they were come thither with full power to make agreement concerning all Controuersies betwixt them, they put *Alcibiades* into feare, lest, if they should say the same before the people, the multitude would be drawne vnto their side; and so the *Argive* League fall off. But *Alcibiades* deuisech against them this plot. He perswadeth the *Lacedaemonians* not to confesse their plenary power before the people, and giueth them his faith, that then *Pylus* should be rendred, (for he said he would perswade the *Athenians* to it, as much as he now opposed it) and that the rest of their differences should be compounded. **D** This he did to alienate them from *Nicias*, and that by accusing them before the people, as men that had no true meaning, nor euer spake one and the same thing, he might bring on the league with the *Argives*, *Eleans*, & *Mantineans*. And it came to passe accordingly. For when they came before the people, and to the question, whether they had full power of concluding, had (contrary to what they had said in Connell) answered no, the *Athenians* would no longer endure them, but gave care to *Alcibiades*, that exclaimed against the *Lacedaemonians* farre more now then euer, **E** and were ready then presently to haue the *Argives*; and those others with them brought in; and to make the League.

The *Lacedaemonian* Ambassadors come to *Athens*, to put an end to their League with the *Argives*.

*Alcibiades* perswadeth the *Lacedaemonian* Ambassadors, to deny before the people, that they had power to conclude.

*Alcibiades* inuiceth against the *Lacedaemonians*.



Nicias endeavoureth to have the Peace goe on with the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias is sent Ambassadour to Lacedæmon to get satisfaction about performance of the Articles.

Nicias was the Author of the Peace betweene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, and that Peace was therefore called Nicias.

League. But an Earthquake happening, before any thing A was concluded, the assembly was adiourned. In the next dayes meeting, Nicias, though the Lacedæmonians had been abused, and he himselfe also deceiued, touching their coming with full power to conclude, yet he persifted to asseme, that it was their best course to be friends with the Lacedæmonians, and to deferre the Argives businesse, till they had sent to the Lacedæmonians againe to be assured of their intention; saying, that it was honour vnto themselves, and dishonour to the Lacedæmonians to have the Warre put off. For, for themselves, being in estate of prosperity, it B was best to preserve their good fortune, as long as they might; whereas to the other side, who were in euill estate, it should be in place of gaine to put things as soone as they could to the hazzard. So he perswaded them to send Ambassadours, whereof himselfe was one, to require the Lacedæmonians, (if they meant sincerely) to render Panactum standing, and also Amphipolis: and if the Boeotians would not accept of the Peace, then to vndoe their League with them, according to the Article, That the one should not make league with any, without the consent of the other. They willed him to say further; That they themselves C also, if they had had the will to doe wrong, had ere this made a league with the Argives, who were present then at Athens, for the same purpose. And whatsoever they had to accuse the Lacedæmonians of besides, they instructed Nicias in it, and sent him and the other, his fellow Ambassadours, away. When they were arrived, and had deliuered what they had in charge, and this last of all, That the Athenians would make League with the Argives, vnlesse the Lacedæmonians would renounce their League with the Boeotians, if the Boeotians accepted not the Peace, the Lacedæmonians denied to renounce D their league with the Boeotians, (for Xenares the Ephor, and the rest of that faction carried it) but at the request of Nicias, they renewed their former Oath. For Nicias was afraid he should returne with nothing done, and be carped at (as after also it fell out) as \* author of the Lacedæmonian Peace.

At his returne, when the Athenians vnderstood that nothing was effected at Lacedæmon, they grew presently into choler, and apprehending iniury (the Argives, and E their Confederates being there present, brought in by Alcibiades)

Alcibiades, they made a Peace, and a League with them, in these words.

The Athenians, and Argives, and Mantineans, and Eleans, for themselves, and for the Confederates commanded by every of them, haue made an accord for 100 yeeres without fraud or damage, both by Sea and Land.

It shall not be lawfull for the Argives nor Eleans, nor Mantineans, nor their Confederates to beare Armes against the Athenians, or the \* Confederates vnder the command of the Athenians, or their Confederates by any fraud or machination whatsoever. And B the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, haue made League with each other for 100 yeeres on these termes.

If any enemy shall invade the Territory of the Athenians; then the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans shall goe vnto Athens, to assist them according as the Athenians shall send them word to doe, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy after hee haue spoyled the Territory shall be gone backe, then their Citie shall be held as an enemy to the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and Athenians, and Warre shall be made against it, by all those Cities. And it shall not be lawfull for any of those Cities to giue over the C Warre, without the consent of all the rest.

And if an enemy shall invade the Territory, either of the Argives, or of the Eleans, or of the Mantineans; then the Athenians shall come vnto Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, to assist them, in such sort as those Cities shall send them word to doe, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy after he hath wasted their Territory, shall be gone backe, then their Citie shall be held as an enemy, both to the Athenians, and also to the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans, and Warre shall be made against it, by all those Cities; and it shall not be lawfull for any of them to giue over the Warre against that Citie, without the consent of all the rest.

There shall no armed men be suffered to passe through the Dominions either of themselves, or of any the Confederates vnder their severall commands to make Warre in any place whatsoever, vnlesse by the suffrage of all the Cities, Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea their passage be allowed.

To such as come to assist any of the other Cities, that Citie which sendeth them shall giue maintenance for thirtie dayes after they shall arrive in the Citie that sent for them; and the like at their going away. But if they will tarry the Army for a longer time, then the Citie that E sent for them, shall find them maintenance at the rate of three Oboles of Egina a day for a man of Armes, and of a Drachma of Egina for a horseman.

The

THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGUE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS AND THE ARGIVES, &c.

\* Confederates were of two sorts, such as on equal termes entered League with others, and such as were admitted into the League by compulsion, or as subjects, &c. both called in the Greeke, Συμμάχοι, or properly, but not properly Confederates.



The Citie which sendeth for the aydes shall haue the leading, and A command of them, whilst the Warre is in their owne Territory: But if it shall seeme good vnto these Cities to make a Warre in common, then all the Cities shall equally participate of the command.

The Athenians shall sweare vnto the Articles both for themselves, and for their Confederates; and the Argiues, Eleans, Mantineans, and the Confederates of these shall euery one sweare vnto them Citie by Citie, and their oath shall be the greatest that by custome of the seuerall Cities is vsed, and with most perfect \* boastes, and in these words: I will stand to this League according to the Articles thereof, iustly, innocently, and sincerely, and not B transgresse the same by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

This oath shall be taken at Athens, by the Senate, and the Officers of the Commons, and administred by the Prytaneis. At Argos it shall be taken by the Senate, and the Councell of Eighty, and by the Artynæ, and administred by the Councell of Eighty. At Mantinea it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the Senate, and by the rest of the Magistrates, and administred by the Theori, and by the Tribunes of the Souldiers. At Elis it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the Officers of the Treasury, and by the Councell of 600, and administred by the Procurators of the People, and by the Keepers of the Law.

This oath shall be renued by the Athenians, who shall goe to Elis, and to Mantinea, and to Argos, thirty dayes before the Olympian Games; and by the Argiues, Eleans, and Mantineans, who shall come to Athens, ten dayes before the Panathenæan Holydayes.

The Articles of this League and Peace and the oath, shall be inscribed in a pillar of stone; by the Athenians in the Cittadell; by the D Argiues in their Market place, within the Precinct of the Temple of Apollo; and by the Mantineans in their Market place, within the precinct of the Temple of Iupiter. And at the Olympian Games, now at hand, there shall be erected ioyntly by them all, a brazen pillar in Olympia, [with the same inscription.]

If it shall seeme good to these Cities to adde any thing to these Articles; what soeuer shall be determined by them all in common Councell, the same shall stand good.

Thus was the League and the Peace concluded, and that which was made before betweene the Lacedæmonians & the E Athenians, was notwithstanding, by neither side renounced.

But

A But the Corinthians, although they were the Confederates of the Argiues, yet would they not enter into this League; nay, though there were made a League before this, betweene them and the Argiues, Eleans, and Mantineans, that where one, there all, should haue Warre, or Peace, yet they refused to sweare to it; but said: that their League defensue was enough, whereby they were bound to defend each other, but not to take part one with another in inuading. So the Corinthians fell off from their Confederates, and inclined againe to the Lacedæmonians.

B This Summer were celebrated the Olympian Games, in which Androphenes an Arcadian, was the first time Victor in the exercise called \* Paneratum. And the Lacedæmonians were by the Eleans prohibited the Temple there; so as they might neither sacrifice, nor contend for the prizes, amongst the rest, for that they had not payed the Fine set vpon them, according to an Olympique Law by the Eleans, that laide to their charge that they had put Souldiers into the Fort of Phœron, and into Lepreum in the time of the Olympique Truce.

C The Fine amounted vnto \* 2000 Mine, which was \* two Mine for euery man of Armes, according to the Law. But the Lacedæmonians by their Ambassadors which they sent thither, made answer, That they had bene vnjustly condemned, alledging that the Truce was not published in Lacedæmon, when their Souldiers were sent out.

To this the Eleans said againe, That the Truce was already begunne amongst themselves, who vsed to publish it first in their owne Dominion, and thereupon, whilst they lay still, and expected no such matter, as in time of Truce, the Lacedæmonians did them D the iniury at vnawares.

The Lacedæmonians hereunto replied, That it was not necessary to proceed to the publishing of the truce in Lacedæmon at all, if they thought themselves wronged already; but rather, if they thought themselves not wronged yet, then to doe it by way of preuention, that they should not Arme against them afterwards.

The Eleans stood stiffely in their first Argument; that they would neuer be perfwaded but iniury had been done them; but were neuerthelesse contented, if they would render Lepreum, both to remit their own part of the money, and also to pay that part for them which was due vnto the God.

Tr

When

The Corinthians refused the League with the Argiues, and inclined againe to the Lacedæmonians.

The Olympian Games.

\* Paneratum consisted of wrestling, and fighting with Pist.

The Lacedæmonians forbidden the exercise, and why.

\* 655 pound Sterling.

\* 650000 5 shillings Sterling.

Contention between the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, before the Grecians, at Olympia, about a matter set vpon the Lacedæmonians, by the Eleans, yet making the Olympique Truce.

When this would not be agreed vnto, they then required A this, not that they should render *Lepreum* vnlesse they would, but that then they should come to the Altar of *Iupiter Olympian*, seeing they desired to haue free vse of the Temple, and there before the *Grecians* to take an oath, to pay the fine at least hereafter. But when the *Lacedæmonians* refused that also, they were excluded the Temple, the sacrifices, and the games, and sacrificed at home; But the rest of the *Grecians*, except the *Lepreates*, were all admitted to be spectators. Neuerthelesse, the *Eleans* fearing lest they would come and sacrifice thereby force, kept a guard there B of their yongest men, in Armes, to whom were added *Argiues* and *Mantineans*, of either Citie 1000, and certaine *Athenian* horsemen, who were then at *Argos*, waiting the celebration of the Feast. For a great feare possessed all the Assembly, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should come vpon them with an Army; and the rather, because *Lichas* the sonne of *Arceflaus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, had been whipped by the Serjeants vpon the Race, for that when his Chariot had gotten the prize, after Proclamation made, that the Chariot of the *Bæotian* State had wonne it (because he himselfe was not C admitted to run) he came forth into the Race, and crowned his Chariotier, to make knowne that the Chariot was his owne. This added much vnto their feare, and they verily expected some accident to follow. Neuerthelesse, the *Lacedæmonians* stirred not, and the Feast passed ouer.

After the *Olympian* Games, the *Argiues* and their Confederates went to *Corinth*, to get the *Corinthians* into their League, and the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors chanced to be there also; and after much conference, and nothing concluded, vpon occasion of an Earthquake, they brake off the D conference, and returned euery one to his owne Citie. And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the men of *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, fought a battell against the *Ælians*, *Delopians*, *Melians*, and certaine *Thessalians*. For the neighbour Cities, were enemies to this Citie, as built to the preiudice onely of them, and both opposed the same from the time it was first founded, annoying it what they could, and also in this battell ouercame them, and slew *Xenares* a *Lacedæmonian*, their Commander, with some others, *Heracleots*. Thus ended this E Winter, and the twelfth yeere of this Warre.

In

*Lichas* a *Lacedæmonian*  
whipped vpon the *Olympian*  
Race.

The twelfth Summer.

THE THIR-  
TEENTH YEERE.

A In the very beginning of the next Summer, the *Bæotians* tooke *Heraclea* miserably afflicted, into their owne hands, and put *Hegesippidas* a *Lacedæmonian* out of it, for his euill government. They tooke it, because they feared, lest whilest the *Lacedæmonians* were troubled about *Peloponnesus*, it should haue beene taken in by the *Athenians*. Neuerthelesse the *Lacedæmonians* were offended with them for doing it.

The same Summer *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, being Generall of the *Athenians*, by the practice of the *Argiues*, B and their Confederates, went into *Peloponnesus*, and hauing with him a few men of Armes, and Archers of *Athers*, and some of the Confederates which he tooke vp there, as he passed through the Countrey with his Army, both ordered such affaires by the way concerning the League, as was fit; and comming to the *Patreans*, perswaded them to build their walls downe to the Sea-side, and purposed to raise another wall himselfe towards *Rhium* in *Achaia*. But the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and such others as this wall would haue preiudiced, came forth and hindred him.

C The same Summer fell out a Warre betweene the *Epidaurians* and the *Argiues*; the pretext thereof was about a Beast for sacrifice; which the *Epidaurians* ought to haue sent, in consideration of their pastures, to *Apollo Pythius*, and had not done it; the *Argiues* being the principall owners of the Temple. But *Alcibiades*, and the *Argiues* had indeed determined to take in the City, though without pretence at all, both that the *Corinthians* might not stirre, and also that they might bring the *Athenian* succours from *Egina*, into those parts a neerer way, then by compassing the Promontory of *Scyllæum*. And therefore the *Argiues* prepared, as of D themselves, to exact the sacrifice by inuasion.

About the same time also, the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole forces, came forth as farre as *Leuctra*, in the Confines of their owne Territory towards *Lyceum*, vnder the Conduct of *Agis*, the sonne of *Archidamus* their King. No man knew against what place they intended the Warre; No not the Cities themselves out of which they were leuyed. But when in the sacrifices which they made for their passage, the tokens obserued were vn lucky, they went home again, and sent word about to their Confederates (being now E the moneth \**Carneiu*) to prepare themselves after the next

Warre betweene the  
*Epidaurians* and *Argiues*.

\* Their holy moneth, in which  
they kept a Feast to *Apollo*.

T t 2

\* Feast

\* i. e. Argives.

\* July.

Ambassadors meet about Peace, but cannot agree.

\* Feast of the New Moone (kept by the Dorians,) to be againe vpon their march. The *Argives*, who set forth the 26 day of the moneth before, \* *Carneus*, though they celebrated the same day, yet all the time they continued inuading and waſting *Epidauria*. And the *Epidaurians* called in their Confederates to helpe them, whereof ſome excuſed themſelues vpon the quality of the moneth, and others came but to the Confinnes of *Epidauria*, and there ſtayed. Whiſt the *Argives* were in *Epidauria*, the Ambaſſadours of diuers Cities, ſollicit by the *Athenians*, met together at *Mantineia*, wherein a conference amongſt them, *Ephamidas* of *Corinth* ſaid, That their actions agreed not with their words, for as much as whiſt they were ſitting there to treat of a Peace, the *Epidaurians* with their Confederates, and the *Argives* ſtood armed in the meane time againſt each other in order of battell. That it was therefore fit that ſome body ſhould goe firſt vnto the Armies from either ſide, and diſſolve them, and then come againe and diſpute of Peace.

This aduice being approued, they departed, and withdrew the *Argives* from *Epidauria*; and meeting afterwards againe in the ſame place, they could not for all that agree; and the *Argives* againe inuaded and waſted *Epidauria*.

The *Lacedæmonians* alſo drew forth their Army againſt *Caryæ*, but then againe their ſacrifices for paſſage, being not to their mind, they returned. And the *Argives*, when they had ſpoyled about the third part of *Epidauria*, went home likewiſe. They had the aſſiſtance of one thouſand men of Armes of *Athens*, and *Alcibiades* their Commander; but theſe hearing that the *Lacedæmonians* were in the field, and ſeeing now there was no longer need of them, departed and ſo paſſed this Summer.

The next Winter the *Lacedæmonians* vnknowne to the *Athenians*, put 300 Garrifon Soldiers vnder the Command of *Ageſippidas*, into *Epidaurum* by Sea. For which cauſe the *Argives* came and expoſtulated with the *Athenians*; that whereaſ it was written in the Articles of the League, that no enemy ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe through either of their Dominions, yet had they ſuffered the *Lacedæmonians* to paſſe by \* Sea; and ſaid they had wrong, vneſſe the *Athenians* would againe put the *Meſſenians*, and *Helotes* into *Pylus* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Herevpon the *Athenians*, at the perſwaſion of *Alcibiades*, wrote vpon the \* *Læonian* pillar

\* The *Argives* acknowledge the Sea on their owne coaſt, to be of the Dominion of *Athens*.

\* A Pill was erected for the Articles of the Peace to be written in.

A pillar [ vnder the inſcription of the Peace ] that the *Lacedæmonians* had violated their oath, and they drew the *Helotes* out of \* *Cranij*, and put them againe into *Pylus*, to infeſt the Territory with dringing of booties, but did no more.

All this Winter, though there was Warre betweene the *Argives* and *Epidaurians*; yet was there no ſet battell, but onely Ambuſhes and Skirmiſhes, wherein were ſlaime on both ſides, ſuch as it chanced.

But in the end of Winter, and the Spring now at hand, the *Argives* came to *Epidaurum* with Ladders, as deſtitute of men by reaſon of the Warre, thinking to haue wonne it by aſſault, but returned againe with their labour loſt. And ſo ended this Winter, and the thirteenth yeere of this Warre.

In the middle of the next Summer, the *Lacedæmonians* ſeeing that the *Epidaurians*, their Confederates, were tyed, and that of the reſt of the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, ſome had already reuolted, and others were but in euill termes, and apprehending that if they preuented it not, the miſchiefe would ſpread ſtill farther, put themſelues into the field with all their owne forces, both of themſelues, and their *Helotes*, to make Warre againſt *Argos*, vnder the Conduct of *Agis* the ſonne of *Archidamus* their King. The *Tegeates* went alſo with them, and of the reſt of *Arcadia*, all that were in the *Lacedæmonian* League. But the reſt of their Confederates both within *Peloponneſus*, and without, were to meet together at *Pylus*. That is to ſay, of the *Beotians* 5000 men of Armes, and as many Light-armed, 500 horſe, and to euery \* horſeman, another man on foot, which holding the horſes Mane, ran by with equall ſpeed. Of *Corinthians*, 2000 men of Armes, and of the reſt more or leſſe, as they were. But the *Phliſians*, becauſe the Army was aſſembled in their owne Territory, put forth their whole power. The *Argives* hauing had notice both formerly of the preparation of the *Lacedæmonians*; and afterward of their marching on to ioine with the reſt at *Pylus*, brought their Army likewiſe into the field. They had with them the aides of the *Mantineans*, and their Confederates; and 3000 men of Armes of the *Eleans*; and marching forward met the \* *Lacedæmonians* at *Merhydrum*, a Towne of *Arcadia*, each ſide ſeazing on a hill. And the *Argives* prepared to giue battell to the *Lacedæmonians*; whiles they were

\* In *Cephalonia* where they had before placed them.

THE FOURTEENTH YEERE.

Preparation of the *Lacedæmonians* againſt *Argos*.

\* *Arminis*.

\* The *Lacedæmonians*, *Tegeates*, and ſome *Arcadians*, not the whole League, which was not yet united.

The Lacedæmonians and their Confederates meet at Pblus.  
The Argives go to meet them at the Forrest of Nemea.

The Lacedæmonians come into the Plaines before Argos.

The Argives enclosed betwene the Lacedæmonians and the Boeotians.

And the Lacedæmonians enclosed betwene the army of the Argives and their Citie.

\* *οὐδὲν ὅτι*: He that lodged, the Lacedæmonians when any of them came to Argos.

were single. But *Agis* dislodging his Army by night, marched on to *Pblus* to the rest of the Confederates, vnseene. Vpon knowledge hereof, the *Argives* betimes in the morning retyred first to *Argos*, and afterwards to the Forrest of *Nemea*, by which they thought the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates would fall in. But *Agis* came not the way which they expected, but with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, and *Epidaurians*, whom he acquainted with his purpose, tooke another more difficult way to passe, and came downe into the *Argive* Plaines. The *Corinthians* also, and *Pellenians*, and *Pblians*, marched another troublesome way; Onely the *Boeotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians*, were appointed to come downe by the way of the Forrest of *Nemea*, in which the *Argives* were incamped; to the end that if the *Argives* should turne head against the *Lacedæmonians*, these might set vpon them at the backe with their horse.

Thus ordered, *Agis* entred into the Plaines, and spoyled *Samintus*, and some other Townes thereabouts. Which when the *Argives* vnderstood, they came out of the Forest somewhat after breake of day to oppose them, and lighting among the *Pblians* and *Corinthians*, slew some few of the *Pblians*, but had more slaine of their owne, by the *Corinthians*, though not many. The *Boeotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians*, marched forward towards *Nemea*, and found that the *Argives* were departed. For when they came downe, and saw their Country wasted, they put themselves into order of battell; and the *Lacedæmonians*, on the other side did the same; and the *Argives* stood intercepted in the midst of their enemies. For in the Plaine between them and the City, stood the *Lacedæmonians*, and those with them; aboue them were the *Corinthians*, *Pblians*, and *Pellenians*; and towards *Nemea* were the *Boeotians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Megareans*. And horsemen they had none, for the *Athenians* alone, of all their Confederates, were not yet come. Now the generality of the Army of the *Argives*, and their Confederates, did not thinke the danger present so great, as indeed it was, but rather that the aduantage in the battell would be their own, and that the *Lacedæmonians* were intercepted, not onely in the *Argives* Territory, but also hard by the Citie. But two men of *Argos*, *Thrasylus*, one of the five Commanders of the Army, and *Alciphron*, \*entertayner

ner of the *Lacedæmonians*, when the Armies were euen ready to ioine, went vnto *Agis*, and dealt with him to haue the battell put off, for as much as the *Argives* were content and ready, both to propound, and accept of equall Arbitrators, in whatsoeuer the *Lacedæmonians* should charge them withall, and in the meane time, to haue peace with them solemnly confirmed.

This these *Argives* said of themselves, without the command of the generality, and *Agis*, of himselfe likewise, accepting their proposition, without deliberation had with the maior part; and hauing communicated it onely to some one more of those that had charge in the Army, made Truce with them for foure moneths; in which space, they were to performe the things agreed vpon berwixt them. And then presently he withdrew hir Armie, without giuing account to any of the rest of the League why he did so. The *Lacedæmonians*, and the Confederates followed *Agis*, according to the Law, as being their General, but amongst themselves taxed him exceedingly, for that hauing a very faire occasion of battell, the *Argives* being inclosed on all sides, both by their Horse and Foot, hee yet went his way, doing nothing worthy the great preparation they had made. For this was in very truth the fairest Army that euer the *Grecians* had in the field vnto this day; but it was most to be seene, when they were \*altogether in the Forrest of *Nemea*. Where the *Lacedæmonians* were with their whole Forces, besides the *Arcadians*, *Boeotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Pblians*, and *Megareans*; and these all chosen men of their seuerall Cities, and such as were thought a match, not onely for the League of the *Argives*, but for such another added to it. The Army thus offended with *Agis*, departed, and were dissolued, euery man to his home. The *Argives* were much more offended with those of their Citie, which without the consent of the multitude, had made the Truce, they also supposing that the *Lacedæmonians* had escaped their hands in such an aduantage, as they neuer had the like before; in that the battell was to haue been fought vnder their City walls, and with the assistance of many and good Confederates. And in their returne, they began to stone *Thrasylus*, at the *Charadrum*, (the place where the Souldiers before they enter into the City from warfare, vse to haue their

Propositions of Peace made by two private men of *Argos*.

And accepted by *Agis*, without the knowledge of the rest of the Commanders.

*Agis* withdrew his Army, and is censured for it by the Confederates.

\* That is, going home for till then they were neuer altogether in *Nemea*.

*Thrasylus* punished for propounding the Peace.

The Athenians instigate the Argives to breake the Truce.

their Military causes heard) but he flying to the Altar, A  
sawd himselfe, neuerthelesse they confiscated his goods.

After this, the Athenians comming in, with the ayde of  
1000 men of Armes, and 300 Horse, vnder the Conduct of  
Lachis and Nicostratus, the Argives (for they were afraid for  
all this, to breake the Truce with the Lacedæmonians) wil-  
led them to be gone againe, and when they desired to treat,  
would not present them to the People, till such time as  
the Mantineans, and Eleans (who were not yet gone) forced  
them vnto it by their importunity. Then the Athenians, in  
the presence of Alcibiades, that was Ambassadour there, B  
spake vnto the Argives, and their Confederates, saying, That  
the Truce was conduely made, without the assent of the rest of their  
Confederates, and that now (for they were come time enough) they  
ought to fall againe to be Warre, and did by their words so  
preuaile with the Confederates, that they all, saue the Ar-  
gives, presently marched against \* Orchomenus of Arcadia.

The Argives breake the Truce, and besiege Orchomenus.

\* This was another Or-  
chomenus in Boeotia.

And these, though satisfied, stayed behind at first, but  
afterwards they also went; and sitting downe before Or-  
chomenus, ioyfully besieged, and assaulted the same; desiring  
to take it in as well for other causes, as chiefly for that the  
Hostages which the Arcadians had giuen to the Lacedæmo- C  
nians, were there in custody. The Orchomenians fearing the  
weaknesse of their wals, and the greatnesse of the Army,  
and lest they should perish, before any reliefe arriued, yeel-  
ded vp the Towne on conditions: To be receiued into the  
League; to giue Hostages for themselves; and to surrender the Ho-  
stages hitherto by the Lacedæmonians, into the hands of the  
Mantineans.

Orchomenus yeelded.

\* As being in particular in-  
fidelity with it.

The Argives goe next a-  
gainst Tegea, which dis-  
pleaseth the Eleans, and  
they goe home.

The Lacedæmonians ques-  
tion their King, for in-  
fusing the Argives to goe  
off enoughten.

The Confederates after this, hauing gotten Orchomenus,  
sat in Councell, about what Towne they should proceed D  
against next. The Eleans gaue aduice to goe against \* Le-  
preum, but the Mantineans, against Tegea. And the Argives  
and Athenians concurred in opinion with the Mantineans.  
But the Eleans taking it in euill part, that they did not de-  
cree to goe against Lepreum, went home; but the rest pre-  
pared themselves at Mantinea, to goe against Tegea, which  
also some within had a purpose to put into their hands.

The Lacedæmonians, after their returne from Argos with  
their foure moneths Truce, seuerely questioned Agis, for E  
that vpon so faire an opportunity, as they neuer had be-  
fore, he subdued not Argos to the State; for so many and so  
good

A good Confederates, would hardly be gotten together  
againe at one time. But when also the newes came of the  
taking of Orchomenus, then was their indignation much  
greater, and they presently resolued, contrary to their  
owne custome, in their passion, to raze his house, and fine  
him in the summe of \* 10000 Drachmaes. But he be-  
sought them that they would doe neither of these things  
yet, and promised that leading out the Armie againe, he  
would by some valiant action cancell those accusations;  
or, if not, they might proceed afterwards to doe with  
him whatsoeuer they thought good. So they forbore  
both the Fine, and the razing of his house; but made a  
decree for that present, such as had neuer beene before,  
that teime Spartians should bee elected and ioyned with  
him as Councillours, without whom it should not be  
lawfull for him to leade the Army into the field.

\* 312 pound 10 shillings  
sterling.

In the meane time came newes from their side in Tegea,  
that vnlesse they came presently with aide, the Tegeans  
would reuolt to the Argives, and their Confederates; and  
that they wanted little of being reuolted already.

The Lacedæmonians put  
their Army into the field  
to rescue Tegea.

C Vpon this, the Lacedæmonians with speed leuyed all  
their forces, both of themselves, and their Helotes, in such  
number, as they had neuer done before, and marched vnto  
Orestium in Menalia, and appointed the Arcadians, such as  
were of their League, to assemble, and follow them at  
the heeles to Tegea.

The Lacedæmonians being come entire to Orestium, from  
thence sent backe the sixt part of their Armie (in which  
they put both the yongest and the eldest sort) for the  
custody of the Citie, and with the rest marched on to Te-  
gea; and not long after, arriued also their Confederates of  
Arcadia.

They sent also to Corinth, and to the Boeotians, Phocæans,  
and Locrians, to come with their aydes with all speed to  
Mantinea. But these had too short a warning, nor was it  
easie for them, vnlesse they came altogether, and stayed  
for one another, to come through the enemies Countrey,  
which lay betweene, and barred them of passage. Neuer-  
thelesse, they made what hast they could. And the Lacedæ-  
nians taking with them, their Arcadian Confederates present,  
entred into the Territory of Mantinea, and pitching their  
Camp by the Temple of Hercules, wasted the Territory about.

The Lacedæmonians waste  
the Territory of Mantinea.



The *Argives*, and their Confederates, as soone as they came in sight, seized on a certaine place fortified by nature, and of hard access, and put themselves into battell array. And the *Lacedemonians* marched presently towards them, and came vp within a stone or a darts cast. But then one of the ancient men of the Army cryed out vnto *Agis*, seeing him to goe on against a place of that strength; that he went about to amend one fault with another, signifying that he inter. led to make amends for his former retreat from *Argos*, which hee was questioned for, with his now vnseasonable forwardnesse. But he, whether it were vpon that increpation, or some other sudden apprehension of his owne, presently withdrew his Army before the fight began, and marching vnto the Territory of *Tegea*, turned the course of the water into the Territory of *Mantineia*; touching which water, because into what part soeuer it had his course, it did much harme to the Countrey, the *Mantineans*, and *Tegeates* were at Warres. Now his drift was, by the turning of that water to prouoke those *Argives*, and their Confederates which kept the hill, when they should heare of it, to come down, and oppose them, that so they might fight with them in the Plaine. And by that time he had stayed about the water a day, he had diuerted the streame. The *Argives* & their Confederates were at first amazed at this their sudden retreat, from so neere them, and knew not what to make of it. But when after the retreat they returned no more in fight, and that they themselves lying still on the place, did not pursue them, then began they anew to accuse their Commanders, both for suffering the *Lacedemonians* to depart formerly, when they had them inclosed at so faire an advantage before *Argos*; and now againe, for not pursuing them when they ran away, but giuing them leaue to saue themselves, & betraying the Army. The Commanders for the present were much troubled hereat, but afterwards they drew downe the Armie from the Hill, and comming forth into the Plaine, encamped, as to goe against the enemy. The next day the *Argives* and their Confederates put themselves into such order as (if occasion serued) they meant to fight in; & the *Lacedemonians* returning frō the water to the temple of *Hercules*, the same place where they had formerly encamped, perceiue the enemies to be all of the in order of battell

The *Argives* come downe from their advantage, to take the enemy.

A battell hard by them, come downe already from the hill. Certainly the *Lacedemonians* were more affrighted at this time, then euer they had beene to their remembrance before. For the time they had to prepare themselves was exceeding short, and such was their diligence that euery man fell immediately into his owne Rank, *Agis* the King commanding all, according to the Law. For whilest the King hath the Army in the field, all things are commanded by him, and he signifieth what is to be done, to the \* *Polemarchi*, they to the *Lochagi*, these to the *Pentecontateres*, and these againe to the *Enomatachi*, who lastly make it knowne, euery one to his owne *Enomatia*. In this manner, when they would haue any thing to be done, their commands passe through the Army, and are quickly executed. For almost all the *Lacedemonian* Army, saue a very few, are Captaines of Captaines, and the care of what is to be put in execution, lyeth vpon many. Now their left Wing consisted of the \* *Sciritae*, which amongst the *Lacedemonians* haue euer alone that place. Next to these were placed the *Brasidian* Souldiers lately come out of *Thrae*, and with them, \* those that had been newly made free. After them in order, the rest of the *Lacedemonians*, Band after Band, and by them *Arcadians*, first the *Heracians*, after these the *Menelians*. In the right Wing were the *Tegeates*, and a few *Lacedemonians* in the point of the same Wing. And vpon the out side of either Wing, the horsemen. So stood the *Lacedemonians*. Opposite to them, in the right Wing, stood the *Mantineans*, because it was vpon their owne Territory, and with them such *Arcadians* as were of their League. Then the 1000 chosen *Argives* which the City had for a long time caused to be trayned for the Warres, at the publique charge; and next to them the rest of the *Argiuss*. After these the *Cleonians*, and *Orneates*, their Confederates. And lastly, the *Athenians* with the Horsemen (which were also theirs) had the left Wing. This was the order and preparation of both the Armies.

The Army of the *Lacedemonians* appeared to be the greater. But what the number was, either of the particulars of either side, or in generall, I could not exactly write. For the number of the *Lacedemonians*, agreeable to the secrecy of that State, was vnknowne, and of the other side, for

The *Lacedemonians* put themselves in order hastily.

\* *Polemarchi* Martials of the field, The Commanders of Regiments, Colonels. *Pentecontateres*, Captaines of Companies, *Enomatachi*, Captaines of the fourth part of Company, An *Enomatia*, was in this Army thirty two Souldiers.

\* A Band of the *Lacedemonians* so called, perhaps from *Scirus*, a Towne in *Laconia*.

\* *Proedromides*.

The order of the battell of the *Argives*.



the ostentation vsuall with all men, touching the number A of themselves was vnbeleueed. Neuerthelesse the number of the *Lacedæmonians* may be attained by computing thus. Besides the *Sciritæ*, which were 600. there fought in all seuen \* Regiments, in euery Regiment were foure \* Companies, in each Company were foure \* *Enomatiæ*, and of euery *Enomatia*, there stood in Front, foure; but they were not ranged all alike in File; but as the Captaines of Bands thought it necessary. But the Army in generall was so ordered, as to be eight men in depth, and the first Ranke of the whole, besides the *Sciritæ*, consisted of 448 B Souldiers.

Now when they were ready to ioyne, the Commanders made their hortatines, euery one to those that were vnder his owne command. To the *Mantineans* it was said, That they were to fight for their Territory, and concerning their liberty, and seruitude, that the former might not be taken from them, and that they might not againe taste of the later. The *Argiues* were admonished, That whereas anciently they had the leading of Peloponnesus, and in it an equall share, they should not now suffer themselves to be deprived of it for ever; and that withall, they C should now reuenge the many iniuries of a City, their neighbour and enemy. To the *Athenians* it was remembred, how honourable a thing it would be for them, in company of so many and good Confederates, to be inferior to none of them; and that if they had once vanquished the *Lacedæmonians* in Peloponnesus, their owne Dominion would become both the more assured, and the larger by it, and that no other would inuade their Territory hereafter. Thus much was said to the *Argiues* and their Confederates. But the *Lacedæmonians* encouraged one another, both of themselves, and also by the \* manner of their Discipline in the Warres; taking encouragement, being valiant men, by the commemoration of what they already knew, as being well acquainted, that a long actuall experience, conferred more to their safety, then any short verbal exhortation, though neuer so well deliuered. After this followed the battell.

The *Argiues* and their Confederates, marched to the charge with great violence, and fury. But the *Lacedæmonians*, slowly, and with many Flutes, according to their Military Discipline, not as a point of Religion, but that marching euenly, and by measure, their Rankes might not be D distracted,

\* 2000, less then ordinary Regiments with 25, more then ordinary Companies.  
\* Companies of 50, but more or lesse in them as occasion served.  
\* Enomatia, the fourth part of a Pentecostie. By this account euery Enomatia had 32. euery Pentecostie 128. euery Band or 2000 512. the whole Army, besides the *Sciritæ* 3584, and with the *Sciritæ* which are 600. 4184. which number riseth also thus, 448 in ranke 8 in File, make 3584, and then the 600 *Sciritæ*, as before make 4184. light-armed Souldiers, which usually haue exceeded the number of men of Armes are not reckoned. The hortatue to the *Argiues*, and their Confederates.

The *Lacedæmonians* encourage one another.  
\* They used before battell to sing Songs, containing encouragement, to use for their Country.

The fight.

A distracted, as the greatest Armies, when they march in the face of the Enemy vse to be.

Whilest they were yet marching vp, *Agis* the King thought of this course. All Armies doe thus; In the Conflict they extend their right Wing, so as it commeth in vpon the Flanke of the left Wing of the enemy; and this happeneth for that, that euery one through feare seeketh all he can to couer his vnarmed side, with the Shield of him that standeth next him on his right hand, conceiuing, that to be so locked together, is their best defence. The beginning hereof, is in the leader of the first File on the right hand, who euer struing to shift his vnarmed side from the enemy, the rest vpon like feare follow after. And at this time, the *Mantineans* in the right Wing, had farre encompassed the *Sciritæ*: and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other side, and the *Tegeates*, were come in, yet farther, vpon the Flanke of the *Athenians*, by as much as they had the greater Army. Wherefore *Agis* fearing lest his left Wing should be encompassed, & supposing the *Mantineans* to be come in farre, signified vnto the *Sciritæ* and *Brasidians*, to draw out part of their Bands, and therewith to equalize their left Wing, to C the right Wing of the *Mantineans*, and into the void space, he commanded to come vp *Hipponoidas*, and *Aristocles*, two Colonels with their Bands, out of the right Wing, and to fall in there, and make vp the breach: Conceiuing that more then enough would be still remaining in their right Wing, and that the left Wing opposed to the *Mantineans*, would be the stronger. But it happened, (for he commanded it in the very onset, and on the sodaine) both that *Aristocles*, and *Hipponoidas* refused to go to the place commanded (for which they were afterwards banished *Sparta*, as D thought to haue disobeyed out of cowardise) and that the enemy had in the meane time also charged. And when those which he commanded to goe to the place of the *Sciritæ*, went not, they could no more reunite themselves, nor cloze againe the empty space. But the *Lacedæmonians*, though they had the worst at this time in euery point, for skill, yet in valour they manifestly shewed themselves superior. For after the fight was once begun, notwithstanding that the right Wing of the *Mantineans* did put to flight the *Sciritæ* & *Brasidians*, and that the *Mantineans*, together with their Confederates, and those 1000 chosen men E of

The *Lacedæmonians* haue the disadvantage for order, but aduantage of valour.

of Argos, falling vpon them in Flanke, by the breach nor A yet clozed vp, killed many of the *Lacedemonians*, and put to flight, and chased them to their Carriages, slaying also certaine of the elder sort, left there for a guard, so as in this part the *Lacedemonians* were ouercome. But with the rest of the Army, and especially the middle battell, where *Agis* was himsele, and those which are called, the 300 horsemen, about him, they charged vpon the eldest of the *Argiues*, and vpon those which are named, the five Cohorts, and vpon the *Cleoneans*, and *Ornates*, and certaine *Athenians* aranged amongst them, and put them all to flight. In such sort, as B many of them neuer strooke stroake, but as soone as the *Lacedemonians* charged, gaue ground presently, and some for feare to be ouertaken, were trodden vnder foot. As soone as the Army of the *Argiues* and their Confederates had in this part giuen ground, they began also to breake, on either side. The right Wing of the *Lacedemonians* and *Tegeates* had now with their surplusage of number hemmed the *Athenians* in, so as they had the danger on all hands, being within the circle, pend vp; and without it, already vanquished. And they had been the most distressed part C of all the Army had not their horsemen come in to helpe them. Withall it fell out that *Agis* when he perceiued the left Wing of his owne Army to labour, namely, that which was opposed to the *Mantineans*, and to those thousand *Argiues*, commanded the whole Army to goe and relieue the part ouercome. By which meanes the *Athenians*, and such of the *Argiues* as together with them, were ouerlaid whilst the Army passed by and declined them, saued themselves at leasure. And the *Mantineans* with their Confederates, and those chosen *Argiues*, had no more mind D now of pressing vpon their enemies, but seeing their side was ouercome, and the *Lacedemonians* approaching them, presently turned their backs. Of the *Mantineans* the greatest part were slaine, but of those chosen *Argiues*, the most were saued, by reason the flight, and going off, was neither hasty nor long. For the *Lacedemonians* fight long and constantly till they haue made the enemy to turne his backe, but that done, they follow him not farre.

Thus or neere thus, went the battell, the greatest that had been of a long time betweene *Grecians*, and *Grecians*, E and of two the most famous Cities. The *Lacedemonians* laying

The *Lacedemonians* haue the victory.

The *Lacedemonians* pursue the enemy farre.

A laying together the Armes of their slaine enemies, presently erected a Trophie, and lifted their dead bodies. Their owne dead they tooke vp, and carried them to *Tegea*, where they were also buried, and deliuered to the Enemy theirs, vnder truce. Of the *Argiues*, and *Ornates*, and *Cleoneans* were slaine 700. of the *Mantineans*, 200. and of the *Athenians*, with the *Agimae*, likewise 200. and both the Captaines. The Confederates of the *Lacedemonians* were neuer pressed, and therefore their losse was not worth mentioning. And of the *Lacedemonians* themselves, it is B hard to know the certaintie, but it is said there were slaine three hundred.

When it was certaine they would fight, *Pleistomanes* the other King of the *Lacedemonians*, and with him both old and yong, came out of the Citie to haue ayded the Armie, and came forth as farre as *Tegea*; but being aduertised of the Victory, they returned. And the *Lacedemonians* sent out to turne backe also those Confederates of theirs which were comming to them from *Corinth*, and from without the *Isthmus*. And then they also went home C themselves, and hauing dismissed their Confederates (for now were the *Carneian* Holidiaes) celebrated that Feast. Thus in this one Battell, they wiped off their disgrace with the *Grecians*: for they had beene taxed both with cowardise, for the blow they receiued in the Island, and with imprudence and slacknesse in other occasions. But after this, their miscarriage was imputed to Fortune, and for their mindes, they were esteemed to haue beene euer the same they had beane.

The day before this Battell, it chanced also that the D *Epidaurians* with their whole power inuaded the Territory of *Argos*, as being emptied much of men; and whilst the *Argiues* were abroad, killed many of those that were left behinde to defend it.

Also three thousand men of *Elis*, and a thousand *Athenians*, besides those which had beene sent before, being come after the Battell to ayde the *Mantineans*, marched presently all, to *Epidaurum*; & lay before it all the while the *Lacedemonians* were celebrating the *Carneian* Holidiaes: and assigning to euery one his part, began to take in the Citie with E a Wall. But the rest gaue over; only the *Athenians* quickly finished a Fortification, (which was their taske) wherein stood

Number of the slain.

The *Lacedemonians* recover their reputation.

The *Epidaurians* enter the territory of *Argos*.

The *Athenians* build a Fort before *Epidaurum*.

The end of the twelfth Summer.  
Peace concluded between the Argives and Lacedæmonians.

stood the Temple of *Iuno*. In it, amongst them all they A left a Garrison, and went home every one to his owne Citie: And so this Summer ended.

In the beginning of the Winter following, the Lacedæmonians, presently after the end of the *Carnecian* Holidays, drew out their Armie into the Field, and being come to *Tegea*, sent certaine propositions of agreement before to *Argos*. There were before this time many Citizens in *Argos*, well-affected to the Lacedæmonians, and that desired the deposing of the *Argive* People, and now after the Battell, they were better able by much to perswade the people B to composition, then they formerly were. And their designe was, first, to get a Peace made with the Lacedæmonians, and after that a League, and then at last to set vpon the Commons.

There went thither, *Lichas* the sonne of *Archefilaus*, entertainer of the *Argives* in *Lacedæmon*, and brought to *Argos* two propositions; one of Warre, if the Warre were to proceed; another of Peace, if they would haue Peace. And after much contradiction, (for *Alcibiades* was also there) the Lacedæmonian Faction, that boldly now discovered themselves, preuailed with the *Argives* to accept C the proposition of Peace, which was this.

## THE ARTICLES.

It seemeth good to the Councell of the Lacedæmonians, to accord with the *Argives* on these Articles:

The *Argives* shall redeliuer vnto the *Orchomenians* their \* children, and vnto the *Mænaliens* their \* men, and vnto the Lacedæmonians those \* men that are at *Mantineæ*.

They shall withdraw their Souldiers from *Epidaurus*, and raze the Fortification there. And if the *Athenians* depart not D from *Epidaurus* likewise, they shall bee held as Enemies both to the *Argives* and to the Lacedæmonians, and also to the Confederates of them both.

If the Lacedæmonians haue any men of theirs in custody, they shall deliuer them every one to his owne Citie.

And for so much as concerneth the \* God, the *Argives* shall accept composition with the *Epidaurians*, vpon an \* Oath which they shall sweare, touching that controuersie, and the *Argives* shall giue the forme of that Oath.

All the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, both small and great, shall bee E free, according to their patriall Lawes.

If

\* Hostages which they tooke of the *Orchomenians*.

\* Hostages of the *Mænaliens*.

\* Hostages of the *Arcadians*

given to the Lacedæmonians, and by them kept in

*Orchomenus*, and at the

taking of *Orchomenus* by

the *Argive* League, carried

away to *Mantineæ*.

\* Apollo, to whom the *Epidaurians* should haue

sent a heifer for sacrifice, in

name of their rapines, but

not doing it, the *Argives*

went about to force the to it.

\* An Oath to send the heifer

for sacrifice hereafter.

A If any without *Peloponnesus* shall enter into it, to doe it harme, the *Argives* shall come forth to defend the same, in such sort as in a Common Councell shall by the *Peloponnesians* be thought reasonable.

The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, without *Peloponnesus*, shall haue the same conditions which the Confederates of the *Argives*, and of the Lacedæmonians haue, every one holding his owne.

This composition is to hold from the time, that they shall both parts haue shewed the same to their Confederates, and obtained their B consent.

And if it shall seeme good to either part to adde or alter any thing, their Confederates shall be sent vnto, and made acquainted therewith.

These Propositions the *Argives* accepted at first, and the Army of the Lacedæmonians returned from *Tegea*, to their owne City. But shortly after, when they had commerce together, the \* same men went further, and so wrought, that the *Argives* renouncing their League with the *Mantineans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, made league and alliance, with the C Lacedæmonians in this forme.

It seemeth good to the Lacedæmonians, and *Argives*, to make League and alliance for fifty yeeres, on these Articles:

That either side shall allow vnto the other, equall and like trials of Iudgement, after the forme vsed in their Cities.

That the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus* (this League and Alliance comprehending also them) shall be \* free, both from the Lawes, and payments of any other City then their owne, holding what they haue, and affording equall, and like tryals of Iudgement, according to the forme vsed in their severall Cities.

D That every of the Cities, Confederate with the Lacedæmonians without *Peloponnesus*, shall be in the same condition with the Lacedæmonians, and the Confederates of the *Argives*, in the same with the *Argives*, every one holding his owne.

That if at any time there shall need an expedition to be undertaken in common, the Lacedæmonians, and the *Argives* shall consult thereof, and decree, as shall stand most with equity towards the Confederates; and that if any Controuersie arise betweene any of the Cities either within, or without *Peloponnesus*, about limits or other matter, they also shall decide it.

E That if any Confederate Citie bee at contention with another

\* The Lacedæmonian faction.

The League betweene the *Argives* and Lacedæmonians.

\* according to their owne Lawes.

X x

another, it shall haue recourse to that City, which they both shall A  
thinke most indifferent; but the particular men of any one City, shall  
be iudged according to the Law of the same.

Thus was the Peace and League concluded, and what-  
soeuer one had taken from other in the Warre, or what soe-  
uer one had against another otherwise, was all acquitted.

Now when they were together settling their businesse,  
they ordered, that the *Argiues* should neither admit Herald  
or Ambassage from the *Athenians*, till they were gone out  
of *Peloponnesus*, and had quit the Fortification, nor should  
make Peace or Warre with any, without consent of the B  
rest.

And amongst other things which they did in this heat,  
they sent Ambassadors from both their Cities, to the  
Townes lying vpon *Torace*, and vnto *Perdiccas*, whom they  
also perswaded to sweare himsele of the same League.  
Yet he reuolted not from the *Athenians* presently, but in-  
tended it, because he saw the *Argiues* had done so; and was  
himsele also anciently descended out of *Argos*. They like-  
wise renewed their old oath with the *Chalcidians*, and  
tooke another besides it.

The *Argiues* sent Ambassadors also to *Athens*, requiring C  
them to abandon the Fortification they had made against  
*Epidaurus*. And the *Athenians* considering that the Souldi-  
ers they had in it, were but few, in respect of the many o-  
ther that were with them in the same, sent *Demosthenes* thi-  
ther to fetch them away. He, when he was come, and had  
exhibited for a pretence, a certaine exercise of naked men  
without the Fort, when the rest of the Garrison were  
gone forth to see it, made fast the Gates, and afterwards  
hauing renewed the League with the *Epidaurians*, the A-D  
*Athenians* by themselves put the Fort into their hands.

After the reuolt of the *Argiues* from the League, the  
*Mantineans* also, though they withstood it at first, yet being  
too weake without the *Argiues*, made their Peace with the  
*Lacedemonians*, and laid downe their command ouer the  
\* other Cities. And the *Lacedemonians* and *Argiues*, with  
a thousand men of either City, hauing ioyned their Armes,  
the *Lacedemonians* first, with their single power, reduced  
the gouernment of *Sicyon* to a smaller number, and then they  
both together dissolued the Democracy at *Argos*.

And the Oligarchy was established conformable to the E  
State

The *Argiues* and *Lacede-  
monians* make an order  
that the *Athenians* shall  
quit the Fort.

They followe the townes  
vpon *Torace* to reuolt  
from the *Athenians*.

*Demosthenes* being sent to  
fetch their Souldiers  
from the Fort, deliue-  
reth the same by a wile  
to the *Epidaurians*.

The *Mantineans* forsake  
the League of *Athens*.

Which they had the leading  
of in *Arcadia*.

*Sicyon*, and *Argos* reduced  
to Oligarchies.

A State of *Lacedemon*. These things passed in the end of  
Winter, and neere the Spring. And so ended the foure-  
teenth yeere of this Warre.

The next Summer the *Distidians* seated in Mount *Aibos*,  
reuolted from the *Athenians*, to the *Chalcidians*.

And the *Lacedemonians* ordered the State of *Achaia*, after  
their owne forme, which before was otherwise. But the  
*Argiues*, after they had by little and little assembled them-  
selues, and recouered heart, taking their time when the *La-  
cedemonians* were celebrating their exercises of the naked

B youth, assaulted the *Few*, and in a battell fought within  
the City, the Commons had the victory, & some they slew,  
other they draue into exile. The *Lacedemonians*, though  
those of their faction in *Argos* sent for them, went not a  
long time after, yet at last they adiourned the exercises, and  
came forth with intention to giue them aid, but hearing by  
the way, at *Tegea*, that the *Few* were ouercome, they could  
not be entreated, by such as had escaped thence, to goe on,  
but returning, went on with the celebration of their exer-  
cises. But afterwards, when there came Ambassadors vnto

C them, both from the *Argiues* in the City, & from them that  
were diuen out, there being present also their Confederates,  
and much alledged on either side, they concluded at last,  
that those in the City had done the wrong, and decreed to  
goe against *Argos* with their Army; but many delays pas-  
sed, and much time was spent betweene. In the meane time  
the common people of *Argos*, fearing the *Lacedemonians*, &  
regaining the League with *Athens*, as conceiuing the same  
would turne to their very great aduantage, raise long walls  
from their City, downe to the Sea-shore; to the end that

D if they were shut vp by Land, they might yet, with the  
helpe of the *Athenians*, bring things necessary into the City  
by Sea. And with this their building, some other Cities of  
*Peloponnesus* were also acquainted. And the *Argiues*, vniuer-  
sally themselves, and wiues, and seruants, wrought at the  
wal, and had workemen, and hewers of stone from *Athens*.  
So this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the *Lacedemonians* vnderstanding, that  
they were fortifying, came to *Argos* with their Army, they  
and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, & some pra-  
E ctice they had beside, within the City it selfe of *Argos*. The  
Army was commanded by *Agis* the sonne of *Archidamus*,  
X x 2

King

THE FIFTEENTH  
YEERE.  
The *Distidians* reuolt  
from *Athens*.  
*Achaia* Oligarchized.  
*Argos* repleth into a  
Democracy.

The *Argiues* come againe  
to the League of *Athens*,  
and with long walls take  
in a way from their City  
to the Sea.

The end of the fiftenth  
Summer.

The *Lacedemonians* Army  
comes to *Argos*, and ra-  
zeth the wals which they  
were building.

They take *Hysia* a Towne in *Argos*.

The *Argives* spoyle the Territory of *Phliasia*.

The *Athenians* quarrell *Perdiccas*, and barre him the vic of the Sea.

THE SIXTEENTH YEERE.  
*Alcibiades* fetcheth away 300 Citizens of *Argos* for *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Athenians* warre against the Island of *Melos*.

King of the *Lacedæmonians*. But those things which were A practizing in *Argos*, and supposed to haue beene already mature, did not then succeed. Neuerthelesse they tooke the walles that were then in building, and razed them to the ground, and then after they had taken *Hysia*, a towne in the *Argive* Territory, and slaine all the freemen in it, they went home, and were dissolued euery one to his owne City.

After this, the *Argives* went with an Army into *Phliasia*, which when they had wasted, they went backe. They did it, because the men of *Phlius* had receiued their Outlawes; for there the greatest part of them dwelt. B

The same Winter the *Athenians* shut vp *Perdiccas* in *Macedonia*, from the vse of the Sea; Obiecting that hee had sworne the League of the *Argives*, and *Lacedæmonians*, and that when they had prepared an Army, vnder the command of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, to goe against the *Chalcideans* vpon *Thrace*, and against *Amphipolis*, he had broken the League made betwixt them, and him; and by his departure, was the principall cause of the dissolution of that Army, and was therefore an enemy. And so this Winter ended, and the fifteenth yeere of this Warre. C

The next Summer went *Alcibiades* to *Argos*, with twenty Gallies, and tooke thence the suspected *Argives*, and such as seemed to saue of the *Lacedæmonian* faction, to the number of 300, and put them into the neereft of the Islands subiect to the *Athenian* State.

The *Athenians* made Warre also against the Ile of *Melos*, with 30 Gallies of their owne, 6 of *Chios*, and 2 of *Lesbos*. Wherein were of their owne, 1200 men of Armes, 300 Archers, and 20 Archers on horsebacke, and of their Confederates, and Islanders, about 1500 men of Armes. The *Melians* are a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore refused to be subiect, as the rest of the Islands were, vnto the *Athenians*; but rested at the first newtrall, and afterwards when the *Athenians* put them to it, by wasting of their Land, they entred into open Warre. D

Now the *Athenian* Commanders *Cleomenes* the sonne of *Lycomedes*, and *Licias* the sonne of *Lisimachus*, being encamped vpon their Land with these forces, before they would hurt the same, sent Ambassadors to deale with them first by way of conference. These Ambassadors the *Melians* refused to bring before the multitude, but commanded them E to

A to deliuer their message before the Magistrates, and the Few, and they accordingly said as followeth.

## DIALOGVE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS and MELIANS.

Ath.

S Ince we may not speake to the multitude, for feare lest when they beare our perswasue and vnanswerable Arguments, all at once in a continued Oration, they should chance to bee seduced, (for we know that this is the scope of your bringing vs to audience before the Few) make surer yet that point, you that sit heere; answer you also to euery particular, not in a set speech, but presently interrupting vs, whensoever any thing shall bee said by vs, which shall seeme vnto you to be otherwise. And first answer vs, whether you like this motion, or not?

Wherevnto the Councell of the *Melians* answered,

Mel. The equity of a leasurely debate is not to be found fault withall; but this preparation of warre, not future, but already heere present, seemeth not to agree with the same. For we see that you are come to bee Iudges of the conference, and that the issue of it, if we bee C superiour in argument, and therefore yeeld not, is likely to bring vs Warre; and if we yeeld, seruitude.

Ath. Nay, if you be come together to reckon vp suspicions of what may bee, or to any other purpose, then to take aduice vpon what is present, and before your eyes, how to saue your Citie from destruction, let vs giue ouer. But if this be the point, let vs speake to it.

Mel. It is reason, and pardonable for men in our cases, to turne both their words and thoughts vpon diuers things: Howsoever, this consultation being held onely vpon the point of our safety, we are content, if you thinke good, to goe on with the course you haue propounded.

D Ath. As we, therefore, will not, for our parts, with faire pretences, (as if bat hauing defeated the *Medes*, our raigne is therefore lawfull, or That we come against you for iniury done) make a long discourse without being beleened; so would we haue you also not expect to prenaile, by saying, either, That you therefore tooke not our parts, because you were a Colonie of the *Lacedæmonians*; or, that you haue done vs no iniury; but out of those things which we both of vs doe really thinke, let vs goe through, with that which is feasible; both you, and wee, knowing, that in humane disputation, iustice is then onely agreed on, when the necessity is equall. Whereas they that haue E oddes of power, exact as much as they can, and the weake yeeld to such conditions as they can get.

Mel.



Mel. Well then, (seeing you put the point of profit in the place A of that of Iustice) we hold it profitable for our selues, not to overthrow a generall profit to all men, which is this, That men in danger, if they pleade reason, and equity, nay, though somewhat without the strict compasse of Iustice, yet it ought euer to doe them good; And the same most of all concerneth you, forasmuch as you shall else giue an example vnto others, of the greatest reuenge that can bee taken, if you chance to miscarry.

Ath. As for vs, though our dominion should cease, yet wee feare not the sequell. For not they that command, as doe the Lacedæmonians, are cruell to those that are vanquished by them, (yet wee haue B nothing to doe now with the Lacedæmonians,) but such as hauing bene in subiection, haue assaulted those that commanded them, and gotten the victory. But let the danger of that be to our selues. In the meane time, wee tell you this, that wee are here now, both to enlarge our owne dominion, and also to conferre about the sauing of your Citie. For wee would haue dominion ouer you, without oppressing you, and preserue you, to the profit of vs both.

Mel. But how can it be profitable for vs to serue, though it be so for you to command?

Ath. Because you by obeying, shall saue your selues from extremity; and wee not destroying you, shall reape profit by you. C

Mel. But will you not accept that wee remaine quiet, and be your friends, (whereas before wee were your enemies,) and take part with neither?

Ath. No. For your enimity doth not so much hurt vs, as your friendship will be an argument of our weaknesse, and your hatred, of our power, amongst those whom we beare rule ouer.

Mel. Why? Doe your Subiects measure equity so, as to put those that neuer had to doe with you, and themselves, who for the most part haue bene your owne Colonies, and some of them after reuolt D conquered, into one and the same consideration?

Ath. Why not? For they thinke they haue reason on their side, both the one sort and the other; and that such as are subdued, are subdued by force, and such as are forborne, are so through our feare. So that by subduing you, besides the extending of our dominion ouer so many more Subiects, we shall also assure it the more ouer those we had before, especially being masters of the Sea, and you Ilanders, and weaker (except you can get the victory) then others whom wee haue subdued already.

Mel. Doe you thinke then, that there is no assurance in that which E we propounded? For here againe (since driving vs from the plea of equity,

A equity, you perswade vs to submit to your profit) when we haue shewed you what is good for vs, we must endeavour to draw you to the same, as far forth as it shall be good for you also. As many therefore as now are neutrall, what doe you but make them your enemies, when beholding these your proceedings, they looke that hereafter you will also turne your Armes vpon them? And what is this, but to make greater the Enemies you haue already, and to make others your Enemies euen against their wills, that would not else haue bene so?

Ath. We doe not thinke that they shall be euer the more our Enemies, who inhabiting any where in the Continent, will bee long ere B they so much as keepe guard vpon their liberty against vs. But Ilanders vn subdued, as you bee, or Ilanders offended with the necessity of subiection which they are already in, these may indeed, by vnadvised courses, put both themselves and vs into apparent danger.

Mel. If you then to retaine your command, and your vassals, to get loose from you, will vndergoe the vtmost of danger, would it not in vs that be already free, be great basenesse and cowardise, if we should not encounter any thing whatsoeuer, rather then suffer our selues to be brought into bondage?

Ath. No, if you aduise rightly. For you haue not in hand a match C of valour vpon equall termes, wherein to forget your honour, but rather a consultation vpon your safety, that you resist not such as be so farre your ouermatches.

Mel. But wee know, that in matter of Warre, the event is sometimes otherwise then according to the difference of the number in sides. And that if we yeeld presently, all our hope is lost; whereas, if wee hold out, we haue yet a hope to keepe our selues vp.

Ath. Hope, the comfort of danger, when such vse it as haue to spare, though it hurt them, yet it destroyes them not. But to such as set their rest vpon it, (for it is a thing by nature prodigall) it at D once by failing maketh it selfe knowne; and knowne, leaueth no place for future caution. Which let not be your owne case you that are but weake, and haue no more but this one stake. Nor bee you like vnto many men, who though they may presently saue themselves by humane meanes, will yet when (vpon pressure of the Enemy) their most apparent hopes faile them, betake themselves to blinde ones, as Divination, Oracles, and other such things, which with hopes destroy men.

Mel. Wee thinke it (you well know) a hard matter for vs to combat your power and fortune, vnlesse wee might doe it on equall E termes. Neuerthelesse we beleue, that for fortune wee shall bee nothing inferiour, as hauing the Gods on our side, because wee stand innocent,



innocent, against men. vniust. And for power, what is wanting in A vs, will be supplied by our League with the Lacedæmonians, who are of necessity obliged, if for no other cause, yet for consanguinities sake, and for their owne honour to defend vs. So that we are confident, not altogether so much without reason, as you thinke.

Ath. As for the fauour of the Gods, we expect to haue it as well as you, for we neither doe, nor require any thing contrary to what mankind hath decreed, either concerning the worship of the Gods, or concerning themselves. For of the Gods we thinke, according to the common opinion, and of men, that for certaine, by necessity of Nature, they will euery where raigne ouer such as they be to strong for. Neither did we make this Law, nor are we the first that vse it made, but as we found it, and shall leaue it to posterity for euer so also we vse it. B Knowing that you likewise, and others that should haue the same power which we haue, would doe the same. So that for as much as toucheth the fauour of the Gods, we haue in reason no feare of being inferiour. And as for the opinion you haue of the Lacedæmonians, in that you beleue they will helpe you for their owne honour, wee blesse your innocent mindes, but affect not your folly. For the Lacedæmonians, though in respect of themselves, and the constitutions of their owne Countrey, they are wont for the most part, to be generous, yet in respect of others, though much might be alledged, yet the shortest way one might say it all thus, That most apparantly of all men, they hold for honourable that which pleaseth, and for iust, that which profiteth. And such an opinion maketh nothing for your now absurd meanes of safety. C

Mel. Nay for this same opinion of theirs we now the rather beleue that they will not betray their owne Colony, the Melians; and thereby become perfidious to such of the Grecians as be their friends, and beneficiall to such as be their enemies.

Ath. You thinke not then that what is profitable, must bee also D safe, and that which is iust and honourable, must be performed vvith danger, vvich commonly the Lacedæmonians are least vvilling of all men, to vndergoe for others.

Mel. But vve suppose that they vvill vndertake danger for vs, rather then for any other; and that they thinke that vve vvill be more assured vnto them, then vnto any other; because, for action vvee lye neere to Peloponnesus, and for affection, are more faithfull then others for our neere nesse of kinne.

Ath. The security of such as are at Warres, consisteth not in the good vvill of those that are called to their aide, but in the power of E those meanes they excell in. And this the Lacedæmonians them-

A themselves vse to consider more then any; and therefore out of diffidence in their owne forces, they take many of their Confederates with them, though to an expedition but against their neighbours. Wherefore it is not likely, we being Masters of the sea, that they will euer passe ouer into an Iland.

Mel. Yea, but they may haue others to send; and the Cretique sea is wide, wherein to take another, is harder for him that is Master of it, then it is for him that will steale by, to saue himselfe. And if this course faile, they may turne their Armes against your owne Territory, or those of your Confederates not invaded by Brasidas. And then you B shall haue to trouble your selues, no more about a Territory that you haue nothing to do withall, but about your own and your Confederates.

Ath. Let them take which course of these they will, that you also may find by experience, and not be ignorant that the Athenians, neuer yet gaue ouer siege, for feare of any diuersion vpon others. But we obserue, that whereas you said you would consult of your safety you haue not yet in all this discourse said any thing, which a man relying on, could hope to be preserued by. The strongest arguments you vse, are but future hopes, and your present power, is too short to defend you against the forces already a:anged against you. You shall therefore C take very absurd counsaile, vnlesse excluding vs, you make amongst your selues, some more discreet conclusion; For when you are by your selues, you will no more set your thoughts vpon shame, which, when dishonour and danger stand before mens eyes for the most part vnderth them. For many, when they haue foreseene into what dangers they were entring, haue neuerthelessse beene so overcome by that forcible word, dishonour, that that which is but called dishonour, hath caused them to fall willingly into immedicable calamities & so to draw vpon themselves, really by their owne madnesse, a greater dishonour then could haue befallne them by fortune. Which you, if you deliberate D wisely, will take heed of, and not thinke shame to submit to a most potent Citie, and that vpon so reasonable conditions, as of League, and of enioying your owne, vnder tribute. And seeing choice is giuen you of Warre, or safety, doe not out of peeuishnesse take the worse. For such doe take the best course, who though they giue no way to their equals, yet doe fairely accomodate to their superiours, and towards their inferiours, vse moderation. Consider of it therefore, whilest we stand off, and haue often in your minde, that you deliberate of your Countrey, which is to be happy or miserable in & by this one consultation. So the Athenians went aside from the conference; and the Melians E after they had decreed the very same things which before they had spoken, made answer vnto them in this manner.

Y y

Mel.

Mel. Men of Athens, our resolution is no other then what A  
you haue heard before; nor will we in a small portion of time, ouer-  
throw that liberty in which our City hath remained for the space of  
700 years since it was first founded. But trusting to the fortune  
by which the Gods haue preserved it hetherto, and vnto the helpe  
of men, that is, of the Lacedæmonians, wee will doe our best to  
maintaine the same. But this we offer; To be your friends;  
Enemies to neither side; and you to depart out of our  
Land after agreement, such as we shall both thinke fit.  
Thus the Melians answered; to which the Athenians, the  
conference being already broken off, replied thus.

Ath. You are the onely men, (as it seemeth to vs by this con-  
sultation) that thinke future things more certaine, then things (eene,  
and behold things doubtfull, through desire to haue them true, as if  
they were already come to passe. As you attribute and trust the  
most, vnto the Lacedæmonians; and to Fortune, and Hopes; So will you be the most deceived. This said, the Athenian Am-  
bassadors departed to their Campe, and the Commanders,  
seeing that the Melians stood out, fell presently to the War,  
and diuiding the worke among the seuerall Cities, encom-  
passed the City of the Melians with a wall. The Athe- C  
nians afterwards, left some forces of their owne, and of  
their Confederates, for a guard, both by Sea and Land,  
and with the greatest part of their Army, went home. The  
rest that were left, besieged the place.

About the same time, the Argiues, making a Road into  
Phlæsia, lost about 80 of their men, by ambush laid for them  
by the men of Phlius, and the outlawes of their owne City.

And the Athenians that lay in Pylus, fetched in thither a  
great booty from the Lacedæmonians; notwithstanding  
which the Lacedæmonians did not warre vpon them, as re- D  
nouncing the Peace, but gaue leaue by Edict onely, to any  
of their people that would, to take booties reciprocally in  
the Territory of the Athenians.

The Corinthians also made Warre vpon the Athenians,  
but it was for certaine controuersies of their owne, and  
the rest of Peloponnesus stirred not.

The Melians also tooke that part of the wall of the A-  
thenians by an assault in the night, which looked towards  
the Market place, and hauing slaine the men that guarded  
it, brought into the Towne both Corne, and other prouisi- E  
on whatsoeuer they could buy for money, and so returned  
and

The Athenians and Meli-  
ans agree not.

The City of Melos be-  
sieged.

The Argiues loose 80 men  
by an Ambuscament of  
the Phliæsiens.

The Athenians in Pylus  
intercept Laconia.

The Corinthians Warre on  
the Athenians.

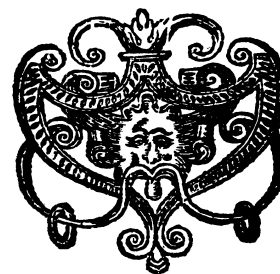
The Melians beleaguer their  
Towne.

A and lay still. And the Athenians from thenceforth kept a  
better watch. And so this Summer ended.

The Winter following, the Lacedæmonians being about  
to enter with their Army into the Territory of the Ar-  
giues, when they perceiued that the sacrifices which they  
made on the border, for their passage, were not acceptable,  
returned. And the Argiues, hauing some of their owne Ci-  
tie in suspition, in regard of this designe of the Lacedæmo-  
nians, apprehended some of them, and some escaped.

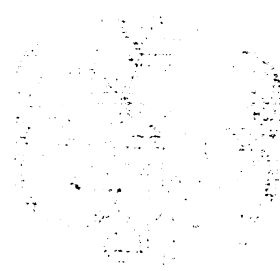
About the same time, the Melians tooke another part  
B of the wall of the Athenians, they that kept the siege, be-  
ing then not many. But this done, there came afterwards  
fresh forces from Athens, vnder the Conduct of Philocrates  
the sonne of Demas. And the Towne being now strongly  
besieged, there being also within some that practised to  
haue it giuen vp, they yeelded themselues to the discre-  
tion of the Athenians, who slew all the men of Mili-  
tary age, made slaues of the women and children,  
and inhabited the place with a Colony sent  
thither afterwards, of five hundred  
men of their owne.

Y y 2



The end of the fifteenth  
Summer.

E

[illegible]

MARE THYRRÆNUM

ANTIENT SICELLE  
ACCORDING TO THE  
Description of  
Philip Chmerius



# SICULUM


 ARE LIBRUM

Miles.





THE  
SIXTH BOOKE  
OF THE HISTORY OF  
THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

Sicily described. The causes and pretences of the Sicilian Warre, with the consultation and preparation for the same. Alcibiades, one of the Generals of the Army accused of defacing the Images of Mercury, is suffered for that present to depart with the Armie. The Athenian Army commeth to Rhegium, thence to Catana. From thence Alcibiades is sent for home, to make answer to his accusations, and by the way escaping, goeth to Lacedæmon. Nicias encampeth neere Syracuse, and hauing ouercome the Armie of the Syracusians in Battell, returneth to Catana. The Syracusians procure aydes amongst the rest of the Sicilians. Alcibiades instigateth and instructeth the Lacedæmonians against his Countrey. Nicias returneth from Catana to Syracuse, and encamping in Epipolæ, besiegeth the Citie, and beginneth to enclose them with a double Wall, which was almost brought to perfection in the beginning of the eighteenth yeere of this Warre.

**T**He same Winter the Athenians with greater Forces then they had before sent out with Laches and Eurymedon, resolved to goe againe into Sicily, and if they could wholly to subdue it. Being for the most part ignorant both of the greatnesse of the Iland, and of the multitude of people, as well Greekes as Barbarians that inhabited the same; and that they vnderooke

The Athenians resolve to invade Sicily.

The greatnesse of Sicily, and the inhabitants.

dertooke a Warre not much lesse then the Warre against A the Peloponnesians.

For the compasse of Sicily is little lesse then eight dayes sayle for a Ship, and though so great, is yet diuided with no more then twenty Furlongs, Sea measure, from the Continent.

It was inhabited in Old time, thus; and these were the Nations that held it. The most ancient Inhabitants in a part thereof, are said to haue been the Cyclopes, and Laestrigones, of whose Stocke, and whence they came, or to what place they removed, I haue nothing to say. Let that suffice which the Poets haue spoken, and which euery particular man hath learned of them. B

After them, the first that appeare to haue dwelt therein, are the Sicanians, as they say themselves; nay, before the other, as being the \* naturall breed of the Island. But the truth is, they were Iberians, and driuen away by the Ligians from the bankes of Sicannus, a Riuer on which they were seated in Iberia. And the Island from them came to be called Sicania, which was before Trinacria. And these two inhabit yet in the Westerne parts of Sicily. C

After the taking of Ilium, certaine Troians, escaping the hands of the Grecians, landed with small Boats in Sicily, and hauing planted themselves on the borders of the Sicanians, both the Nations in one were called Elymi, and their Cities were Eryx, and Egesta.

Hard by these came and dwelled also certaine Phocceans, who comming from Troy, were by tempest carried first into Africke, and thence into Sicily. But the Siculi passed out of Italy, (for there they inhabited) flying from the Opici, hauing, as is most likely, and as it is reported, obserued the Straight, and with a fore-wind, gotten ouer, in Boats which they made suddenly on the occasion, or perhaps by some other meanes.

There is at this day a people in Italy, called Siculi. And Italy it selfe got that name after the same manner, from a King of Arcadia, called Italus. Of these a great Army crossing ouer into Sicily, ouerthrew the Sicanians in battell, and draue them into the South, and West parts of the same; and in stead of Sicania, caused the Island to be called Sicilia, and held and inhabited the best of the Land, for E neere 300 yeeres after their going ouer, and before any of the

\* Cyclopes.

Cyclopes and Laestrigones.

Sicanians.

\* autygon.

Sicania, Trinacria.

Troians.

Siculi.

A the Grecians came thither. And till now, they possesse the midland, and North parts of the Island.

Also the Phœnicians inhabited the Coast of Sicily on all sides, hauing taken possession of certaine Promontories, and little Islands adiacent, for Trades sake with the Sicilians. But after that many Grecians were come in by Sea, the Phœnicians abandoned most of their former habitations, and vniting themselves, dwelt in Motya, and Soloeis, and Panormus, vpon the borders of the Elymi; as relying vpon their League with the Elymi, and because also, from thence, lay the shortest Cut ouer vnto Carthage. These were the Barbarians, and thus they inhabited Sicily. B

Now for Grecians, first a Colony of Chalcidians, vnder Thucles their Conductor, going from Euboea, built Naxos, and the Altar of Apollo \* Archegetis, now standing without the City, vpon which the \* Ambassadors employed to the Oracles, as often as they lanch from Sicily, are accustomed to offer their first sacrifice. The next yeere Archias, a man of the Herculean Family, carried a Colony from Corinth, and became Founder of Syracuse, where first he draue the Siculi out of that \* Island, in which the inner part of the City now standeth, not now enuironed wholly with the Sea, as it was then. And in proceffe of time, when the City also that is without, was taken in with a wall, it became a populous Citie.

In the fifth yeere after the building of Syracuse, Thucles, and the Chalcidians, going from Naxos, built Leontium, expelling thence the Siculi, and after that Catana, but they that went to Catana, chose Euarchus for their Founder. About the same time arriued in Sicily, also Lamis, with a Colony from Megara, and first built a certaine Towne called Trotilus, vpon the Riuer Pantacrus, where for a while after he gouerned the estate of his Colony in common with the Chalcidians of Leontium. But afterwards, when he was by them thrust out and had builded Thapsus, he dyed, and the rest going from Thapsus, vnder the Conduct of Hyblon, a King of the Siculi, built Megara, called Megara-Hyblea. And after they had there inhabited 24 yeeres, they were by Gelon, a Tyrant of Syracuse, put out both of the City and Territory. But before they were driuen thence, namely 100 E yeeres after they had built it, they sent out Pamphilus, and built the Citie of Selinus. This Pamphilus came to them from

Phœnicians.

Chalcidians.

\* Id est, Clauis guide.

\* 610 gr.

Corinthians.

\* Naxos, Ortygia, and the Island part of the Citie of Syracuse.

Megareans.



Rhodians and Cretans.

Messana first built by Pirates of Cumæ.

Eubœans.

Samians and other Ionians.

Rhegium.

Acra, Chasmene.

Camarina.

from *Megara*, their owne Metropolitan City, and so together with them founded *Selinus*. *Gela* was built in the 45 yeere after *Syracuse*, by *Antiophemus*, that brought a Colony out of *Rhodes*, and by *Entymus*, that did the like out of *Crete*, ioyntly. This City was named after the name of the Riuer, *Gela*, and the place where now the City standeth, and which at first they walled in, was called *Lindj*. And the Lawes which they established, were the *Dorique*. About 108 yeeres after their owne foundation, they of *Gela* built the Citie of *Acragante*, calling the City after the name of the Riuer, and for their Conductors, choze *Aristonous*, and *Ptychilus*, and gaue vnto them the Lawes of *Gela*. *Zancle* was first built by *Pirates*, that came from *Cumæ*, a *Chalcidean* City in *Opicia*; but afterwards there came a multitude and helped to people it, out of *Chalcis*, and the rest of *Eubœa*; and their Conductors were *Prieres*, and *Cratæmenes*; one of *Cumæ*, the other of *Chalcis*. And the name of the City was at first *Zancle*, so named by the *Sicilians*, because it hath the forme of a Sicke, and the *Sicilians* call a Sicke, *Zancle*. But these Inhabitants were afterwards chased thence by the *Samians*, and other people of *Ionia*, that in their flight from the *Medes*, fell vpon *Sicily*.

After this, *Anaxilas*, Tyrant of *Rhegium*, draue out the *Samians*, and peopling the City with a mixt people of them, and his owne, in stead of *Zancle*, called the place by the name of his owne Countrey from whence he was anciently descended, *Messana*. After *Zancle*, was built *Himera*, by *Euclides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; the most of which Colony were *Chalcideans*; but there were also amongst them certaine Outlawes of *Syracuse*, the vanquished part of a Sedition, called the *Myletides*. Their language grew to a Meane betweene the *Chalcidean*, and *Dorique*; but the lawes of the *Chalcidean* preuailed. *Acra*, and *Chasmene*, were built by the *Syracusians*. *Acra* 20 yeeres after *Syracuse*; and *Chasmene*, almost 20 after *Acra*. *Camarina* was at first built by the *Syracusians*, very neere the 135 yeere of their owne Citie, *Dascon*, and *Menecolus*, being the Conductors. But the *Camarinians* hauing been by the *Syracusians* driuen from their seat by Warre, for reuolt, *Hippocrates*, Tyrant of *Gela*, in proesse of time, taking of the *Syracusians*, that Territory for ranfome of certaine *Syracusian* prisoners, became their Founder, and placed them in *Camarina* againe.

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A After this againe, hauing beene driuen thence by *Gelon* they were planted the third time in the same Citie. These were the Nations, *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, that inhabited *Sicily*.

And though it were thus great, yet the *Athenians* longed very much to send an Armie against it, out of a desire to bring it all vnder their subiection (which was the true motive) but as hauing withall this faire pretext of aiding their kindred & new Confederates. But principally they were instigated to it by the Ambassadors of *Egesta* who were at

B *Athens*, and earnestly pressed them thereto. For bordering on the territory of the *Selinuntians*, they had begun a War about certain things concerning marriage, & about a piece of ground that lay doubtfully between them. And the *Selinuntians* hauing leagued themselues with the *Syracusians*, infested them with War both by Sea and by Land. Inasmuch as the *Egestæans* putting the *Athenians* in minde of their former League with the *Leontines*, made by *Laches*, prayed them to send a Fleet thither in their ayde; alleaging amongst many other things, this as principall, That

C if the *Syracusians* who had driuen the *Leontines* from their seat, should passe without reuenge taken on them, and so proceed by consuming the rest of the allies of the *Athenians* there, to get the whole power of *Sicily* into their hands, it would be dangerous, lest hereafter some time or other, being *Dorcæans*, they should with great Forces ayde the *Dorcæans* for affinity, and being a Colonie of the *Peloponnesians*, ioyne with the *Peloponnesians*, that sent them out, to pull downe the *Athenian* Empire. That it were wisdom therfore, with those Confederates they yet retain, to make head

D against the *Syracusians*, and the rather, because for the defraying of the Warre, the *Egestæans* would furnish money sufficient, of themselues. Which things when the *Athenians* had often heard in their Assemblies, fro the mouthes of the *Egestæan* Ambassadors, and of their Aduocates and Patrons, they decreed to send Ambassadors to *Egesta*, to see first, whether there were in their Treasury & Temples so much wealth as they said there was, and to bring word in what termes the War stood betweene that City & the *Selinuntians*: & Ambassadors were sent into *Sicily* accordingly.

E The same Winter the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, hauing drawn out their forces

The cause and pretence of the *Athenians* to invade it.

The *Lacedæmonians* waste part of *Argolis*, and put the Outlawes of *Argos* into *Orten*.

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into the Territory of the *Argives*, wasted a small part of their fields, and carried away certaine Cart-loads of their Corne. Thence they went to *Ornea*; and having placed there the *Argive* Outlawes, left with them a few others of the rest of the Armie, and then making a composition for a certaine time, that they of *Ornea*, and those *Argives* should not wrong each other, they carried their Armie home. But the *Athenians* arriuing not long after with 30. Gallies, and 600. men of Armes, the people of *Argos* came also forth with their whole power, and ioyning with them, fate downe betimes in the morning before *Ornea*. But when at night the Army went somewhat farre off to lodge, they within fled out, and the *Argives* the next day perceiuing it, pulled *Ornea* to the ground, and went home; and so also did the *Athenians* not long after with their Gallies,

The Athenians warre vpon Macedonians.

Also the *Athenians* transported certaine Horsmen by Sea, part of their owne, and part *Macedonian* fugitiues, that liued with them, into *Methone*, and rauaged the Territorie of *Perdiccas*. And the *Lacedemonians* sent vnto the *Chalcidians* vpon *Thrace*, who held Peace with the *Athenians* from ten dayes to ten dayes, appointing them to ayde *Perdiccas*. But they refused. And so ended the Winter, and the sixteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

THE SEVENTH YEERE.  
The Athenians receive the Voyage of Nicias, and Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus for Generals.

The next Summer, early in the Spring, the *Athenian* Ambassadors returned from *Sicily*, and the Ambassadors of *Egesta* with them, and brought, in siluer vncoined, sixtie Talents, for a moneths pay of sixtie Gallies, which they would intreat the *Athenians* to send thither. And the *Athenians* hauing called an Assembly, and heard both from the *Egestean* and their own Ambassadors, amongst other perswasive, but vntrue Allegations, touching their Money, how they had great store ready, both in their Treasurie and Temples, decreed the sending of sixtie Gallies into *Sicily*, and *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, and *Lamachus* the sonne of *Xenophanes*, for Commanders, with authority absolute, the which were to ayde the people of *Egesta* against the *Selinuntians*, and withall, if they had time spare, to plant the *Leontines* anew in their Citie, and to order all other the affaires of *Sicily*, as they should thinke most for the profit of the *Athenians*.

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A Five dayes after this the people assembled againe, to consult of the meanes how most speedily to put this *Armada* in readinesse; and to decree such things as the Generals should further require for the Expedition. But *Nicias* hauing heard that himselfe was chosen for one of the Generals, and conceiuing that the State had not well resolved, but affected the Conquest of all *Sicily*, a great matter vpon small and superficiall pretences, stood forth, desiring to haue altered this the *Athenians* purpose, and spake as followeth.

## B THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

Though this Assembly was called to deliberate of our preparation, & of the maner how to set forth our Fleet for *Sicily*; yet to me it seemeth, that we ought rather, once again, to consult, whether it be not better, not to send it at all, then vpon a short deliberation in so weighty an affaire, and vpon the credit of strangers, to draw vpon our selues an impertinent Warre. For my owne part, I haue honour by it; and for the danger of my person, I esteeme it the least of all men, not but that I thinke him a good member of the Common-wealth, that hath regard also to his owne person and estate: for such a man especially will desire the publike to prosper, for his owne sake. But as I haue neuer spoken heretofore, so nor now will I speake any thing that is against my consciences; for gaining to my selfe a prebeminence of honour; but that onely which I apprehend for the best. And although I am sure, that if I goe about to perswade you to preferre what you already hold, and not to hazard things certaine, for vncertaine and future, my words will bee too weakke to preuaile against your humour; yet this I must needes let you know; that neither your haste is seasonable, nor your desires easie to be attained. For I say, that going thither, you leaue many Enemies beere behinde you, and more you endeuour to draw hither. You perhaps thinke that the League will bee firme, that you haue made with the *Lacedemonians*; which though as long as you stir not, may continue a League in name; (for so some haue made it of our owne side) yet if any considerable forces of ours chance to miscarry, our enemies will soone renew the Warre; as hauing made the peace constrained by necessities, and vpon termes of more dishonor.

B And they say then our selues. Besides in the League it selfe, we haue many things controuerted; and some there be, that refuse utterly

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\* The Corinthians.

\* The Boeotians.

to accept it, and they none of the weakest, whereof \* some are now in A open Warre against vs, and \* others, because the Lacedæmonians stir not, maintaine onely a Truce with vs from ten to ten dayes, and so are contented yet to hold their hands. But peradventure when they shall heare that our power is distracted (which is the thing wee now hasten to doe) they will bee glad to ioyne in the Warre with the Sicilians against vs, the confederacy of whom they would heretofore haue valued aboue many other. It behoueth vs therefore to consider of these things, and not to run into new dangers, when the state of our owne Citie hangeth vnsettled, nor seeke a new dominion, before we assure that which we already haue. For the Chalcideans B of Thrace, after so many yeeres reuolt, are yet vnreduced: and from others in diuers parts of the Continent, we haue but doubtfull obedience. But the Egestæans, being forsooth our Confederates, and wronged, they in all haste must be ayded; though to right vs on those by whom we haue a long time our selues beene wronged, that wee deferre. And yet if we should reduce the Chalcideans into subiection, wee could easily also keepe them so. But the Sicilians, though wee vanquish them, yet being many, and farre off, wee should haue much ado to hold them in obedience. Now it were madnesse to inuade such, whom conquering, you cannot keepe, and failing, should lose the meanes C for euer after to attempt the same againe. As for the Sicilians, it seemeth vnto me, at least, as things now stand, that they shall bee of lesse danger to vs, if they fall vnder the Dominion of the Syracusians, then they are now; And yet this is it that the Egestæans would most affright vs with: for now the States of Sicily in seuerall, may perhaps be induced, in fauour of the Lacedæmonians, to take part against vs: whereas then, being reduced into one, it is not likely they would hazard with vs state against state. For by the same meanes that they, ioyning with the Peloponnesians may pull downe our Dominion, by the same it would bee likely that the Peloponnesians D would subuert theirs. The Grecians there will feare vs most, if we goe not at all; next, if we but shew our Forces, and come quickly away. But if any misfortune befall vs, they will presently despise vs, and ioyne with the Grecians here to inuade vs. For wee all know, that those things are most admired which are farthest off, and which least come to giue prooffe of the opinion conceiued of them. And this (Athenians) is your owne case now with the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, whom because beyond your hope you haue overcome, in those things for which at first you feared them, you now in contempt of them, turne your Armies vpon Sicily. But we ought not E to be puffed vp vpon the misfortunes of our enemies, but to bee confident then

A then onely, when we haue mastered their designs. Nor ought wee to thinke that the Lacedæmonians set their mindes on any thing else, but how they may yet for the late disgrace, repaire their reputation, if they can, by our overthrow; and the rather because they haue so much, and so long laboured to win an opinion in the world of their valour. The question with vs therefore (if we be well aduised) will not be of the Egestæans in Sicily, but how we may speedily defend our Citie against the insidiation of them that fauour the Oligarchy. Wee must remember also that we haue had now some short recreation from a late great Plague, and great Warre, and thereby are improved both B in men and money; which it is most meet we should spend here vpon our selues, and not vpon these Outlawes which seeke for aide. Seeing it maketh for them, to tell vs a specious lye; who contributing onely words, whilst their friends beare all the danger, if they speed well, shall be disobliged of thanks, if ill, vndo their friends for company. Now if there be any \* man here; that, for ends of his owne, as being glad to be Generall, especially being yet too yong to haue charge in chiefe, shall aduise the expedition, to the end he may haue admiration for his expence vpon horses, and helpe from his place to defray that expence, suffer him not to purchase his priuate honour and splendor with the danger of the publike fortune. Beleeue rather that such men though C they robbe the publike, doe neuerthelesse consume also their priuate wealth. Besides, the matter it selfe is full of great difficulties, such as it is not fit for a yong man to consult of, much lesse hastily to take in hand. And I seeing those now that sit by and abette the same man, am fearefull of them, and doe on the other side exhort the elder sort (if any of them sit neere those other) not to be ashamed to deliuer their minds freely; as fearing, that if they giue their voyce against the Warre, they should be esteemed cowards; nor to doate, (as they doe) vpon things absent, knowing that by passion, the fewest actions D and by reason the most doe prosper; but rather for the benefit of their Countrey, which is now cast into greater danger, then euer before, to hold vp their hands on the other side, and decree, That the Sicilians, within the limits they now enioy, not misliked by you, and with liberty to saile by the shoare, in the Ionian Gulfe, and in the maine of the Sicilian Sea, shall possesse their owne, and compound their differences within themselves. And for the Egestæans, to answer them in particular, thus; That as without the Athenians they had begun the War against the Selinuntians, so they should without them E likewise end it. And, that we shall no more hereafter, as wee haue vsed to doe, make such men our Confederates, as when

\* He glencib at Alcibiades.

when they doe iniury, we must maintaine it, and when we A  
require their assistance, cannot haue it. And you the President, (if you thinke it your office to take care of the Common-wealth, and desire to be a good member of the same) put these things once more to the question, and let the Athenians speake to it againe. Thinke if you be afraid to infringe the orders of the Assembly that before so many witnesses, it will not be made a crime but that you shall be rather thought a Physitian of your Country, that hath swallowed down euill counsell. And he truly dischargeth the duty of a President, who labourerth to doe his Countrey the most good; or at least will not willingly doe it hurt. Thus spake Nicias. B

The motives of Alcibiades to further his voyage.

But the most of the Athenians that spake after him, were of opinion, that the voyage ought to proceed, the Decree already made, not to be reuersed. Yet some there were that said to the contrary. But the expediton was most of all pressed by Alcibiades the sonne of Clinias, both out of desire he had to crosse Nicias, with whom he was likewise at oddes in other points of State, and also for that he had glanced at him inuidiously in his Oration, but principally for that he affected to haue charge, hoping that himselfe C  
should be the man, to subdue both Sicily and Carthage, to the State of Athens, and withall, if it succeeded, to increase his owne private wealth and glory. For being in great estimation with the Citizens, his desires were more vaste, then for the proportion of his estate, both in maintaining of horses, and other his expences, was meet. Which proued afterwards none of the least causes of the subuersion of the Athenian Common-wealth. For most men fearing him, both for his excesse in things that concerned his person, and forme of life, and for the greatnesse of his spirit, in every particular action he undertooke, as one that aspired to the Tyranny, they became his enemy. And although for the publike, he excellently managed the Warre, yet euery man priuately displeased with his course of life, gaue the charge of the Warres to others, and thereby, not long after, ouerthrew the State. Alcibiades at this time stood forth, and spake to this effect.

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## THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

MEN of Athens, It both belongeth vnto me, more then to any other, to haue this charge, and withall, I thinke my selfe (for I must needs begin with this, as hauing beene touched by Nicias,) to be worthy of the same. For those things, for which I am so much spoken of, doe indeed purchase glory to my progenitors, and my selfe, but to the Common-wealth, they conferre both glory and profit. For the Grecians haue thought our Citie, a mighty one, euen about the truth, by reason of my braue appearance at the Olympian Games; whereas before they thought easily to haue warred it downe. For I brought thither seuen Chariots, and not onely wonne the first, second, and fourth prize, but carried also in all other things, a magnificence worthy the honour of the victory. And in such things as these, as there is honour to be supposed, according to the Law; so is there also a power conceiued, vpon sight of the thing done. As for my \* expences in the Citie, vpon setting forth of shewes, or whatsoeuer else is remarkable in me, though naturally it procure enuy in other Citizens, yet to Strangers, this also is an Argument of our greatnesse. Now, it is no vnprofitable course of life, when a man shall at his priuate cost, not onely benefit himselfe, but also the Common-wealth. Nor doth he that beareth himselfe high vpon his owne worth, and refuseth to make himselfe fellow with the rest, wrong the rest; for if he were in distresse, he should not finde any man that would share with him in his calamity. Therefore, as we are not so much as saluted when we be in misery; so let them likewise be content to be contemned of vs when we flourish; or if they require equality, let them also giue it. I know that such men, or any man else, that excelleth in the glory of any thing whatsoever, shall as long as he liueth be enuied, principally of his equals, and then also of others, amongst whom he conuerseth; but with posterity, they shall haue kindred claimed of them, though there be none; and his Countrey will boast of him, not as of a stranger, or one that had been a man of leud life, but as their owne Citizen, and one that had achieved worthy and laudable acts. This being the thing I aime at, and for which I am renowned, consider now whether I administer the publike the worse for it or not. For hauing reconciled vnto you the most potent States of Peloponnesus without much, either danger, or cost, I compelled the Lacedamonians to stake all that euer they had, vpon the Fortune of one day of Mantinea.

\* *depositas*, the exhibition of matches, Games, or other spectacles.

And

And this hath my youth and Madnesse, supposed to haue beene very mad esse, with familiar and fit words, wrought vpon the power of the Peloponnesians, and shewing reason for my passion, made my madnesse now no longer to be feared. But as long as I flourish with it, and Nicias is esteemed fortunate, make you use of both our seruices. And abrogate not your Decree touching the voyage into Sicily, as though the power were great you are to encounter withall. For, the number wherewith their Cities are populous, is but of promiscuous Nations, easily shifting, and easily admitting new comers; and consequently not sufficiently armed any of them for the defence of their bodies, nor furnished, as the custome of the place appointeth, to fight for their Countrey. But what any of them thinkes hee may get by faire speech, or snatch from the Publike by sedition, that onely hee looks after, with purpose if he faile, to runne the Countrey. And it is not likely, that such a rabble, should either with one consent giue eare to what is told them, or unite themselues for the administration of their affaires in common; but if they heare of faire offers, they will one after one be easily induced to come in; especially, if there be seditions amongst them, as we heare there are. And the truth is, there are neither so many men of Armes as they boast of; nor doth it appeare, that there are so many Grecians there in all, as the seuerall Cities haue euery one reckoned for their owne number. Nay, euen Greece hath much belyed it selfe, and was scarce sufficiently armed in all this Warre past. So that the businesse there, for all that I can by Fame vnderstand, is euen as I haue told you, and will yet bee easier. For wee shall haue many of the Barbarians, vpon hatred of the Syracusians, to take our parts against them there, and if wee consider the case aright, there will bee nothing to hinder vs at home. For our Ancestors hauing the same Enemies which they say we leaue behinde vs now in our voyage to Sicily, and the Persian besides, did neuerthelesse erect the Empire wee now haue, by our onely oddes of strength at Sea.

And the hope of the Peloponnesians against vs, was neuer lesse then now it is, though their power were also as great as euer; for they would bee able to inuade our Land, though wee went not into Sicily; and by Sea they can doe vs no harme though wee goe, for we shall leaue a Nauie sufficient to oppose theirs, behinde vs. What therefore can wee alleadge with any probability for our backwardnesse? or what can wee pretend vnto our Confederates, for denying them assistance? whom wee ought to defend, were it but because wee haue sworne it to them; without obiecing that they haue not reciprocally ayded vs. For wee tooke them not into League, that they

A they should come hither with their aydes, but that by troubling our enemies there, they might hinder them from coming hither against vs. And the way whereby we, and whoesoever else hath dominion, hath gotten it, hath euer beene the cheerefull succouring of their associates that required it, whether they were Greekes or Barbarians. For if we should all sit still, or stand to make choyce, which were fit to be assisted, and which not, we should haue little vnder our government of the estates of other men, but rather hazard our owne. For when one is growne mightier then the rest, men use not onely to defend themselues against him, when he shall inuade, but to anticipate him, that he inuade not at all. Nor is it in our power to be our owne caruers, how much we will haue subiect to vs; but considering the case we are in, it is as necessary for vs to seeke to subdue those that are not vnder our Dominion, as to keepe so, those that are: I este if others be not subiect to vs, we fall in danger of being subiected vnto them. Nor are we to weigh quietnesse in the same ballance that others doe, vnto the institution of this State, were like vnto that of other States. Let vs rather make reckoning by enterprising abroad; to encrease our power at home, and proceed in our voyage, that we may cast downe the haughty conceit of the Peloponnesians, and shew them the contempt and slight account we make of our present ease, by vndertaking this our expedition in to Sicily. Wherby, either conquering those States, wee shall become masters of all Greece, or weaken the Syracusians, to the benefit of our selues, and our Confederates. And for our security to stay; (if any City shall come to our side) or to come away if otherwise your Gallies will afford it. For in that, we shall be at our owne liberty, though all the Sicilians together were against it. Let not the speech of Nicias, tending onely to lazinesse, and to the stirring of debate betweene the yong men and the old, auert you from it; but with the same decency wherewith your Ancestors consulting yong and old together, haue brought our Dominion to the present height, endeavour you likewise to enlarge the same. And thinke not that youth, or age, one without the other, is of any effect, but that the simplest, the middle sort, and the exactest iudgements tempered together, is it that doth the greatest good; and that a State, as well as any other thing, will, if it rest, weare out of it selfe, and all mens knowledge decay; whereas by the exercise of Warre, experience will continually increafe, and the Citie will get a habit of resisting the enemy, not with words, but action. In summe this is my opinion, that a State accustomed to bee active, if it once grow idle, will quickly be subiected by the change; and that they of all men are most surely

A a a

planted,



planted, that with most vnity obserue the present Lawes and customes, A though not alwaies of the best. Thus spake Alcibiades.

The Athenians, when they had heard him, together with the Egestians and Leontine Outlawes, who beeing then present, entreated, and (objecting to them their Oath) begged their helpe in forme of Suppliants, were farre more earnestly bent vpon the Iourny then they were before. But Nicias, when he saw he could not alter their resolution with his Oration, but thought hee might perhaps put them from it by the greatnesse of the prouision, if he should B require it with the most, stood forth againe, and said in this manner.

### THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

MEN of Athens, Forasmuch as I see you violently bent to this Expedition, such effect may it take, as is desired. Ne- uerthelesse I shall now deliuer my opinion vpon the matter, as it yet standeth. As farre as we vnderstand by report, we set out against C great Cities, not subiect one to another, nor needing innouation, where- by they should be glad, out of hard seruitude, to admit of easier Mas- ters; nor such as are likely to preferre our gouernment before their owne liberty; but many, as for one Iland, and those Greecke Cities. For besides Naxos and Catana, (which two I hope will ioyne with vs, for their affinity with the Leontines,) there are other seuen fur- nished in all respects after the manner of our owne Army, and espe- cially those two, against which wee bend our Forces most, Selinus, and Syracuse. For there are in them, many men of Armes, many Archers, many Darters, besides many Gallies, and a multitude of men D to man them. They haue also store of money, both amongst priuate men, and in their Temples. This haue the Selinuntians. The Sy- racusians haue a Tribute beside, comming in from some of the Barba- rians. But that wherein they exceed vs most, is this, that they a- bound in Horses, and haue Corne of their owne, not fetcht in from o- ther places. Against such a power, we shall therefore neede, not a Fleet only, and with it a small Army; but there must great Forces goe along of Land-souldiers, if we meane to do any thing worthy our designe, and not to be kept by their many horsemen from landing; especially if the Cities there, terrified by vs, should now hold all together, & none but the Ege- E stians proue our friends, & furnish vs with a Caualerry to resist them.

And

A And it would be a shame either to come backe with a repulse, or to send for a new supply afterwards, as if wee had not wisely considered our enterprize at first. Therefore we must goe sufficiently provided from hence, as knowing that we goe farre from home, and are to make War in a place of disadvantage, and not as when we went as Confederates, to ayde some of our Subiects here at home, where wee had easie bring- ing in of necessaries to the Campe, from the Territories of Friends. But we goe farre off, and into a Countrey of none but strangers, and from whence in Winter, there can hardly come a messenger vnto vs in so little as foure moneths. Wherefore I am of opinion, that we ought B to take with vs many men of Armes, of our owne, of our Confederates, and of our Subiects, and also out of Peloponnesus as many as wee can get, either for loue or money: and also many Archers and Slingers, whereby to resist their Caualerry; and much spare Shipping, for the more easie bringing in of prouision. Also our corne, I meane, Wheate and Barly parched, we must carry with vs from hence in \* Ships; and Bakers from the Milles, hired, and made to worke by turnes, that the Armie, if it chance to be weather-bound, may not be in want of victu- all. For being so great, it will not bee for euery Citie to receiue it. And so for all things else, we must as much as wee can, provide them our C selues, and not rely on others.

About all, we must take hence as much money as we can; for as for that which is said to bee ready at Egesta, thinke it ready in words, but not in deed: For although wee goe thither with an Army not onely equall vnto theirs, but also, (excepting their men of Armes for Battell) in euery thing exceeding it, yet so shall we scarce be able, both to ouercome them, and withall to preserve our owne. We must also make account, that wee goe to inhabite some City in that forraigne and ho- stile Countrey, and either the first day we come thither, to bee presently Masters of the Field, or failing, bee assured to finde all in hostility a- gainst vs. Which fearing, and knowing that the businesse requires much good aduice, and more good fortune (which is a hard matter, be- ing we are but men) I would so set forth, as to commit my selfe to For- tune as little as I may, and take with me an Armie, that in likelihood should be secure. And this I conceiue to be both the surest course for the Citie in generall, and the safest for vs that goe the Voyage. If any man be of a contrary opinion, I resigne him my place.

Thus spake Nicias, imagining that either the Athenians would, vpon the multitude of the things required, abandon E the Enterprize: or if he were forced to goe, he might goe thus with the more security.

A a a 2

But

\* Large Ships of the round building, going onely with sayles, without oares after the fashion of our ships. In distinction from Gallies.



The Athenians vpon this speech, made to desire them from the enterprize, are the more encouraged to it.

But the Athenians gaue not ouer the desire they had of A the voyage, for the difficulty of the preparation, but were the more inflamed thereby to haue it proceed; and the contrary fell out of that which he before expected. For they approued his counsell, and thought now there would be no danger at all, and euery one alike fell in loue with the enterprize. The old men, vpon hope to subdue the place they went to, or that at least, so great a power could not miscarry; and the yong men, vpon desire to see a forraigne Countrey, and to gaze, making little doubt but to returne with safety.

As for the common sort, and the Souldiers, they made account to gaine by it, not onely their wages for the time, but also so to amplifie the State in power, as that their stipend should endure for euer. So that through the vehement desire thereunto of the most, they also that liked it not, for feare (if they held vp their hands against it) to be thought euill affected to the State, were content to let it passe.

And in the end a certaine Athenian stood vp, and calling vpon Nicias, said, he ought not to shift off, nor delay the businesse any longer, but to declare there before them all, what forces he would haue the Athenians to decree him. To which, vnwillingly, he answered, and said, hee would consider of it first with his fellow-Commanders; Neuerthelesse, for so much as he could iudge vpon the sudden, he said, there would need no lesse then 100 Gallies; whereof for transporting of men of Armes, so many of the Athenians owne, as they themselues should thinke meet, and the rest to be sent for to their Confederates. And that of men of Armes, in all, of their owne, and of their Confederates, there would be requisite no lesse then 5000 but rather more, if they could be gotten, and other prouision proportionable. As for Archers, both from hence, and from Crete, and Slingers, and whatsoeuer else should seeme necessary, they would prouide it themselues, and take it with them.

When the Athenians had heard him, they presently decreed that the Generals should haue absolute authority, both touching the greatnesse of the preparation, and the whole voyage, to doe therein, as should seeme best vnto them for the Common-wealth. And after this, they went in

A in hand with the preparation accordingly, and both sent vnto the Confederates, and enrolled Souldiers at home. The City had by this time recouered her selfe from the sicknesse, and from their continuall Warres, both in number of men fit for the Warres, growne vp after the ceasing of the Plague, and in store of money gathered together by meanes of the Peace; whereby they made their prouisions with much ease. And thus were they employed in preparation for the voyage.

In the meane time the Mercuries of Stone, throughout B the whole City of Athens, (now there were many of these of square-stone, set vp, by the Law of the place, and many in the porches of priuate houses, & in the Temples) had in one night, most of them their faces pared, and no man knew who had done it. And yet great rewards out of the Treasury had been propounded to the discoverers; and a Decree made that if any man knew of any other profanation, he might boldly declare the same, were he Citizen, Stranger, or Bondman. And they tooke the fact exceedingly to heart, as ominous to the expedition, and done withall, vpon C conspiracy, for alteration of the State, and dissolution of the Democracie.

Hereupon, certaine Strangers dwelling in the City, and certaine Seruing-men, reuealed something, not about the Mercuries, but of the paring of the Statues of some other of the Gods, committed formerly, through wantonnesse, and too much Wine, by yong men, and withall, how they had in priuate houses, acted the Mysteries of their Religion, in mockery; amongst whom they also accused Alcibiades. This, they that most enuyed Alcibiades, because he stood in D their way, that they could not constantly beare chiefe sway with the people, making account to haue the Primacy, if they could thrust him out, tooke hold of, and exceedingly aggravated, exclaiming, that both the mockery of the Mysteries, and the paring of the Mercuries, tended to the deposing of the People; and that nothing therein was done without him, alleaging for argument, his other excesse, in the ordinary course of his life, not conuenient in a popular estate. He, at that present, made his Apologie, and was there ready, if he had done any such thing, to answer it, before he went the voyage, (for by this time, all E their preparation was in readinesse) and to suffer Iustice, if he

The faces of all the Images of Mercury, throughout Athens, pared plaine.

Alcibiades accused for ha- uing in mockery, acted the celebration of the Mysteries of their Religion.

He desires to come to his Tryall before his going forth, but is not suffered.

The Athenian Fleet putteth to Sea.

The description of the setting forth of the Fleet.

he were guilty, and if absolved, to resume his charge. Protesting against all accusations to be brought against him in his absence, and pressing to be put to death then presently, if he had offended; and saying, that it would not be discreetly done, to send away a man accused of so great crimes, with the charge of such an Armie, before his tryall. But his enemies fearing lest if he came then to his Tryall, he should have had the favour of his Armie, and left the people which loved him, because the *Arginus* and some of the *Mantineans* served them in this Warre, only for his sake, should have beene mollified, put the matter off, and hastned his going out, by setting on other Orators to advise, that for the present he should goe, and that the setting forward of the Fleet should not be retarded, and that at his returne he should have a day assigned him for his Tryall. Their purpose being, vpon further accusation, which they might easily contriue in his absence, to haue him sent for backe, to make his answer. And thus it was concluded that *Alcibiades* should goe.

After this, the Summer being now halfe spent, they put to Sea for *Sitily*. The greatest part of the Confederates, and the Ships that carried their Corne, and all the lesser vessels, and the rest of the prouision that went along, they before appointed to meet vpon a day set, at *Corcyræ*, thence all together to crosse ouer the *Ionian* Gulfe, to the Promontory of *Iapigia*. But the *Athenians* themselves, and as many of their Confederates as were at *Athens*, vpon the day appointed, betimes in the morning, came downe into *Peiræus*, and went aboard to take Sea. With them came downe in a manner the whole multitude of the City, as well Inhabitants as strangers: The Inhabitants, to follow after such as belonged vnto them, some their friends, some their kinsmen, and some their children; filled both with hope, and lamentations; hope of conquering what they went for, and lamentation, as being in doubt whether euer they should see each other any more, considering what a way they were to goe from their owne Territory. And now when they were to leaue one another to danger, they apprehended the greatnesse of the same, more then they had done before, when they decreed the Expedition. Neuertheless their present strength, by the abundance of every thing before their eyes prepared for the Iourney, gaue

A gaue them heart againe in beholding it. But the strangers & other multitude came only to see the show, as of a worthy and incredible Designe. For this preparation, being the first *Grecian* Power, that euer went out of *Greece* from one onely Citie, was the most sumptuous, and the most glorious of all that euer had been set forth before it, to that day. Neuertheless for number of Gallies, and men of Armes, that which went out with *Pericles* to *Epidauros*, and that which *Aghon* carried with him to *Potidea*, was not inferior to it. For there went foure thousand men of Armes, three hundred Horse, and one hundred Gallies, out of *Athens* it selfe; and out of *Lesbos* and *Chios* fiftie Gallies, besides many confederates that accompanied him in the voyage. But they went not farre, and were but meanely furnished. Whereas this Fleet, as being to stay long abroad, was furnished for both kinds of seruice, in which of them sooner it should haue occasion to be employed, both with shipping, and Land-Souldiers.

For the shipping, it was elaborate with a great deale of cost, both of the Captaines of Gallies, and of the Citie. For the State allowed a Drachma a day to euery Mariner, the \* empty Gallies which they sent forth, being of nimble ones 66. and of such as carried their men of Armes, 40. more. And the Captaines of Gallies both put into them the most able seruants, and besides the wages of the State, vnto the vppermost banke of Oares, called the \* *Thranite*, and to the seruants, gaue somewhat of their owne; and bestowed great cost otherwise euery one vpon his owne Gallie, both in the \* Badges, and other rigging, each one striving to the utmost, to haue his Gally, both in some ornament, and also in swiftnesse, to exceed the rest.

D And for the Land-forces, they were leauiued with exceeding great choice, and euery man endeoured to excell his fellow in the bravery of his Armes, and vtenciles that belonged to his person. In so much as amongst themselves, it begate quarrell about precedence, but amongst other *Grecians*, a conceit, that it was an ostentation rather of their power and riches, then a preparation against an Enemy. For if a man enter into account of the expence, as well of the publike, as of priuate men that went the voyage, namely, of the publike, what was spent already in the businessse, and what was to be giuen to the Commanders to

carry

\* empty, in respect of those that carried prouision.

\* *Spani* 7. There being three banks of Oares, one alone another, the vppermost were called *Thranite*, the middlemost *Zugite*, and the lowest *Thalamite*, where, of the *Thranite* managed the longest Oare, and therefore in respect of their greater labour, might deserue a greater pay.

\* *Spania*. The Images which being set on the fore-part of the Gallie, did giue it the name for the most part,

carry with them; and of private men, what every one had bestowed vpon his person, and every Captaine on his Gallie, besides what every one was likely, ouer and aboue his allowance from the State, to bestow on prouision for so long a Warfare, and what the Merchant carried with him for Traffique, he will finde the whole summe carried out of the Citie, to amount to a great many Talents. And the Fleet was no lesse noysed amongst those against whom it was to goe, for the strange boldnesse of the attempt, and gloriousnesse of the show, then it was for the excessive report of their number, for the length of the voyage, B and for that it was vndertaken with so vast future hopes, in respect of their present power.

After they were all aboard, and all things laid in, that they meant to carry with them, silence was commanded by the Trumpet; and after the Wine had bene carried about to the whole Army, and All, aswell the Generals as the Souldiers, had\* drunke a health to the Voyage, they made their prayers, such as by the Law were appointed for before their taking Sea; not in euery Galley apart, but all together, the Herald pronouncing them: And the company from the shoare, both of the Citie, and whoso- C euer else wished them well, prayed with them. And when they had sung the *Pean*, and ended the Health, they put forth to Sea. And hauing at first gone out in a long File, Gally after Gally, they after went a vic by *Agina*. Thus hasted these to be at *Corcyra*, to which place also the other Armie of the Confederates were assembling.

At *Syracuse* they had aduertisement of the Voyage from diuers places; neuerthelesse it was long ere any thing would be beleueed. Nay, an Assembly beeing there called, Orations were made, such as follow, on both parts, aswell by them that beleueed the report touching the Athenian Armie to be true, as by others that affirmed the contrary. And *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermón*, as one that thought hee knew the certaintie, stood forth, and spake to this effect.

THE E

\* *corrupt* *drinke*. It was a forme amongst the Grecians, and other Nations then, both before, at Enterprizes to wish good fortune; and at the making of League and Peace, to ratifie what they did, by drinking one to another.

The *Syracusians*, vpon the fame of their coming, doe some beleuee it, and some not.

A

## THE ORATION OF HERMOCRATES.

C Concerning the truth of this Inuasion, though perhaps I shall be thought as well as other men, to deliuer a thing incredible; and though I know that such as bee either the Authors or relaters of matter incredible, shall not onely not perswade, but bee also accounted fooles; neuerthelesse I will not for feare thereof, hold my tongue, as long as the Common wealth is in danger; being confident that I know the truth heereof somewhat more certainly then others doe. The

B Athenians are bent to come, euen against vs, (which you verily wonder at) and that vwith great Forces, both for the Sea and Land, vwith pretence indeed to ayde their Confederates, the *Egestians*, and to replant the *Leontines*, but in truth they aspire to the dominion of all Sicily, and especially of this Citie of ours, vwhich obtained, they make account to get the rest vwith ease. Seeing then they will presently bee vpon vs, aduise vwith your present means, how you may vwith most honour make head against them, that you may not bee taken vnprovided through contempt, nor be carelesse through incredulity; and that such as beleuee it, may not be dismayed with their audaciousnes, and power. For C they are not more able to doe hurt vnto vs, then we be vnto them, neither indeed is the greatnes of their Fleet without some aduantage vnto vs. Nay, it will be much the better for vs, in respect of the rest of the Sicilians; for being terrified by them, they will the rather league with vs. And if we either vanquish or repulse them without obtaining what they come for (for I feare not at all the effecting of their purpose) verily it will bee a great honour to vs, and in my opinion not vnlikely to come to passe. For in truth there haue bene few great Fleets, whether of Grecians or Barbarians, sent far from home, that haue not prospered ill. Neither are these that come against vs, more in number then our selues, and the neighbouring Cities: for surely we shall all hold together vpon feare. And if for want of necessaries in a strange Territorie they chance to miscarry, the honour of it will be left to vs against whom they bend their counsels, though the greatest cause of their ouerthrow should consist in their owne errours. Which was also the case of these very Athenians, who raised themselves by the misfortune of the Medes, (though it happened for the most part contrary to reason) because in name they went only against the Athenians. And that the same shall now happen vnto vs, is not without probability.

E Let vs therefore with courage put in readinesse our owne forces, and let vs send to the Siculi, to con firme those we haue, and to make peace and league with others; and let vs send Ambassadors to the rest of Si

Bbb

cily,

cily, to shew them that it is a common danger; and into Italy, to get A them into our League, or at least that they receive not the Athenians. And in my iudgement, it were our best course to send also to Carthage; for euen they are not without expectation of the same danger. Nay, they are in a continuall feare, that the Athenians will bring the Warre vpon them also, euen to their Citie. So that vpon apprehension that if they neglect vs, the trouble will come home to their owne doore, they will perhaps, either secretly, or openly, or some way assist vs. And of all that now are, they are the best able to do it, if they please. For they haue the most gold and siluer, by which both the Wars, and all things else are the best expedited. Let vs also send to Lacedæmon and B to Corinth, praying them not onely to send their succours hither with speed, but also to set on foot the Warre there. But that which I thinke the best course of all, though through an habit of sitting still, you will hardly be brought to it, I will neuerthelesse now tell you what it is. If the Sicilians all together, or if not all, yet if wee, and most of the rest, would draw together our whole Nauie, and with 2. moneths provision goe and meet the Athenians at Tarentum, and the Promontory of Iapygia, and let them see, that they must fight for their passage ouer the Ionian Gulfe, before they fight for Sicily, it would both terrifie them the most, and also put them into a consideration, That we, as C the Watchmen of our Countrey, come vpon them out of an amicable Territory, (for we shall be receiued at Tarentum) whereas they themselues haue a great deal of Sea to passe with all their preparations, and cannot keepe themselues in their order for the length of the Voyage. And that for vs, it will be an easie matter to assaile them, comming vp as they doe, slowly and thinne. Again, if lightuing their Gallies, they shall come vp to vs more nimble, and more close together, we shall charge vpon them already wearied, or we may, if we please, retire againe into Tarentum. Whereas they, if they come ouer but with a part of their provisions, as to fight at Sea, shall bee driuen into D want of victuals in those desert parts, and either staying be there besieged, or attempting to go by, leaue behind them the rest of their provision, and be deiected, as not assured of the Cities, whether they will receive them or not. I am therefore of opinion, that dismayd with this reckoning, they will either not put ouer at all from Corcyra, or whilest they spend time in deliberating, and in sending out to explore, how many, and in what place wee are, the season will bee lost, and Winter come; or deterred with our vlooked for opposition, they will giue ouer the Voyage. And the rather, for that (as I heare) E the man of most experience amongst their Commanders, hath the charge against his will, and would take a light occasion to returne, if  
be

A he saw any considerable stop made by vs, in the way. And I am very sure, we should be voyced amongst them to the utmost. And as the reports are, so are mens minds; and they feare more such as they beare will begin with them, then such as giue out, that they will no more but defend themselues. Because then they thinke the danger equal. Which would be now the case of the Athenians. For they come against vs with an opinion that we will not fight; deseruedly contemning vs, because we ioyned not with the Lacedæmonians to pull them downe. But if they should see vs once bolder then they lookt for, they would be terrified more with the vnexpectation, then with the truth of our power it selfe. Be perswaded therefore, principally to dare to doe this, or if not this, yet speedily to make your selues otherwise ready for the War; and euery man to remember, that though to shew contempt of the enemy be best in the heate of fight, yet those preparations are the surest, that are made with feare and opinion of danger. As for the Athenians, they come, and I am sure are already in the way, and want onely, that they are not now here. Thus spake Hermocrates.

But the people of Syracuse were at much strife amongst themselues, some contending, that the Athenians would by no meanes come, and that the reports were not true; and others, that if they came, they would doe no more harme, then they were likely againe to receiue. Some contemned and laughed at the matter: but some few there were that beleued Hermocrates, and feared the euent. But Athenagoras, who was chiefe Magistrate of the People, and at that time most powerfull with the Commons, spake as followeth:

### THE ORATION OF ATHENAGORAS.

D H E is either a Coward, or not well affected to the State, who soeuer he be, that wisbeth the Athenians not to be so mad, as comming hither, to fall into our power. As for them that report such things as these, and put you into feare, though I wonder not at their boldnesse, yet I wonder at their folly, if they thinke their ends not seene. For they that are afraid of any thing themselues, will put the Citie into affright, that they may shaddow their owne with the Common feare. And this may the reports doe at this time, not raised by chance, but framed on purpose, by such as alwaies E trouble the State. But if you meane to deliberate wisely, make not your reckoning by the reports of these men,  
Bbb 2 but

but by that which wise men, and men of great experience, (such as A I hold the Athenians to be) are likely to doe. For it is not probable, that leaving the Peloponnesians, and the Warre there not yet surely ended, they should willingly come hither to a new Warre, no lesse then the former; Seeing, in my opinion, they may bee glad that wee invade not them, so many, and so great Cities, as wee are. And if indeed they come, (as these men say they will) I thinke Sicily more sufficient to dispatch the Warre, then Peloponnesus, as being in all respects better furnished: and that this our owne Citie, is much stronger then the Armie which they say is now coming, though it were twice as great as it is. For I know, they B neither bring Horses with them, nor can get any heere, save only a few from the Egestæans, nor have men of Armes, so many as wee, in that they are to bring them by Sea. For it is a hard matter to come so farre as this by Sea, though they carried nomen of Armes in their Gallies at all, if they carry with them all other their necessaries; which cannot be small against so great a Citie. So that I am so far from the opinion of these others, that I thinke the Athenians, though they had here another Citie as great as Syracuse, and confining on it, and should from thence make their Warre, yet should not be able to escape from being destroyed every man of them; much C lesse now, when all Sicily is their enemy. For in their Campe, fenced with their Gallies, they shall be coupled up, and from their Tents, and forced munition, neuer be able to stirre farre abroad, without being cut off by our Horsemen. In short, I thinke they shall neuer be able to get landing; so much about theirs do I value our own Forces. But these things, as I said before, the Athenians considering, I am very sure, will looke unto their owne; and our men talke here of things that neither are, nor ever will bee; who I know have desired, not onely now, but ever, by such reports as these, or by worse, or by their actions, to put the multitude in feare, that they D themselves might rule the State. And I am afraid, lest attempting it often, they may one day effect it. And for us, we are too poore-spirited, either to foresee it ere it be done, or foreseeing to prevent it. By this meanes our Citie is seldome quiet, but subiect to sedition, and contention not so much against the enemy, as within it selfe; and sometimes also to Tyranny and P<sup>r</sup>urpation. Which I will endeavour (if you will second me) so to prevent hereafter, as nothing more of this kinde shall befall you. Which must be done, first by gaining you the Multitude, and then by punishing the Authors of these Plots, not onely when I finde them in the action, (for it will bee hard to E take them so) but also for those things which they would, and cannot doe.

A doe. For one must not onely take reuenge upon an Enemy for what he hath already done, but strike him first for his euill purpose; For if a man strike not first, he shall first be stricken. And as for the Few, I shall in somewhat reprove them, in somewhat haue an eye to them, and in somewhat aduise them. For this I thinke will be the best course to auert them from their bad intentions. Tell me, forsooth, (I haue asked this question often) you that are the younger sort, what would you haue? would you now beare office? the Law allowes it not. And the Law was made, because ye are not now sufficient for government, not to disgrace you when you shall be sufficient. But B forsooth, you would not be ranked with the multitude. But what Iustice is it, that the same men should not haue the same priuiledges? Some will say, that the Democracy is neither a well-governed, nor a iust State, and that the most wealthy, are aptest to make the best government. But I answer first, Democracy is a name of the whole; Oligarchy, but of a part. Next, though the Rich are indeed fittest to keepe the Treasure, yet the wise are the best Counsellors, and the Multitude, upon hearing, the best Iudge. Now in a Democracy all these, both ioyntly and severally participate equall priuiledges. But in the Oligarchy, they allow indeed to the Multitude, a C participation of all dangers; but in matters of profit, they not onely incroach upon the Multitude, but take from them, and keepe the whole. Which is the thing that you the Rich, and the Younger sort affect, but in a great City cannot possibly embrace. But yet, O ye, the most vnwise of all men, vnlesse you know that what you affect, is euill, and if you know not that, you are the most ignorant of all the Grecians I know, or, ye most wicked of all men, if knowing it, you dare doe this: yet I say, informe your selues better, or change your purpose, and help to amplify the common good of the Citie, making account that the good amongst you, shall not onely haue an equall, but a greater share therein D then the rest of the multitude. Whereas if you will needs haue all, you shall runne the hazzard of losing all. Away therefore with these rumours, as discovered, and not allowed. For this City, though the Athenians come, will be able to defend it selfe with honour. And we haue Generals to looke to that matter. And if they come not, (which I rather beleue) it will not, upon the terrour of your reports, make choyce of you for Commanders, and cast it selfe into voluntary seruitude. But taking direction of it selfe, it both indgeth your words, virtually as facts, and will not upon words let goe her present liberty, but endeavour to preserve it, by not committing the same actually to E your discretion. Thus said Athenagoras.

Then



The speech of one of the  
Syracusan Generals.

Then one of their Generals rising vp, forbad any other A  
to stand forth, and spake himsele to the matter in hand,  
to this effect:

It is no wisdom, neither for the speakers to utter such calumnies  
one against another, nor for the hearers to receive them. We should ra-  
ther consider, in respect of these reports, how we may in the best man-  
ner, both euery one in particular, and the City in generall, be prepared  
to resist them when they come. And if there be no need, yet to fur-  
nish the Citie with Horses, and Armes, and other Habilliments of War  
can doe vs no hurt. As for the care hereof, and the musters, wee will  
looke to it, and will send men abroad, both to the Cities, and for spials, B  
and doe whatsoeuer else is requisite. Somewhat we haue done alrea-  
dy, and what more we shall hereafter find meet, we will from time to  
time report vnto you. Which when the Generall had said,  
the Syracusians dissolued the Assembly.

The Athenians put out  
from Corcyra.

The Athenians were now all in Corcyra, both they and  
their Confederates. And first the Generals tooke a view  
of the whole Army, and put them into the order wherein  
they were to Anchor, and make their Nauall Campe, and  
hauing diuided them into three squadrons, to each squa-  
dron they assigned a Captaine by lot, to the end that being C  
at Sea, they might not come into want of water, or har-  
bors, or any other necessaries, where they chanced to stay, &  
that they might otherwise be the more easie to be gouerned,  
when euery squadron had his proper Commander. After this they  
sent before them three Gallies, into Italy, and Sicily, to bring them  
word what Cities in those parts would receiue them, whom they  
appointed to come backe and meet them, that they might know  
whether they might be receiued or not, before they put in. This done,  
the Athenians with all their prouisions put out from Cor- D  
cyra, towards Sicily, hauing with them in all 134 Gallies,  
and two Rhodian Long-boats of fifty Oares a piece. Of these,  
a hundred were of Athens it selfe, whereof sixty were expedite  
the other forty, for transportation of Souldiers. The rest of the  
Nauy belonged to the Chians, and other the Confederates. Of men  
of Armes they had in all 5100. Of these, there were of the Athenians  
themselues 1500 enrolled, and 700 more [of the poorer sort, called]  
Thetes, hired, for defence of the Gallies. The rest were of  
their Confederates, some of them being their subiects. Of E  
Argiues there were 500. Of Mantineans and Mercinaries,

The quantity of the  
Army.

A 20. Their Archers in all, 480. Of which 80 were Cre-  
tans. Rhodian Slingers they had 700. Of Light-armed  
Megarians fugitiues 120, and in one vessell made for trans-  
portation of horses, 30 horsemen. These were the forces  
that went ouer to the Warre at first. With these went  
also 30 Ships, carrying necessaries, wherein went also the  
Bakers, and Macons, and Carpenters, and all Toolles  
of vse in fortification. And with these 30 Ships went  
100 Boates, by constraint, and many other Ships and Boats  
that voluntarily followed the Army for Trade; which  
B then passed altogether from Corcyra ouer the Ionian Gulfe.  
And the whole Fleet being come to the Promontory of  
Iapygia, and to Tarentum, and such other places as euery one  
could recouer, they went on by the coast of Italy, neither  
receaued of the States there, into any Citie, nor allowed  
any Market, hauing onely the liberty of Anchorage and  
water, (and that also at Tarentum, and Locri denied them)  
till they were at Rhegium, where they all came together  
again, and settled their Campe in the Temple of Diana,  
(for neither there were they suffered to come in) without  
C the Citie, where the Rhegians allowed them a Market.  
And when they had drawne their Gallies to Land, they  
lay still. Being here, they dealt with the Rhegians, who  
where Chalcidians, to aid the Leontines, Chalcidians likewise.  
To which was answered, that they would take part with  
neither, but what the rest of the Italians should conclude,  
that also they would doe. So the Athenians lay still, medi-  
tating on their Sicilian businesse, how they might carry it  
the best; and withall expected the returne from Egesta, of  
the three Gallies which they had sent before them, desiring  
D to know if so much money were there or not, as was repor-  
ted by their messengers at Athens.

The Syracusians in the meane time from diuers parts, and  
also from their spies, had certaine intelligence, that the  
Fleet was now at Rhegium, and therefore made their pre-  
parations with all diligence, and were no longer incredu-  
lous; but sent vnto the Siculi, to some Cities, men to keepe  
them from reuolting; to others, Ambassadors; and into  
such places as lay vpon the Sea, Garrisons; And exami-  
ned the forces of their owne City, by a view taken of the  
E Armes and Horse, whether they were complete or not, and  
ordered all things as for a Warre at hand, and onely not al-  
ready present.

The

The Syracusians certainly  
knowing of their com-  
ming, prepare for their  
defence.



The hope of the Athenians  
of money from *Egesta* fru-  
strated.

The fraud of the *Egeste-  
ans*.

\* *Eryx* was a Chyrene *E-  
gesta*, and joined to it.

The severall opinions of  
the Generals, touching  
how to proceed. The  
opinion of *Nicias*.

The three Gallies sent before to *Egesta*, returned to the Athenians at *Rhegium*, and brought word, that for the rest of the money promised there was none, onely there appeared thirty Talents. At this, the Generals were presently discouraged, both because this first hope was crossed, and because also the *Rhegians*, whom they had already begun to perswade to their League, and whom it was most likely they should have wonne, as being of kinne to the *Leontines*, and always heretofore favourable to the Athenian State, now refused. And though to *Nicias* this newes from the *Egesteans* was no more then he expected, yet to the other two, it was extreme strange. But the *Egesteans*, when the first Ambassadors from *Athens* went to see their Treasure, had thus deceived them. They brought them into the Temple of *Uranus*, in \* *Eryx*, and shewed them the holy Treasure, Goblets, Flagons, Censers, and other Furniture, in no small quantity, which being but siluer, appeared to the eye a great deale above their true value in money. Then they feasted such as came with them, in their private houses, and at those feasting exhibited all the gold and siluer vessell they could get together, either in the Citie of *Egesta* it selfe, or could borrow in other, as well *Phenician*, as *Grecian* Cities, for their owne. So all of them in a manner making use of the same Plate; and much appearing in euery of those houses, it put those which came with the Ambassadors, into a very great admiration; in so much as at their returne to *Athens*, they stroue who should first proclaime, what wealth they had seene. These men, hauing both been abused themselves, and hauing abused others, when it was told that there was no such wealth in *Egesta*, were much taxed by the Souldiers. But the Generals went to counsell vpon the businesse in hand.

*Nicias* was of this opinion, That it was best to goe presently with the whole Fleet to *Selinus*, against which they were chiefly set forth; and if the *Egesteans* would furnish them with money for the whole Army, then to deliberate further vpon the occasiō, if not, then to require maintenance for the 60 Gallies set forth at their own request, & staying with them, by force or composition, to bring the *Selinuntians* and them to a Peace. And thence passing along by other of those Cities, to make a shew of the power of the Athenian State, and of their readinesse to helpe their friends

A friends and Confederates, and so to goe home, vlesse they could light on some quicke and vnthought of meanes, to doe some good for the *Leontines*, or gaine some of the other Cities to their owne League, and not to put the Commonwealth in danger at her owne charges.

*Alcibiades* said it would not doe well to haue come out from *Athens* with so great a power, and then dishonourably without effect to goe home againe. But rather to send Heralds to euery City but *Selinus* and *Syracuse*, and assay to make the *Siculi* to reuolt from the *Syracusians*; and others to enter League with the *Athenians*, that they might ayde them with men and victuall. And first to deale with the *Messenians*, as being seated in the passage, and most opportune place of all *Sicily* for comming in; and hauing a Port and Harbour sufficient for their Fleet; and when they had gained those Cities, and knew what helpe they were to haue in the Warre, then to take in hand *Syracuse* and *Selinus*; vlesse these would agree with the *Egesteans*, and the other suffer the *Leontines* to be replanted.

But *Lamachus* was of opinion, that it was best to goe directly to *Syracuse*, and to fight with them as soone as they could, at their City, whilest they were yet vnfurnished and their feare at the greatest. For that an Army is alwaies most terrible at first; But if it stay long ere it come in fight, men recollect their spirits, and contemne it the more when they see it. Whereas if it come vpon them suddenly, while they expect it with feare, it would the more easily get the Victory, and euery thing would affright them; as the sight of it (for then they would appeare most for number) and the expectation of their sufferings, but especially the danger of a present Battell. And that it was likely, that many men might be cut off in the Villages without, as not beleeuing they would come; and though they should be already gotten in, yet the Army being master of the Field, and sitting downe before the City, could want no money, and the other *Sicilians* would then neglect leaguings with the *Syracusians*, and ioyne with the *Athenians*, no longer standing off, and spying who should haue the better. And for a place to retire vnto, and Anchor in, he thought *Megara* most fit, being desert, and not far from *Syracuse*, neither by Sea nor Land. *Lamachus* said this, but came afterwards to the opinion of *Alcibiades*.

C c c

After

The opinion of *Alcibiades*.

The opinion of *Lamachus*.

*Alcibiades seeketh league with the Messenians, but is denied.*

*The Athenians goe with part of their Fleet to Naxos.*

*And to Catana.*

*They send tenne Gallies to view Syracuse, and the Hauens.*

*Catana surprized.*

*The Athenians goe to Camarina, but are not receiued.*

After this, *Alcibiades* with his owne Gallie hauing passed ouer to *Messana*, and propounded to them a League, and not preuailed, they answering, that they would not let the Army in, but allow them onely a Market without the Wallles, returned backe to *Rhegium*. And presently the Generals hauing out of the whole Fleet manned threescore Gallies, and taken prouision aboard, went along the shore to *Naxos*, hauing left the rest of the Armie with one of the Generals at *Rhegium*. The *Naxians* hauing receiued them into the City, they went on by the Coast, to *Catana*. B

But the *Cataneans* receiuing them not, (for there were some within that fauoured the *Syracusians*) they entred the Riuer of *Terias*, and hauing stayed there all that night, went the next day towards *Syracuse*, leasurely with the rest of their Gallies; but tenne they sent before into the great Hauens, not to stay, but to discouer if they had lancht any Fleet there, and to proclaime from their Gallies, that the *Athenians* were come to replant the *Leontines* on their owne, according to League and affinity, and that therefore such of the *Leontines* as were in *Syracuse*, should without feare goe forth to the *Athenians*, as to their friends and benefactors. C

And when they had thus proclaimed, and well considered the Citie, and the Hauens, and the region where they were to seate themselues for the Warre, they returned to *Catana*.

An Assembly being called at *Catana*, though they refused to receiue the Army, they admitted the Generals, and willed them to speake their minds. And whilest *Alcibiades*, was in his Oration, and the Citizens at the Assemblie, the Souldiers hauing secretly pulled downe a little Gate, which was but weakly built, entred the City, and were walking vp and downe in the Market. And the *Cataneans*, such as fauoured the *Syracusians*, seeing the Army within, for feare stole presently out of the Towne, being not many. The rest concluded the League with the *Athenians*, and willed them to fetch in the rest of the Army from *Rhegium*. After this, the *Athenians* went backe to *Rhegium*, and rising from thence, came to *Catana* with their whole Army together. D

Now they had newes from *Camarina*, that if they would come E

come thither, the *Camarineans* would ioine with them, and that the *Syracusians* were manning their Nauy. Whereupon with the whole Army they went along the Coast, first to *Syracuse*, where not finding any Nauy manned, they went on to *Camarina*. And being come close vp to the shore, they sent a Herald vnto them; but the *Camarineans* would not receiue the Army, alledging that they had taken an Oath, not to receiue the *Athenians* with more then one Gallie, vlesse they should haue sent for more, of their owne accord. Hauing lost their labour, they departed, and landed in a part of the Territorie of *Syracuse*, and had gotten some booty. But the *Syracusan* Horsemen comming out, and killing some stragglers of the light-armed, they returned againe to *Catana*. B

Heere they finde the Gallie called *Salaminia*, come thither from *Athens*, both for *Alcibiades*, who was commanded to come home, to purge himselfe of such things as were laid to his charge by the State, and also for other Souldiers, that were with him, whereof some were accused for prophanation of the Mysteries, and some also for the *Mercuries*. For the *Athenians*, after the Fleet was put to Sea, proceeded neuerthelesse in the search of those that were culpable, both concerning the *Mysteries*, and the *Mercuries*. And making no enquire into the persons of the informers, but through iealousie admitting of all sorts, vpon the report of euill men, apprehended very good Citizens, and cast them into prison. Choosng rather to examine the fact, and finde the truth by torments, then that any man, how good soeuer in estimation, being once accused, should escape vnquestioned. C

For the People hauing by fame vnderstood, that the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his sonnes, was heauie in the latter end, and withall, that neither themselues, nor *Harmodius*, but the *Lacedemonians* ouerthrew it, were euer fearefull, and apprehended euery thing suspiciously. D

For the fact of *Aristogiton* and *Harmodius*, was vndertaken vpon an accident of loue, which vnfoling at large, I shall make appeare that neither any other, nor the *Athenians* themselves report any certaintie, either of their owne Tyrants, or of the fact. For the old *Pisistratus* dying in the Tyranny, not *Hipparchus*, (as the most thinke) but *Hippias*, who was E

Ccc 2

*Alcibiades called home, to answer about the Mysteries.*

*Digression touching the deposing of the Tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons.*

his eldest sonne, succeeded in the gouernment. Now *Harmodius*, a man in the flower of his youth, of great beautie, was in the power of one *Aristogiton*, a Citizen of a middle condition, that was his Louer. This *Harmodius* hauing beene sollicitated by *Hipparchus* the sonne of *Pisistratus*, and not yeelding, discouered the same vnto *Aristogiton*. Hee apprehending it (as Louers vse) with a great deale of anguish, and fearing the power of *Hipparchus*, lest hee should take him away by force, fell presently as much as his condition would permit, to a contriuing how to pull downe the Tyranny. In the meane time, *Hipparchus*, hauing againe attempted *Harmodius*, and not preuailed, intended, though not to offer him violence, yet in secret, as if forsooth he did it not for that cause, to doe him some disgrace. For neither was the gouernment otherwise heauy till then, but carried without their euill will. And to say the truth, these Tyrants held vertue and wisdom in great account for a long time; and taking of the *Athenians* but a twentieth part of their reuenues, adorned the Citie, mannaged their Warres, and administred their religion worthily. In other points they were gouerned by the Lawes formerly established, saue that these tooke a care euer, to preferre to the Magistracy men of their owne adherence. And amongst many that had the annuall office of *Archon*, *Pisistratus* also had it, the sonne of *Hippias*, of the same name with his Grandfather, who also when he was *Archon*, dedicated the Altar of the twelue Gods in the Market-place, and that other in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*. And though the People of *Athens*, amplifying afterwards that Altar which was in the Market-place, thereby defaced the Inscription, yet that vpon the Altar that is in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, is to bee seene still, though in Letters somewhat obscure, in these words.

PISISTRATVS the sonne of HIPPIAS  
erected this to stand  
In the Temple of Apollo Pythius;  
witness of his command.

And that *Hippias* being the elder Brother, had the gouernment, I can affirme, as knowing it by a more exact relation.

A relation then other men. And it may be knowne also by this, It appeares that of all the legitimate brethren, this onely had children, as is both signified by the Altar, and also by that Pillar, which for a testimony of the iniustice of the Tyrants, was erected in the *Athenian* Cittadell. In which there is no mention of any sonne of *Thesalus*, or of *Hipparchus*, but of five sonnes of *Hippias*, which he had by *Myrrhine*, the daughter of *Callias* the sonne of *Hyperochidas*. For it is probable that the eldest was first married, and in the forepart of the Pillar, his name after his fathers, was the first; not without reason, as being both next him in age, and hauing also inioyed the Tyranny. Nor indeed could *Hippias* haue easily taken on him the gouernment on a sudden, if his brother had dyed, seized of the Tyranny, and he been the same day, to settle it on himselfe. Whereas he retained the same with abundant security, both for the customary feare in the people, and diligence in the Guard; and was not to seeke, like a younger brother, to whom the gouernment had not continually been familiar. But *Hipparchus* came to be named for his misfortune, and thereby grew an opinion afterwards, that he was also Tyrant.

This *Harmodius* therefore that had denyed his sute, hee disgraced, as he before intended. For when some had warned a sister of his, a Virgin, to be present, to carry a little Basket in a Proceßion, they reiected her againe when she came, and said, that they had neuer warned her at all, as holding her vnworthy the honour. This was taken heauily by *Harmodius*; but *Aristogiton*, for his sake, was farre more exasperated then he. Whereupon, with the rest of the Conspirators he made all things ready for the execution of the designe. Onely, they were to stay the time of the Holiday, called the great *Panathenaea*, vpon which day onely, such Citizens as lead the Proceßion, might without suspition be armed in good number. And they were to begin the fact themselves; but the rest were to helpe them against the \* Halbardiers.

Now the Conspirators for their better security, were not many; for they hoped that such also as were not priuie to it, if they saw it once vnderaken, being vpon this occasion, armed, would assyst, in the recovery of their owne liberty. When this Holiday was come, *Hippias* was gone out

\* The Guard of *Hippias* the Tyrant.

out of the Citie, into the place called *Ceramicum*, with his A guard of Halbardiers, & was ordering the procesion, how it was to goe. And *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, with each of them a Dagger, proceeded to the fact. But when they saw one of the Conspirators, familiarly talking with *Hippias*, (for *Hippias* was very affable to all men) they were afraid, and beleued that they were discovered, and must presently haue beene apprehended. They resolved therefore (if it were possible) to be reuenged first vpon him that had done them the wrong, and for whose sake they had vndergone all this danger; and, furnisht as they were, B ran furiously into the Citie, and finding *Hipparchus*, at a place called *Leocorium*, without all regard of themselves, fell vpon him, and with all the anger in the world, one vpon ieaousie, the other vpon disgrace, strooke, and slew him. *Aristogiton*, for the present, by meanes of the great confluence of people, escaped thorow the Guard, but taken afterwards, was vngently handled; but *Harmodius* was slaine vpon the place.

The newes being brought to *Hippias*, in the \* *Ceramicum*, he went not towards the place where the fact was committed but presently vnto those that were armed for the solemnity of the shewes, and were farre off, that he might be with them before they heard of it, and composing his countenance, as well as he could, to dissemble the calamity, pointed to a certaine place, and commanded them to re- C paire thither, without their Armes. Which they did accordingly, expecting that he would haue told them somewhat. But hauing commanded his Guard to take those Armes away, he then fell presently to picking out of such as he meant to question, and whosoeuer else was found a- D mongst them with a Dagger. For with Shields and Speares, to be in the head of the Procesion, was of custome.

Thus was the enterprize first vndertaken vpon quarrell of Loue, and then vpon a sudden feare, followed this vnadvised aduenture of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. And after this time the Tyranny grew sorer to the *Athenians* then it had been before. And *Hippias* standing more in feare, not onely put many of the Citizens to death, but also cast his eye on the States abroad, to see if he might get any security E from them, in this alteration at home. Hee therefore afterwards

\* A Street without the walls of Athens, where they used to bury their slain in the streets. Lib. 1. so named from Κεραμειος, a Potter, or as Paul, from one Ceramicus.

A afterwards (\* though an *Athenian*, and to a *Lamp/acen*) gaue his daughter *Archedice* vnto *Aantidas* the sonne of *Hippocles*, Tyrant of *Lamp/acus*, knowing that the *Lamp/acens* were in great fauour with King *Darius*. And her Sepulchre is yet to be seene, with this Inscription.

Archedice, the Daughter of King *Hippias*,  
who in his time,  
Of all the Potentates of Greece was prime,  
this dust doth hide.

B Daughier, Wife, Sister, Mother vnto Kings she was,  
yet free from pride.

And *Hippias*, after he had reigned three yeeres more in *Athers*, and was in the fourth deposed by the *Lacedaemonians*, and the exiled \* *Alcmaeonides*, went vnder Truce to *Sigum*, and to *Aantidas*, at *Lamp/acus*, and thence to King *Darius*, from whence twenty yeeres after in his old age, he came to *Marathon* with the *Median* Army.

The People of *Athers* bearing this in minde, and remem- C bring all that they had heard concerning them, were extremely bitter, and full of ieaousie towards those that had been accused of the *Mysteries*, and thought all to haue been done vpon some *Oligarchicall* or *Tyrannicall* Conspiracy. And whilest they were passionate vpon this surmise, many worthy men had already been cast in prison, and yet they were not likely so to giue ouer, but grew daily more salu- age, and sought to apprehend more still. Whilest they were at this passe, a prisoner that seemed most to be guilty, was perswaded by one of his fellow prisoners, to ac- D cuse some body, whether it were true or not true, (for it is but conjecturall on both sides, nor was there ever, then, or after, any man that could say certainly, who it was that did the deed) who brought him to it by telling him, that though he had not done it, yet he might be sure to saue his owne life, and should deliuer the City from the present suspicion. And that he should be more certaine of his owne safety, by a free confession, then by comming to his tryall, if he denied it. Hereupon, he accused both him- selfe and others for the *Mercuries*.

E The people of *Athers*, gladly receiuing the certainty (as they thought) of the fact: and hauing been much vexed

\* A woman of Athens, a Citizen's daughter, and called Lamp/acus, a man of Lamp/acus, a city famous for barony and eminency.

\* A Family descended from a noble Citizen of Athens, named Alcmaeon, who being in exile solicited the Lacedaemonians to expell the Tyrants of Athens. He had five children, him to be first of the State of Athens. The ieaousie and passionate fury of the people, in enquiry for the authors of the offences, touching the *Mysteries* and *Mercuries*.

One of the prisoners is perswaded by a fellow-prisoner, to accuse some man, whether true or not true, and doth so.

Diuers men accused of the paring of the *Mercuries*.

that only to some few of the Great men,

vexed before, to thinke that the Conspirators should \* neuer perhaps, be discovered to their *Multitude*, presently set at liberty the accuser, and the rest with him, whom he had not appeached, but for those that were accused, they appointed Iudges, and all they apprehended, they executed. And hauing condemned to dye, such as fled, they ordayned a summe of money to be giuen to those that should slay them. And though it were all this while vncertaine, whether they suffered iustly or vniustly, yet the rest of the Citie had a manifest ease for the present. But touching *Alcibiades* the *Athenians* tooke it extreme ill, through the instigation of his enemies, the same that had opposed him before he went. And seeing it was certaine (as they thought) for the *Mercuries*, the other crime also concerning the *Misseries*, whereof he had beene accused, seemed a great deale the more to haue bin committed by him vpon the same reason, and conspiracy against the people.

Presumptions against *Alcibiades*.

For it fell out withall, whilst the City was in a tumult about this, that an Army of the *Lacedamonians*, was come as farre as the *Isthmus*, vpon some deligue against the *Boeotians*. These therefore they thought were come thither, not against the *Boeotians*, but by appointment of him, and that if they had not first apprehended, the persons appeached, the Citie had been betrayed. And one night they watched all night long in their Armes, in the Temple of *Theseus*, within the Citie. And the friends of *Alcibiades* in *Argos*, were at the same time suspected of a purpose, to set vpon the People there, whereupon the *Athenians* also deliuered vnto the *Argiue People*, those \* Hostages which they held of theirs in the Ilands, to be slaine. And there were D presumptions against *Alcibiades*, on all sides. Insomuch, as purposing by Law to put him to death, they sent, as I haue said, the Gally called *Salamina*, into *Sicily*, both for him, and the rest with him, that had been accused: But gaue command to those that went, not to apprehend him, but to bid him follow them, to make his purgation; because they had a care, not to giue occasion of stirre, either amongst their owne, or the enemies Souldiers, but especially, because they desired, that the *Mantineans*, and the *Argiues*, who they thought followed the Warre by his persuasion, might not depart from the Army. So hee, and the E the

\* 300 in number. lib. 5.

*Alcibiades* sent for home.

A the rest accused with him in his owne Gallie, in companie of the *Salamina*, left *Sicily*, and set saile for *Athens*. But being at *Thuria*, they followed no further, but left the Gally, and were no more to be found: fearing indeed to appeare to the accusation. They of the *Salamina* made search for *Alcibiades* and those that were with him for a while, but not finding him, followed on their course for *Athens*. *Alcibiades*, now an Out-law, passed shortly after in a small Boat from *Thuria* into *Peloponnesus*, and the *Athenians* proceeding to iudgement vpon his not appearing, condemned both him and them to death.

*Alcibiades* dyeth.

B After this, the *Athenian* Generals that remained in *Sicily*, hauing diuided the Armie into two, and taken each his part by lot, went with the whole towards *Selinus*, and *Egesta*, with intention both to see if the *Egesteans* would pay them the money, and withall to get knowledge of the designs of the *Selinuntians*, and learne the state of their controuersie with the *Egesteans*. And sayling by the Coast of *Sicily*, hauing it on their left hand, on that side which lyeth to the *Tyrrhene* Gulfe, they came to *Himera*, the onely *Grecian* Citie in that part of *Sicily*: which not receiuing them, they went on, and by the way tooke *Hyccara*, a little Towne of the *Sicanians*, Enemie to the *Egesteans*, and a Sea-Towne; and hauing made the inhabitants Slaues, deliuered the Towne to the *Egesteans*, whose Horse-forces were there with them.

The *Athenian* Generals in *Sicily* goe to *Selinus* and *Egesta*.

They take *Hyccara*.

D Thence the *Athenians* with their Landmen returned through the Territory of the *Siculi*, to *Catara*; and the Gallies went about with the Captiues. *Nicias* going with the Fleet presently from *Hyccara* to *Egesta*, when hee had dispatched with them his other businesse, and receiued thirty Talents of Money, returned to the Armie. The Captiues they ransomed, of which they made 120. Talents more. Then they sailed about to their Confederates of the *Siculi*, appointing them to send their Forces; and with the halfe of their owne they came before *Hybla*, in the Territory of *Gela*, an Enemy City, but tooke it not, and so ended this Summer.

E The next Winter the *Athenians* fell presently to make preparation for their iourney against *Syracuse*. And the *Syracusians* on the other side prepared to inuade the *Athenians*.

The end of the seuenteenth Summer.

The *Syracusians* contemne the *Athenians*.

nians. For seeing the *Athenians* had not presently vpon the A  
first feare, and expectation of their comming, false vpon  
them, they got euery day more and more heart. And  
because they went far from them into those other parts of  
*Sicily*, and assailing *Hybla*, could not take it, they contem-  
ned them more then euer: and prayed their Commanders,  
(as is the manner of the multitude when they bee in cou-  
rage) seeing the *Athenians* came not vnto them, to conduct  
them to *Catana*. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen, which  
were euer abroad for Scowts, spurring vp to the Campe of  
the *Athenians*, amongst other scornes, asked them, whe- B  
ther they came not rather to dwell in the Land of another,  
then to restore the *Leontines* to their owne?

*Nicias* his stratagem to  
get easie landing and  
encamping by *Syracuse*.

The *Athenian* Generals hauing obserued this, and being  
desirous to draw forth the *Syracusians* whole power as farre  
as might bee from the Citie, to bee able in the meane  
time, without impeachment, going thither in the night,  
by Sea, to seaze on some conuenient place to encampe in;  
for they knew they should not bee able to doe it so well in  
the face of an Enemy prepared, nor if they were knowne  
to march by Land, for that the *Syracusan* Horsemen be- C  
ing many, would greatly annoy the light-armed, and o-  
ther multitude, they themselves hauing no Horsemen  
there: whereas thus they might possesse themselves of  
a place where the Horse could not doe them any hurt at  
all to speake of, (now the *Syracusan* Outlawes that were  
with them, had told them of a place neere the Temple  
*Olympicum*, which also they seazed) I say, the *Athenian*  
Generals, to bring this their purpose to effect, contriued  
the matter thus: They send a man, of whose fidelity they  
were well assured, and in the opinion of the *Syracusan* Com- D  
manders, no lesse a friend of theirs.

This man was a *Caranean*, and said he came from *Ca-  
tana*, from such and such, whose names they knew, and  
knew to bee the remnant of their wel-willers in that City.  
He told them that the *Athenians* lay euery night within the  
Towne, and far from their Armes, and that if with the  
whole power of their Citie, at a day appointed, betimes in  
a morning, they would come to their Campe, those friends  
of the *Syracusians* would shut the *Athenians* in, and set fire on  
their Gallies, by which meanes, the *Syracusians* assailing E  
the Palizado, might easily winne the Campe. And that  
the

A the *Catanaans* that were to helpe them herein were many.  
and those he came from, already prepared for it.

The *Syracusan* Commanders hauing beene also other-  
wise encouraged, and hauing intended a preparation to goe  
against *Catana*, though this Messenger had not come, did  
so much the more vnaduisedly beleue the man and straight  
wayes being agreed of the day, on which they were to bee  
there, sent him away. These Commanders (for by this  
time the *Selenuntians*, and some other their Confederates  
were come in) appointed the *Syracusians*, vniuersally to set  
B forwards by a day. And when all their necessaries were  
in readinesse, and the day at hand in which they were to be  
there, they set forwards toward *Catana*, and encamped the  
night following vpon the bankes of the Riuer *Simethus*, in  
the Territory of the *Leontines*. The *Athenians* vpon aduer-  
tisement that they were set forth, rising with their whole  
Armie, both themselves, and such of the *Siculi*, and others  
as went with them, and going aboard their Gallies and  
Boates in the beginning of the night, set sayle for *Syracuse*.  
In the morning betimes, the *Athenians* disembarked ouer a-  
gainst *Olympicum*, to make their Campe. And the *Syracusan*  
C Horsemen, who were at *Catana* before the rest, finding  
the Campe risen, came backe to the Foot, and told them.  
Whereupon they went all together backe to the ayde of  
the Citie. In the meane time, the way the *Syracusians* had  
to goe being long, the *Athenians* had pitched their Campe  
at leasure in a place of aduantage, wherein it was in their  
owne power to beginne Battell when they list, and where,  
both in and before the Battell, the *Syracusan* Horsemen  
could least annoy them. For on one side, there were  
D Walles, and Houses, and Trees, and a Lake that kept  
them off; on the other side steepe Rockes; and hauing  
felled Trees hard by, and brought them to the Sea-side,  
they made a Palizado both before their Gallies, and to-  
ward *Dascon*. And on that part that was most accesible  
to the Enemy, they made a Fort with stone, (the best they  
could finde, but vnwrought) and with Wood, and withall  
pulled downe the Bridge of the Riuer *Anapus*.

Whilest this was doing, there came none to impeach  
them from the Citie. The first that came against them,  
E were the *Syracusan* Horsemen, and by and by after, all  
the Foot together. And though at first they came vp  
neere

The *Athenians* land, pitch  
their Campe, and en-  
trench themselves ere  
the *Syracusians* returne.

The *Syracusan* Army  
commeth backe.



neere vnto the Campe of the *Athenians*, yet after, seeing the *A*  
*Athenians* came not out against them, they retired againe,  
 and crosing to the other side of the *Helorine* high-way,  
 stayed there that night.

The *Athenians* and *Syracu-*  
*ses* prepare to fight.

The next day the *Athenians* and their Confederates pre-  
 pared to fight, and were ordered thus: The *Argiues* and  
 the *Mantineans* had the right Wing, the *Athenians* were in  
 the middle, and the rest of their Confederates in the other  
 Wing. That halfe of the Army which stood foremost,  
 was ordered by eight in File; the other halfe towards their  
 Tents, ordered likewise by eights, was cast into the forme  
 of a long square, and commanded to obserue diligently, *B*  
 where the rest of the Army was in distresse, and to make  
 specially thither. And in the midst of these so arranged,  
 were receiued such as carried the \* Weapons and Toolles  
 of the Army.

The *Syracusians* arranged their men of Armes, who  
 were *Syracusians* of all conditions, and as many of their  
 Confederates as were present, by sixteene in File. They  
 that came to ayde them, were chiefly the *Selinuntians*, and  
 then the Horse-men of the *Geloans*, about two hundred; *C*  
 and of the *Camarneans*, about twenty Horsemen, and fifty  
 Archers. The Cauallery they placed in the right point  
 of the Battell, being in all no lesse then a thousand two  
 hundred, and with them the Darters. But the *Athenians*  
 intending to begin the Battell, *Nicias* went vp and downe  
 the Army, from one Nation to another, to whom, and to  
 all in generall, he spake to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF NICIAS to his Army.

*W*hat neede I, first, to make a long exhortation, when this  
 Battell is the thing for which we all came hitber? For in  
 my opinion, the present preparation is more able to giue you  
 encouragement, then any Oration, how well soeuer made, if with a  
 weake Armie. For where we are together, *Argiues*, *Mantine-*  
*ans*, *Athenians*, and the best of the *Ilanders*, how can we choose,  
 amongst so many and good Confederates, but conceiue great hope  
 of the victory? especially against tagge and ragge, and not chosen  
 men, as wee are our selues, and against *Sicilians*, who though they *E*  
 contemne vs, cannot stand against vs; their skill not being answer-  
 able

*A* rable to their courage. It must bee remembred also, that wee  
 be farre from our owne, and not neere to any amicable Territory, but  
 such as we shall acquire by the sword. My exhortation to you  
 (I am certaine) is contrary to that of the enemy. For they say to  
 theirs, You are to fight for your Countrey, I say to you, You are to  
 fight out of your Countrey, where you must either get the victory,  
 or not easily get away. For many Horsemen will be vpon vs. Re-  
 member therefore euery man his owne worth, and charge valiant-  
 ly, and thinke, the present necessity, and streight we are in, to be more  
 formidable then the enemy.

*Nicias*, hauing thus exhorted the Army, led it presently  
 to the charge. The *Syracusians* expected not to haue fought  
 at that instant, and the Citie being neere, some of them  
 were gone away; and some, for haste, came in running;  
 and though late, yet euery one, as he came, put himselfe in,  
 where was the greatest number. For they wanted nei-  
 ther willingness, nor courage, either in this, or any other  
 battell, being no lesse valiant, so farre forth as they had ex-  
 perience, then the *Athenians*. But the want of this, made  
 them, euen against their wils, to abate also somewhat of  
 their courage.

Neuerthelesse, though they thought not the *Athenians*  
 would haue begun the battell, and were thereby constrain-  
 ed to fight on a sudden, yet they resumed their Armes,  
 and came presently forward to the encounter.

And first, the Casters of Stones, and Slingers, and Ar-  
 chers of either side, skirmished in the midst betweene  
 the Armies, mutually chafing each other, as amongst  
 the Light-armed, was not vnlikely.

*D* After this, the Southsayers brought forth their sacri-  
 fices according to the Law of the place, and the Trum-  
 pets instigated the men of Armes to the battell. And  
 they came on to fight, the *Syracusians* for their Countrey,  
 and their liues for the present, and for their liberty in the  
 future. On the other side, the *Athenians*, to win the Country  
 of another, and make it their owne, and not to weaken their  
 owne by being vanquished. The *Argiues*, and other free  
 Confederates, to helpe the *Athenians* to conquer the  
 Countrey they came against, and to returne to their owne  
 with Victory. And their Subiect-confederates came al-  
 so on with great courage, principally, for their better safe-  
 ty,

The battell betweene the  
*Athenians* and *Syracusians*.

ty, as desperate, if they ouercame not, and withall vpon the A by, that by helping the *Athenians* to subdue the Countrie of another, their owne subiection might be the easier.

After they were come to handstroakes, they fought long on both sides. But in the meane time there hapned some claps of Thunder, and flashe of Lightning, together with a great showre of Raine; insomuch as it added to the feare of the *Syracusians* that were now fighting their first battell, and not familiar with the Warres; whereas to the other side that had more experience, the season of the yeere seemed to expound that accident; and their greatest feare proceeded from the so-long resistance of their enemies, in that they were not all this while ouercome. When the *Argives* first, had made the Left Wing of the *Syracusians*, to giue ground, and after them, the *Athenians* also had done the like to those that were arranged against them, then the rest of the *Syracusan* Army was presently broken and put to flight. But the *Athenians* pursued them not farre, (because the *Syracusan* Horsemen being many, and vnvauquished, whensoever any men of Armes aduanced farre from the body of the Army, charged vpon C them, and still draue them in againe) but hauing followed as farre as safely they might in great troopes, they retired againe, and erected a Trophie. The *Syracusians* hauing rallied themselves in the *Heslorine* way, and recovered their order, as well as they could for that time, sent a guard into *Olympicum*, lest the *Athenians* should take the treasure there, and returned with the rest of the Army into the Citie. The *Athenians* went not to assault the Temple, but gathering together their dead, laid them vpon the funerall fire, and flayed that night vpon the place. The next day they D gaue Truce to the *Syracusians* to take vp their dead (of whom, and of their Confederates, were slaine about 260.) and gathered vp the bones of their owne. Of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, there dyed about fifty. And thus, hauing rifled the bodies of their dead enemies, they returned to *Catana*. For it was now Winter, and to make War there, they thought it yet vnpossible, before they had sent for Horsemen to *Athens*, and leuyed other amongst their Confederates there in *Sicily*; to the end they might not bee altogether ouer mastered in Horse, and before they had also E both leuyed mony there, and receiued more from *Athens*, and

The *Athenians* haue the victory.

A and made League with certaine Cities, which they hoped after this Battell, would the more easily hearken thereunto; and before they had likewise prouided themselves of victuals, and other things necessary, as intending the next Spring to vndertake *Syracuse* againe. With this mind they went to winter at *Naxos* and *Catana*.

The *Syracusians*, after they had buried their dead, called an Assembly, and *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermon*, a man not otherwise second to any in wisdom, and in warre, both able for his experience, and eminent for his valour, standing forth, gaue them encouragement, and would not suffer them to be dismayed with that which had hapned. Their courage, he said, was not ouercome, though their want of order had done them hurt. And yet in that, they were not so farre inferior, as it was likely they would haue bene. Especially being (as one may say) home-bred artificers, against the most experienced in the Warre of all the Grecians. That they had also bene hurt by the number of their Generals and Commanders, (for there were fifteene that commanded in chiefe) and by the many supernumerary Souldiers vnder no command at all. Whereas, if they would make C but a few and skilfull Leaders, and prepare Armour this Winter, for such as want it, to encrease as much as might be, the number of their men of Armes, and compell them in other things to the exercise of Discipline, in all reason they were to haue the better of the Enemy. For valour they had already, and to keepe their order, would be learnt by practice; and both of these would still grow greater; Skill, by practising with danger; and their Courage would grow bolder of it selfe, vpon the confidence of Skill. And for their Generals, they ought to chuse them few and absolute, and to take an Oath vnto them, to let them lead the Armie whithersoever they D thought best. For by this meanes, both the things that require secrecy would the better be concealed, and all things would be put in readinesse with order, and lesse tergiversation.

The *Syracusians*, when they had heard him, decreed all that he aduised, and elected three Generals, *Him*, *Heraclides* the sonne of *Lyfimachus*, and *Sicanus* the sonne of *Exegestus*. They sent also Ambassadors to *Corinth* and *Lacedemon*, as well to obtaine a League with them, as also to perswade the *Lacedamonians* to make a hotter Warre against the *Athenians*, and to declare themselves in the quarrell of the *Syracusians*, thereby eyther to withdraw them from

Hereafter encouraged the *Syracusians*, and is chosen General with two more.

The *Syracusians* send for ayde into *Peloponnesus*.

from Sicily, or to make them the lesse able to send supply A  
to their Army which was there already.

The Athenian Army at Catana, sayled presently to Mes-  
sana, to receive it by Treason of some within, but the plot  
came not to effect. For Alcibiades when hee was sent for  
from his charge, being resolved to fly, and knowing what  
was to bee done, discovered the same to the friends of the  
Syracusians in Messana, who with those of their Faction  
slew such as were accused, and being armed vpon occa-  
sion of the Sedition, obtained to haue the Athenians kept  
out. And the Athenians, after 13 dayes stay, troubled with B  
tempestuous weather, prouision also failing, and nothing  
succeeding, returned againe to Naxos; and hauing fortified  
their Campe with a Palizado, they wintred there, and dis-  
patched a Gallie to Athens for money, and Horsemen to be  
with them early in the Spring.

The Syracusians this Winter raised a Wall before their  
Citie, all the length of the side towards Epipolæ, including  
\* Temenitis; to the end, if they chanced to bee beaten, they  
might not bee so easily enclosed, as when they were in a  
narrower compasse. And they put a Guard into Megara, C  
and another into Olympicum: and made Palizadoes on the  
Sea-side, at all the places of landing. And knowing that  
the Athenians wintred at Naxos, they marched with all the  
power of the Citie vnto Catana, and after they had wasted  
the Territory, and burnt the Cabines and Campe where  
the Athenians had lodged before, returned home.

And hauing heard that the Athenians had sent Amba-  
sadours to Camarina, according to a League made before in  
the time of Iarchus, to try if they could win them to their  
side, they also sent Ambassadors to oppose it. For they D  
suspected that the Camarineans had sent those succors in the  
former Battell with no great good will, and that now they  
would take part with them no longer, seeing the Athenians  
had the better of the day, but would rather ioyne with the  
Athenians vpon the former League. Hermocrates therefore  
and others, being come to Camarina from the Syracusians, and  
Euphemus and others from the Athenians, when the Assem-  
bly was met, Hermocrates desiring to increase their enuy  
to the Athenians, spake vnto them to this effect.

THE

E

A  
THE ORATION OF  
HERMOCRATES.

MEN of Camarina, we come not hither, vpon feare that the  
Forces of the Athenians here present may affright you, but  
lest their Speeches which they are about to make, may seduce  
you, before you haue also heard what may be said by vs. They are come  
into Sicily with that pretence indeed which you heare giuen out, but  
with that intention which wee all suspect. And to me they seeme not  
B to intend the replantation of the Leontines, but rather our supplan-  
tation; for surely it holdeth not in reason, that they who subuert the  
Cities yonder, should come to plant any Citie heere; nor that they  
should haue such a care of the Leontines, because Chalcideans,  
for kindreds sake, when they keepe in seruitude the Chalcideans  
themselves of Eubœa, of whom these heere are but the Colonies. But  
they both hold the Cities there, and attempt those that are here in one  
and the same kind. For when the Ionians, and the rest of the Con-  
federates, their owne Colonies, had willingly made them their Lea-  
ders in the Warre, to auenge them of the Medes, the Athenians  
C laying afterwards to their charge, to some, the not sending of their  
Forces, to some, their Warre amongst themselves, and so to the rest  
the most colourable criminations they could get, subdued them all to  
their obedience. And it is not for the liberty of the Grecians,  
that these men, nor for the liberty of themselves, that the Grecians  
made head against the Medes; but the Athenians did it, to make  
them serue, not the Medes, but them, and the Grecians to change  
their Master, as they did, not for one lesse wise, but for one worse-  
wise. But in truth we come not to accuse the Athenian State (though  
it be obnoxious enough) before you that know sufficiently the iniuries  
D they haue done; but farre rather to accuse our selues, who though we  
haue the examples before our eyes, of the Grecians there, brought  
into seruitude for want of defending themselves; and though wee see  
them now, with the same sophistry of replanting the Leontines, and  
their kindred, and ayding of their Confederates the Egeæans, pre-  
pare to doe the like vnto vs, doe not yet vnite our selues, and with  
better courage, make them to know, that we be not Ionians, nor Hel-  
lespontines, nor Islanders, that changing, serue alwaies the Mede,  
or some other Master; but that wee are Dorians, and free-men,  
come to dwell here in Sicily out of Peloponnesus, a free Country.  
E Shall we stand still till we be taken Citie after Citie? when we know,  
that that only way we are conquerable, and when we find them whol-  
ly

E e e

ly

The Athenians attempt  
the capture of the  
city.

The Syracusians enlarge  
the compasse of their  
Wall, and burne the  
Tents of the Athenians  
by Catana.  
\* The ground belonging to the  
Temple of Apollo.

At Catana both from  
the Athenians and Syracu-  
sians, Ambassadors were  
sent to the other City.

ly bent to this, that by drawing some from our alliance with their words, and causing some to vveare each other out with Warre, vpon hope of their Confederacie, and winning others by other fit language, they may haue the power to doe vs hurt. But we thinke, though one of the same Iland perishe, yet if he dwell far off, the danger will not come to vs; and before it arriue, we count vnhappy onely him that suffereth before vs. If any therefore be of this opinion, that it is not he, but the Syracusian, that is the Athenians Enemy, and thinketh it a hard matter, that he should endanger himselfe for the Territorie that is mine, I would haue him to consider, that he is to fight not chiefly for mine, but equally for his owne in mine, and with the more safety, for that I am not destroyed before, and he thereby destitute of my helpe, but stand with him in the Battell. Let him also consider, that the Athenians come not hither to punish the Syracusians for being enemies to you, but by pretence of mee, to make himselfe the strong, or by your friendship. If any man heere enuieth, or also feareth vs, (for the strongest are still lyable vnto both) and would therefore wish that the Syracusians might be weakned, to make them more modest, but not vanquished for their owne safeties sake, that man hath conceived a hope beyond the power of man. For it is not reasonable, that the same man should be the disposer both of his desires, and of his fortune. And if his ayne should faile him, he might, deploring his owne misery, peradventure wish to enioy my prosperity againe. But this will not bee possible to him that shall abandon me, and not undertake the same dangers, though not in title, yet in effect the same that I doe. For though it be our power in title, yet in effect it is your own safety you shall defend. And you men of Camarina, that are our borderers, and likely to haue the second place of danger, you should most of all haue foreseene this, and not haue aided vs so dully. You should rather haue come to vs, and that which if the Athenians had come first against Camarina, you should in your need haue implored at our hands, the same you should now also haue beene seene equally to hearten vs withall, to keepe vs from yeelding. But as yet, neither you nor any of the rest haue beene so forward. Perhaps vpon feare, you meane to deale euently betwene vs both, and alledge your League with the Athenians. You made no League against your friends, but against your enemies, in case any should inuade you: and by it you are also tyed to ayde the Athenians when others wrong the, but not when (as now) they wrong their neighbour. For euen the Rhegiens, who are Chalcideans, refuse to helpe the in replanting the Leontines, though these also be Chalcideans. And then it were a hard case, if they suspecting a bad action vnder a faire iustification, are wise without a reason, and you, vpon pretence of

reason,

A reason, should ayde your naturall enemies, and helpe them that most hate you, to destroy your more naturall kindred.

But this is no iustice; to fight with them is iustice, and not to stand in feare of their preparation. Which, if wee hold together, is not terrible, but is, if contrarily (which they endeavour) we bee diuinited. For neither when they came against vs being none but our selues, and had the vpper hand in Battell, could they yet effect their purpose, but quickly went their wayes. There is no reason therefore wee should bee afraid, when wee are all together, but that wee should haue the better will to vnnie our selues in a League. And the rather, because wee are to haue ayde from Peloponnesus, who euery way excell these men in Militarie iusticiencie. Nor should you thinke that your purpose to ayde neither, as being in League with both, is either iust in respect of vs, or safe for your selues. For it is not so iust in substance, as it is in the pretence. For if through want of your ayde, the assailed perishe, and the assailant become Victor, what doe you by your neutrality, but leaue the safety of the one vndefended, and suffer the other to doe euill? Whereas it were more noble in you, by ioynning with the wronged, and with your kindred, both to defend the Common good of Sicily, and keepe the Athenians, as your friends, from an act of iniustice. To be short, wee Syracusians say, That to demonstrate plainely, to you, or to any other, the thing you already know, is no hard matter; but wee pray you, and withall, if you reiect our words, wee protest, that whereas the Ionians, who haue euer beene our enemies, doe take counsell against vs, you that are Doriens as well as wee, betray vs. And if they subdue vs, though it bee by your counsels that they doe it, yet they onely shall haue the honour of it. And for the prize of their victory, they will haue none other but euen the Authors of their victory. But if the victory fall vnto vs, euen you also, the cause of this our danger, shall vndergoe the penalty. Consider therefore now, and take your choice, whether you will haue seruitude without the present danger, or sauing your selues with vs, both auoyd the dishonour of hauing a Master, and escape our enmity, which is likely otherwise to be lasting.

Thus spake Hermocrates.

After him, Euphemus, Ambassadour from the Athenians, spake thus.

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THE

## THE ORATION OF

EUPHEMVS.

**T**hough our coming were to renew our former League, yet seeing we are touched by the Syracusan, it will be necessary we speake something heere of the right of our Dominion. And the greatest testimonie of this right he hath himselfe giuen, in that he said the Ionians were euer enemies to the Dorians. And it is true. For being Ionians, we haue euer endeoured to finde out some meanes or other, how best to free our selues from subiection **B** to the Peloponnesians, that are Dorians, more in number then wee, and dwelling neere vs. After the Medan Warre, hauing gotten vs a Nauie, we were deliuered thereby from the command and leading of the Lacedæmonians; there beeing no cause why they should rather be Leaders of vs, then wee of them, saue onely that they were then the stronger. And when wee were made Commanders of those Grecians which before liued vnder the King, vvee tooke vpon vs the gouernment of them; because wee thought, that hauing power in our hands to defend our selues, vve should thereby be the lesse subiect to the Peloponnesians. And to say truth, vvee **C** subiected the Ionians and Ilanders, (whom the Syracusians say we brought into bondage, being our kindred) not without iust cause: for they came with the Medes against ours their Mother Citie, and for feare of losing their wealth, durst not revolt, as wee did, that abandoned our very Citie. But as they were content to serue, so they would haue imposed the same condition vpon vs. For these causes, vvee tooke vpon vs our dominion ouer them; both as worthy of the same, in that wee brought the greatest Fleet, and promptest courage to the seruice of the Grecians: whereas they, with the like promptnesse in fauour of the Medes, did vs hurt: and also as being desirous **D** to procure our selues a strength against the Peloponnesians. And follow any other wee will not, seeing wee alone haue pulled downe the Barbarian, (and therefore haue right to command) or at least haue put our selues into danger more for the liberty of the Peloponnesians, then of all the rest of Greece, and our owne besides. Now to seeke meanes for ones owne preservation is a thing vnblameable. And as it is for our owne safeties cause that vvee are now heere, so also wee finde that the same will be profitable for you. Which vvee will make plaine, from those very things which they accuse, and you, as most formidable, suspect vs of; being assured, that such as suspect **E** vwith vehement feare, though they may be wonne for the present with the

**A** the sweetnesse of an Oration, yet vwhen the matter comes to performance, will then doe as shall be most for their turne. Wee haue told you that wee hold our Dominion yonder vpon feare; and that vpon the same cause wee come hither now, by the helpe of our friends, to assure the Cities heere, and not to bring you into subiection, but rather to keepe you from it.

And let no man obiect, that we be sollicitous for those that are nothing to vs. For as long as you be preserved, and able to make head against the Syracusians, wee shall be the lesse annoyed by their sending of Forces to the Peloponnesians. And in this point you are **B** very much vnto vs. For the same reason, it is meete also, that vvee replant the Leontines, not to subiect them, as their kindred in Euboea, but to make them as puissant as wee can; that being neere, they may from their owne Territory, weaken the Syracusians in our behalfe. For as for our Warres at home, wee are a match for our enemies, without their helpe. And the Chalcidean, (whom hauing made a slaue yonder, the Syracusan said, wee absurdly pretend to vindicate into liberty heere) is most beneficiall to vs there, without Armes, paying money onely; but the Leontines, and other our friends heere, are the most profitable to vs, when they are most in **C** liberty.

Now to a Tyrant or Citie that raigneth, nothing can be thought absurd, if profitable, nor any man a friend, that may not be trusted to. Friend or Enemy he must be, according to the seuerall occasions. But here it is for our benefit not to weaken our friends, but by our friends strength to weaken our enemies. This you must needs beleue, in as much as yonder also, wee so command ouer our Confederates, as enery of them may be most usefull to vs. The Chians and Methymnæans redeeme their liberty, with providing vs some Gallies: the most of the rest, with a Tribute of money, somewhat more pressing. **D** Some againe of our Confederates are absolutely free, notwithstanding that they be Ilanders, and easie to be subdued. The reason whereof is this: they are scituate in places commodious about Peloponnesus. It is probable therefore, that heere also, we will so order our affaires, as shall be most for our owne turne, and most according to our feare (as we told you) of the Syracusians. For they affect a dominion ouer you; and hauing by aduantage of your suspicion of vs, drawne you to their side, will themselves by force, or (if we goe home without effect) by your want of friends, haue the sole command of Sicily. Which, if you ioyne with them, must of necessity come to passe. For neither **E** will it be easie for vs to bring so great Forces againe together, nor will the Syracusians want strength to subdue you, if we be absent.

Him

Him that thinketh other wise, the thing it selfe convinceth: for when A you called vs in, to ayde you, at the first, the feare you pretended was onely this, that if we neglected you, the Syracusians would subdue you, and we thereby should participate of the danger. And it were vnjust, that the argument you would needs haue to preuaile then with vs, should now haue no effect with your selues; or that you should be iealous of the much strength we bring against the power of the Syracusians, when much rather you should giue the lesse eare vnto them. We cannot so much as stay here without you; and if becoming perfidious, we should subdue these States, yet we are vnable to hold them, both in respect of the length of the voyage, and for want of B meanes of guarding them, because they be great, and provided after the manner of the Continent. Whereas they, not lodged neere you in a Campe, but inhabiting neere you in a Citie of greater power then this of ours, will be alwayes watching their aduantages against you: And when an opportunity shall be offered against any of your Cities, will be sure not to let it slip. This they haue already made to appeare, both in their proceelings against the Leontines, and also otherwise. And yet haue these the face to moue you against vs that hinder this, and that haue hitherto kept Sicily from falling into their hands. But we on the other side, inuite you to a farre more reall safety, and C pray you not to let ray that safety, which we both of vs hold from one another at this present, but to consider, that they by their owne number haue way to you alwayes, though without Confederates, whereas you shall seldome haue so great an ayde againe to resist them. Which if through your iealousie, you suffer to goe away without effect, or if it miscarry, you will hereafter wish for the least part of the same, when their coming can no more doe you good. But (Camarinæans) bee neither you nor others, moued with their calumnies. We haue told you the very truth, why wee are suspected; and summarily wee will tell it you againe, clayming to preuaile with you thereby. We say, we com- D mand yonder, lest else we should obey, and we assert inio liberty the Cities here, lest else we should be harmed by them. Many things wee are forced to be doing, because many things wee haue to be ware of. And both now, and before, wee came not vncalled, but called, as Confederates to such of you as suffer wrong. Make not your selues Iudges of what wee doe, nor goe about as Censors (which were now hard to doe) to diuert vs; but as farre as this busie humour, and fashion of ours, may be for your owne seruice, so farre take, and vse it. And thinke not the same hurtfull alike to all, but that the greatest part of the Grecians haue good by it. For in all places, though we E be not of any side, yet both be that looketh to be wronged, and hee that contriueth

A contriue to doe the wrong, by the obuioufnesse of the hope that the one hath of our ayd, and of the feare that the other hath of their owne danger, if we should come, are brought by necessity, the one to moderation against his will, the other into safety, without his trouble. Refuse not therefore, the security now present, common both to vs that require it, and to your selues. But doe as others vse to doe; come with vs, and in stead of defending your selues alwayes against the Syracusians, take your turne once, and put them to their guard, as they haue done you. Thus spake Euphemus.

B The Camarinæans stood thus affected: They bare good will to the Athenians; saue that they thought they meant to subiugate Sicily; And were euer at strife with the Syracusians about their borders. Yet because they were afraid that the Syracusians that were neere them, might as well get the victory, as the other, they had both formerly sent them some few horse, and also now resolved for the future, to helpe the Syracusians, but vnderhand, and as sparingly as was possible; and withall, that they might no lesse seeme to fauour the Athenians, then the Syracusians, C especially after they had wonne a battell, to giue for the present an equall answer vnto both. So after deliberation had, they answered thus: That for as much as they that warred, were both of them their Confederates, they thought it most agreeable to their oath, for the present, to giue ayde to neither. And so the Ambassadors of both sides went their wayes. And the Syracusians made preparation for the Warre by themselves.

The Athenians being encamped at Naxos, treated with the Siculi, to procure as many of them as they might, to their side. Of whom, such as inhabited the Plaine, and were subiect to the Syracusians, for the most part, held off; but they that dwelt in the most inland parts of the Iland, being a free people, and euer before dwelling in Villages, presently agreed with the Athenians; and brought Come into the Army, and some of them also money. To those that held off, the Athenians went with their Army, and some they forced to come in, and others they hindred from receiuing the aydes, and garrisons of the Syracusians. And hauing brought their Fleet from Naxos, where it had been E all the Winter till now, they lay the rest of the Winter at Catania, and re-erected their Campe formerly burnt by the Syracusians. They

The resolution of the Camarinæans for Newerel ty.

The Athenians seek to winne the Siculi.

They bring their Fleet to Catania.



They send for ayde to  
Carthage, and into Hel-  
laspis.

And prepare to besiege  
Syracuse.

The Athenians pray ayde  
of the Corinthians and  
Lacedaemonians.

\* Corinth was the mother  
City of Syracuse.

Ambassadors at Lacedaemon,  
indigneth the Lacedae-  
monians against his Coun-  
treys.

They sent a Gally also to *Carthage*, to procure amity, **A** and what helpe they could from thence: And into *Hellaspis*, because some Cities there had of their owne accord promised to take their parts. They sent likewise to the *Sicili* about them, and to *Egesta*, appointing them to send in all the Horse they could, and made ready Bricks, and Iron, and whatsoeuer else was necessary for a Siege, and euery other thing they needed, as intending to fall in hand with the Warre, early the next Spring.

The Ambassadors of *Syracuse*, which were sent to *Co-*  
*rinth* and *Lacedaemon*, as they sayled by, endeauoured also to **B**  
moue the *Italians*, to a regard of this action of the *Athenians*. Being come to *Corinth*, they spake vnto them, and deman-  
ded ayde, vpon the \* Title of consanguinity. The *Co-*  
*rinthians* hauing forthwith, for their owne part, decreed  
cheerfully to ayde them, sent also Ambassadors from  
themselves, along with these to *Lacedaemon*, to helpe them  
to perswade the *Lacedaemonians*, both to make a more open  
Warre against the *Athenians*, at home, and to send some  
forces also into *Sicily*.

At the same time that these Ambassadors were at **C**  
*Lacedaemon*, from *Corinth*, *Alcibiades* was also there, with his  
fellow fugitiues, who presently vpon their escape, passed  
ouer from *Thuria*, first to *Cyllene*, the Hauen of the *Eleans*, in  
a Ship, and afterwards went thence to *Lacedaemon*, sent for  
by the *Lacedaemonians* themselves, vnder publique security.  
For he feared them for his doings about *Mantineia*. And  
it fell out, that in the Assembly of the *Lacedaemonians*, the  
*Corinthians*, *Syracusians*, and *Alcibiades*, made all of them the  
same request. Now the *Ephores* and Magistrates, though  
intending to send Ambassadors to *Syracuse*, to hinder them **D**  
from compounding with the *Athenians*, being yet not for-  
ward to send them ayde, *Alcibiades* stood forth, and  
sharped the *Lacedaemonians*, inciting them with words to  
this effect:

### THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

**I**T will be necessary that I say something first concerning mine  
owne accusation, lest through ielousie of me, you bring a preiu- **E**  
dicate eare to the common businesse. My Ancestors hauing on  
a

**A** certaine quarrell renounced the \* office of receiuing you, I was the  
man that restored the same againe, and shewed you all possible re-  
spect, both otherwise, and in the \* matter of your losse at *Pylus*.  
Whilest I persisted in my good will to you, being to make a Peace  
at *Athens*, by treating the same with my aduersaries, you inuested  
them with authority, and me with disgrace. For which cause, if in  
applying my selfe afterwards to the *Mantineans*, and *Argiues*,  
or in any thing else I did you hurt, I did it iustly. And if any man  
heere were causelessly angry with mee then, when hee suffered, let  
him bee now content againe, when hee knowes the true cause of the  
**B** same. Or if any man thinke the worse of mee for enclining to the  
People, let him acknowledge, that therein also hee is offended  
without a cause. For wee haue beene alwayes Enemies to Tyrants,  
and what is contrary to a Tyrant, is called the People; and from  
thence hath continued our adherence to the multitude. Besides, in a  
City governed by Democracie, it was necessary in most things to  
follow the present course; neuertheless we haue endeouored to bee  
more moderate, then suteth with the now headstrong humour of the  
People. But others there haue beene, both formerly and now, that  
haue incited the Common People to worse things then I, and they are  
**C** those that haue also driuen out mee. But as for vs, when wee had  
the charge of the whole, wee thought it reason, by what forme it was  
growne most great and most free, and in which we receiued it, in the  
same to preferue it. For though such of vs as haue iudgement, doe  
know well enough what the Democracie is, and I no lesse then ano-  
ther, (inasmuch as I could inueigh against it; But of confessed mad-  
nesse nothing can be said that's new) yet wee thought it not safe to  
change it, when you our Enemies were so neere vs. Thus stands the mat-  
ter touching my owne accusation. And concerning what we are to consult  
of both you and I, If I know any thing, which your selues doe not, beare  
**D** it now. We made this voyage into *Sicily*, first, (if we could) to sub-  
due the *Sicilians*; after them the *Italians*; after them, to assay the  
dominion of *Carthage*, & *Carthage* it selfe. If these or most of these  
enterprizes succeeded, then next wee would haue vndertaken *Pe-*  
*loponnesus*, with the accession both of the Greeke Forces there,  
and with many mercenarie Barbarians, *Iberians*, and others  
of those parts, confessed to bee the most warlike of the Barbari-  
ans that are now. We should also haue built many Gallies, besides  
these which we haue already, (there being plenty of Timber in *Italy*)  
with the which besieging *Peloponnesus* round, and also taking the  
**E** Cities thereof with our Land forces, vpon such occasions as should  
arise from the Land, some by assault, and some by siege, wee hoped  
F f f easily

\* Alcibiades, the Lacedae-  
monian, who had beene  
come at *Athens*, and who  
were contented with the  
Peace, but hee was the  
cause of the warre, and  
which hee did to the  
quarrell, and so hee  
incited the people to  
warre.

\* (1) Hee feared the  
mistake of the  
mistake at *Athens*.

easily to haue debelled it, and afterwards to haue gotten the dominion of all Greece. As for Money and Corne to facilitate some points of this, the places wee should haue conquered there, besides what beere wee should haue found, would sufficiently haue furnished vs.

Thus, from one that most exactly knoweth it, you haue heard what is the Designe of the Fleet now gone, and vvhich the Generals there, as farre as they can, vwill also put in execution.

Vnderstand next, that vnlesse you ayde them, they yonder cannot possibly hold out. For the Sicilians, though inexpert, if many of them vnite, may well subsist; but that the Syracusians alone, with their whole power already beaten, and withall kept from the vse of the Sea, should withstand the Forces of the Athenians already there, is a thing impossible. And if their Citie should be taken, all Sicily is bad, and soone after Italy also, and the danger from thence, which I foretold you, would not be long ere it fell vpon you. Let no man therefore thinke, that hee now consulteth of Sicily onely, but also of Peloponnesus, vnlesse this be done with speed. Let the Armie you send be of such, as being aboard, may row, and landing, presently be armed. And (which I thinke more profitable then the Armie it selfe) send a Spartan for Commander, both to traine the Souldiers already there, and to compell vnto it such as refuse. For thus will your present friends be the more encouraged, and such as be doubtfull, come to you with the more assurance. It were also good to make Warre more openly vpon them heere, that the Syracusians seeing your care, may the rather hold out, and the Athenians be lesse able to send supply to their Armie. You ought likewise to fortifie Decelea in the Territory of Athens, a thing which the Athenians themselues most feare, and reckon for the onely euill they haue not yet tasted in this Warre. And the way to hurt an Enemy most, is to know certainly what he most feareth, and to bring the same vpon him. For in reason a man therefore feareth a thing most, as hauing the precisest knowledge of what will most hurt him. As for the commodities which your selues shall reape, and deprive the Enemy of, by so fortifying, letting much passe, I will summe you vp the principall. Whatsoeuer the Territory is furnished withall, will come most of it vnto you, partly taken, and partly of its owne accord. The reuenue of the Silver Mines in Laurium, and whatsoeuer other profit they haue from their Land, or \* from their Courts of Iustice, will presently be lost. And, which is worst, their Confederates will be remisse in bringing in their reuenue, and will care little for the Athenians, if they beleeeue once that you follow the Warre to the vtmost.

That

\* As Fees, and Fines, which would cease in the Townes abroad, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, or not being able to be conveyed to the City.

A That any of these things be put in act, speedily and earnestly, (Men of Lacedæmon) it resteth onely in your selues: for I am confident, and I thinke Perre not, that all these things are possible to be done. Now I must craue this, that I be neither the worse esteemed, for that hauing once bene thought a louer of my Countrey, I goe now amongst the greatest Enemies of the same, against it; nor yet mistrusted, as one that speaketh with the zeale of a Fugitiue. For though I flye from the malice of them that draue mee out, I shall not (if you take my counsell) fly your profit. Nor are you enemies so much, who haue hurt but your enemies, as they are, that haue made enemies of friends. I loue not my Countrey; as wronged by it, but as hauing liued in safety in it. Nor doe I thinke, that I doe beerein goe against any Countrey of mine, but that I farre rather seeke to recouer the Countrey I haue not. And hee is truly a louer of his Countrey, not that refuseth to inuade the Countrey hee hath wrongfully lost, but that desires so much to be in it, as by any meanes hee can, hee vwill attempt to recouer it. I desire you therefore, (Lacedæmonians) to make vse of my seruice, in whatsoeuer danger or labour, confidently, seeing you know, (according to the common saying) if I did hurt you much when I was your enemy, I can helpe you much when I am your friend. And so much the more, in that I know the state of Athens, and but coniectured at yours. And considering you are now in deliberation vpon a matter of so extreme importance, I pray you thinke not much to send an Armie both into Sicily and Attica, as well to preserue the great matters that are there, with the presence of a small part of your Force, as also to pull downe the power of the Athenians, both present and to come; and afterwards to dwell in safety your selues, and to haue the leading of all Greece; not forced, but voluntarily, and with their good affection.

Thus spake Alcibiades.

And the Lacedæmonians, though before this they had a purpose of their own accord, to send an Army against Athens, but had delayed and neglected it, yet when these particulars were deliuered by him, they were a great deale the more confirmed in the same, conceiuing that what they had heard, was from one that euidently knew it. Infomuch as they had set their minds already vpon the fortifying at Decelea, and vpon the sending of some succours into Sicily,

F ff 2

for

The Lacedæmonians' resolution to send Gylippus into Sicily.

for the present. And hauing assigned *Gylippus* the sonne A of *Cleandridas*, vnto the *Syracusan* Ambassadors for chiefe Commander, they willed him to consider, both with them and the *Corinthians*, how best (for their present meanes) and with greatest speed, some helpe might bee conueyed vnto them in *Sicily*. He thereupon appointed the *Corinthians* to send him two Gallies presently to *Asine*, and to furnish the rest they meant to send, and to haue them ready to saile when occasion should serue. This agreed vpon, they departed from *Lacedemon*.

The Athenians resolve to send prouision and Horsemen.

In the meane time the Gallie arriued at *Athens*, which B the Generall sent home for money and Horsemen. And the *Athenians* vpon hearing, decreed to send both prouision and Horsemen to the Armie. So the Winter ended, and the seuenteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

THE EIGHTEENTH YEERE.

The Athenians burne the fields of certaine Towns of the *Siculi*, and take *Cemoripa*.

In the very beginning of the next Spring, the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, departed from *Catana*, and sailed by the Coast to *Megara* of *Sicily*. The inhabitants whereof, in the time of the Tyrant *Gelon*, the *Syracusians*, (as I mentioned before) had driuen out, and now possesse the Territory themselves. Landing heere, they wasted the Fields, and hauing assaulted a certaine small Fortresse of the *Syracusians*, C not taking it, they went presently backe, part by Land, and part by Sea, vnto the Riuer *Tereas*. And landing againe in the plaine Fields, wasted the same, and burnt vp their Corne; and lighting on some *Syracusians*, not many, they slew some of them; and hauing set vp a Trophie, went all againe aboard their Gallies. Thence they returned to *Catana*, and tooke in victuall. Then with their whole Army they went to *Cemoripa*, a small Citie of the *Siculi*, which yeelding on composition, they departed, and in their way, D burnt vp the Corne of the *Inessians* and the *Hyblaens*. Being come againe to *Catana*, they find there 250 Horsemen, arriued from *Athens*, without Horses, though not without the furniture, supposing to haue Horses there; and 30 Archers on horsebacke, and 300 Talents of siluer.

They receive money and Horsemen from *Athens*.

The *Lacedemonians* invade *Argia*.

The *Argives* take a great booty in *Thyreutis*.

The same Spring the *Lacedemonians* led forth their Army against *Argos*, and went as far as to *Cleone*; But an Earthquake hapning, they went home againe. But the *Argives* invaded the Territory of *Thyreia*, confining on their owne, and tooke a great Booty from the *Lacedemonians*, which E they sold for no lesse then 25 Talents.

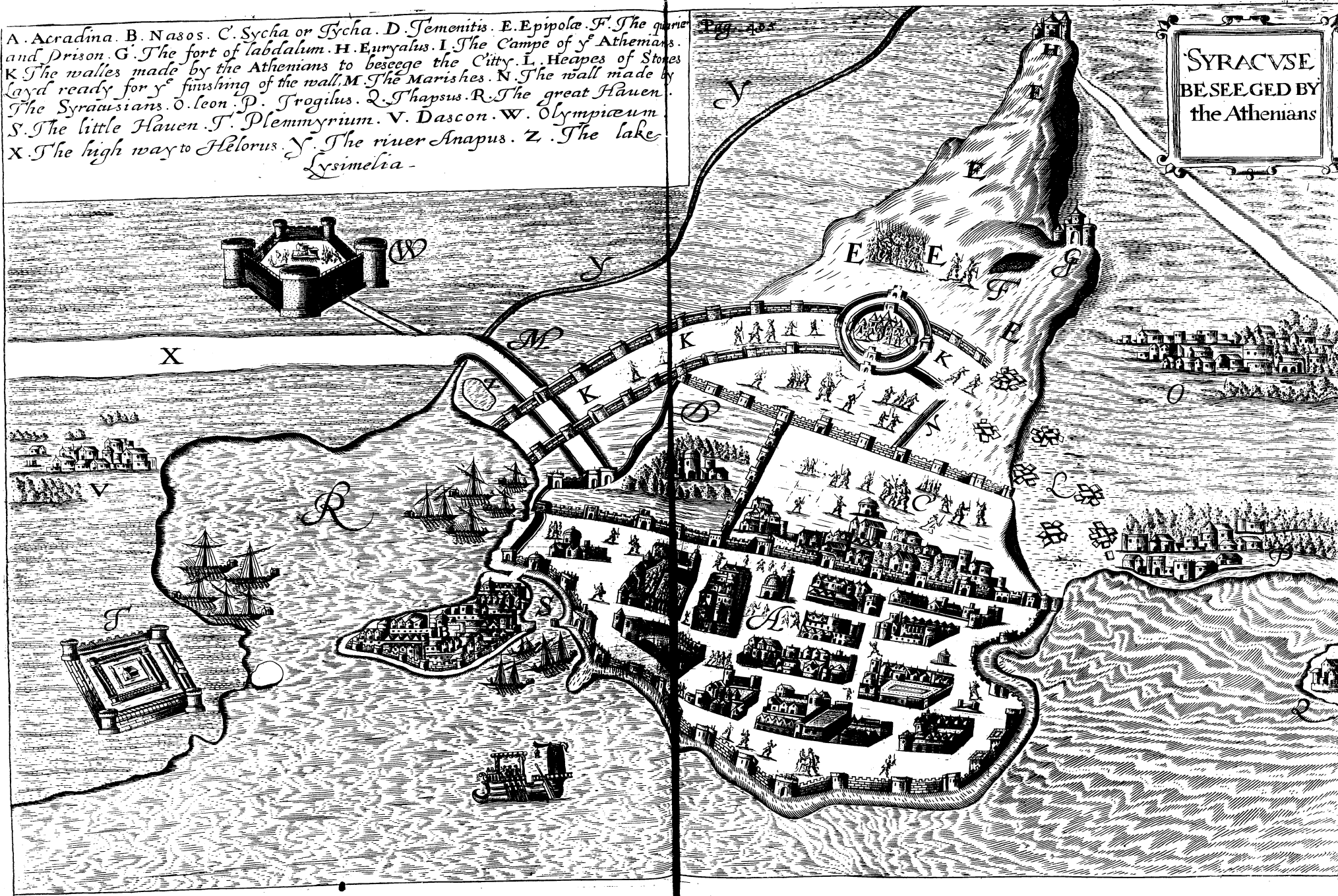
\* 4717 pound, 10 shillings sterling.

Not

A. Acradina. B. Nasos. C. Sycha or Tycha. D. Temonitis. E. Epipolæ. F. The quarry and Prison. G. The fort of Iabdalum. H. Euryalus. I. The Campe of y<sup>e</sup> Athenians. K. The walles made by the Athenians to beseege the City. L. Heapes of Stones layd ready for y<sup>e</sup> finishing of the wall. M. The Marishes. N. The wall made by the Syracusians. O. Leon. P. Trogilus. Q. Thapsus. R. The great Hauen. S. The little Hauen. T. Plemmyrium. V. Dascon. W. Olympiceum. X. The high way to Helorus. Y. The river Anapus. Z. The lake Lysimelia.

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SYRACVSE  
BE SEE GED BY  
the Athenians



A Not long after, the Commons of *Theſſia*, ſet vpon them that had the gouernment; but not preuailing, were part apprehended, and part eſcaped to *Athens*, the *Athenians* hauing alſo ayded them.

The Commons of *Theſſia* ſet vpon the *Athenians*, but with ill ſucceſſe.

The *Syracuſians* the ſame Summer, when they heard that the *Athenians* had Horſemen ſent to them from *Athens*, and that they were ready now to come againſt them, conceiuing, that if the *Athenians* gat not *Epipolæ* a rocky ground, and lying iuſt againſt the City, they would not bee able, though Maſters of the Field, to take in the City with a Wall; intended therefore, leſt the Enemie ſhould come ſecretly vp, to keepe the paſſages by which there was acceſſe vnto it, with a Guard. For the reſt of the place is to the outſide high and ſteepe, falling to the City by degrees, and on the inſide wholly ſubieſt to the eye. And it is called by the *Syracuſians*, *Epipolæ*, becauſe it lyeth aboue the leuell of the reſt. The *Syracuſians* comming out of the Citie with their whole power, into a Meddow by the ſide of the Riuer *Anapus*, betimes in the morning, (for *Hermocrates* and his fellow-Commanders had already receiued their charge) were there taking a view of their Armes; but firſt they had ſet apart 700. men of Armes vnder the leading of *Diomilus*, an Outlaw of *Andros*, both to guard *Epipolæ*, and to be ready together quickly, vpon any other occaſion wherein there might be uſe of their ſeruiſe. The *Athenians* the day following, hauing beene already muſtred, came from *Catana* with their whole Forces, and landed their Souldiers at a place called *Leon* (6 or 7 furlongs from *Epipolæ*) vnperceiued, and layed their Nauie at Anchor vnder *Thapſus*. *Thapſus* is almoſt an Iland, lying out into the Sea, and ioyned to the Land with a narrow *Iſthmus*, not farre from *Syracufe*, neither by Sea nor Land. And the nauall Forces of the *Athenians* hauing made a Palizado acroſſe the ſaid *Iſthmus*, lay there quiet. But the Land-Souldiers marched at high ſpeed toward *Epipolæ*, & gat vp by *Euryalus*, before the *Syracuſians* could come to them from out of the Meddow, where they were muſtering. Neuertheleſſe they came on, euery one with what ſpeed hee could, not onely *Diomilus* with his 700, but the reſt alſo. They had no leſſe to goe from the Meddow, then 25 Furlongs, before they could reach the Enemy: The *Syracuſians* therefore comming vp in this manner, and thereby defeated in Battell

*Epipolæ* a high ground before the City of *Syracufe*.



Diomilus slain,

The Athenian fortification  
Labdalum.• Tycha, or Tyche, is now a  
Temple of Fortune, just of  
the City of Syracuse.The Athenians begin to  
build on the North side  
of the Fortification  
wherein they lay, the  
Wall wherewith to  
begin the City.

tell at Epipolæ withdrew themselves into the Citie. But A  
Diomilus was slain, and 300 of the rest. The Athenians af-  
ter this erected a Trophie, and deliuered to the Syracusians  
the bodies of their dead vnder Truce, and came downe  
the next day to the Citie. But when none came out to giue  
them battell, they retired againe, and built a Fort vpon  
Labdalum, in the very brinke of the precipices of Epipolæ,  
on the side that looketh towards Megara, for a place to  
keepe their Vtenfiles and Money in, when they went out  
either to fight or to worke.

Not long after, there came vnto them from Egesta three B  
hundred Horsemen: and from the Siculi, namely the Na-  
xiars and some others, about one hundred: and the Athe-  
nians had of their owne two hundred and fifty; for which  
they had Horses, part from the Egestæans and Cataneans,  
and part they bought. So that they had together in the  
whole, sixe hundred and fiftie Horsemen. Hauing put  
a Guard into Labdalum, the Athenians went downe to \*Sy-  
ca, and raised there a Wall in circle, very quickly, so that  
they strooke a terroure into the Syracusians with the celerity  
of the worke: Who therefore comming forth, intended C  
to haue giuen them Battell, and no longer to haue neg-  
lected the matter. But when the Armies were one set a-  
gainst the other, the Syracusian Generals perceiuing their  
owne to bee in disarray, and not easily to bee embattailed,  
led them againe into the Citie, saue onely a certaine part of  
their Horsemen, which staying, kept the Athenians from  
carrying of Stone, and straggling farre abroad from their  
Campe. But the Athenians with one Squadron of men  
of Armes, together with their whole number of Horse,  
charged the Horsemen of the Syracusians, and put them to  
flight. Of whom they slew a part, and erected a Trophy D  
for this Battell of Horse.

The next day the Athenians fell to worke vpon their  
Wall, to the North side of their circular Wall, some build-  
ing, and some fetching Stone and Timber, which they  
still laid down toward the place called Trogilus, in the way  
by which the Wall should come, with the shortest com-  
passe from the great Hauen to the other Sea. The Syra-  
cusians, by the perswasion of their Generals, and principal-  
ly of Hermocrates, intended not to hazard Battell with their  
whole power against the Athenians any more, but thought E  
fit

A fit rather in the way where the Athenians were to bring  
their wall, to raise a counterwall, which if they could  
but doe, before the wall of the Athenians came on, it would  
exclude their further building. And if the Athenians  
should set vpon them as they were doing it, they might  
send part of the Army to defend it, and pre-occupate the  
accesses to it with a Palizado. And if they would come  
with their whole Army to hinder them, then must they  
also be forced to let their owne worke stand still. There-  
fore they came out, and beginning at their owne Citie,  
drew a crosse wall beneath the circular Fortification of  
the Athenians, and set wooden Turrets vpon it, made of  
the Oliue-trees, which they felled in the ground belong-  
ing to the Temple. The Athenian Navy was not yet  
come about into the great Hauen, from Thapsus, but the  
Syracusians were masters of the places neere the Sea; and  
the Athenians brought their prouision to the Army from  
Thapsus, by land.

The Syracusians, when they thought both their Paliza-  
doe, and wall sufficient, and considering that the Atheni-  
C ans came not to empeach them in the worke, as they that  
feared to diuide their Army, and to be thereby the more ea-  
sie to be fought withall, & that also hastened to make an end  
of their owne wall, wherewith to encompassse the Citie,  
left one Squadron for a guard of their workes, and retyled  
with the rest, into the Citie. And the Athenians cut off  
the Pipes of their Conduits, by which their water to  
drinke was conueyed vnder-ground into the Towne.

And hauing obserued also, that about noone the Syracu-  
sians kept within their Tents, and that some of them were  
D also gone into the Citie, and that such as were remaining  
at the Palizado, kept but negligent watch, they com-  
manded three hundred chosen men of Armes, and cer-  
taine other picked out and Armed from amongst the vn-  
armed, to runne suddenly to that Counterwall of the Sy-  
racusians. The rest of the Army diuided in two, went one  
part with one of the Generals, to stop the succour which  
might be sent from the Citie, and the other with the o-  
ther Generall, to the Palizado, next to the Gate of the  
Counterwall. The three hundred assaulted and tooke  
E the Palizado; the guard whereof forsaking it, fled within  
the wall into the Temple ground, and with them entred  
also

The Syracusians made a  
crosse wall in their way.



also their pursuers, but after they were in, were beaten out againe by the *Syracusians*, and some slaine, both of the *Argiues* and *Athenians*, but not many. Then the whole Army went backe together, and pulled downe the wall, and plucked vp the Palizado, the Pales whereof they carried with them to their Campe, and erected a Trophie. The next day, the *Athenians* beginning at their Circular wall, built on wards to that Cragge ouer the Marishes, which on that part of *Epipolæ*, looketh to the great Hauen, and by which, the way to the Hauen, for their wall to come through the Plaine and Marish, was the shortest. As this was doing, the *Syracusians* came out againe, and made another Palizado, beginning at the Citie, through the middle of the Marish, and a Ditch at the side of it, to exclude the *Athenians* from bringing their wall to the Sea. But the *Athenians*, when they had finished their worke, as farre as to the Cragge, assaulted the Palizado and Trench of the *Syracusians* againe. And hauing commanded their Gallies to be brought about from *Thapsus*, into the great Hauen of *Syracusa*, about breake of day, went straight downe into the Plaine; and passing through the Marish, where the ground was Clay, and firme, and partly vpon Boards, and Planckes, won both the Trench and Palizado, all but a small part, betimes in the morning, and the rest not long after. And here also they fought; and the victory fell to the *Athenians*. The *Syracusians*, those of the Right-wing, fled to the City, and they of the Left, to the Riuer. The three hundred chozen *Athenians*, desiring to cut off their passage, marched at high speed towards the \* Bridge; but the *Syracusians* fearing to be preuented (for most of the Horsemen were in this number) set vpon these three hundred, and putting them to flight, draue them vpon the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and following, affrighted also the formost guard of the Wing. *Lamachus* seeing this, came to aide them with a few *Archers* from the left Wing of their owne, and with all the *Argiues*; and passing ouer a certaine Ditch, hauing but few with him, was deserted and slaine, with some sixe or seuen more. These the *Syracusians* hastily snatched vp, and carried into a place of safety, beyond the Riuer. And when they saw the rest of the *Athenian* Army comming towards them, they departed. In the meane time they that fled at first to

The *Athenians* build from their owne Fortification, to the City, towards the great Hauen.

The *Athenians* take their Palizado againe.

The Bridge of the Riuer *Thapsus*.

*Lamachus* slaine.

A the Citie, seeing how things went, tooke heart againe, and reibattailed themselues against the same *Athenians* that stood ranged against them before, and withall sent a certaine portion of their Armie against the circular Fortification of the *Athenians* vpon *Epipolæ*, supposing to finde it without defendants, and so to take it. And they tooke and demolished the out-worke tenne \* Plechers in length; but the Circle it selfe was defended by *Nicias*, who chanced to be left within it for infirmity. For he commanded his seruants to set fire on all the Engines, and whatsoeuer wooden matter lay before the Wall, knowing there was no other possible meanes to saue themselves, for want of men. And it fell out accordingly. For by reason of this fire, they came no neerer, but retired. For the *Athenians* hauing by this time beaten backe the Enemie below, were comming vp to relieue the Circle; and their Gallies withall (as is before mentioned) were going about from *Thapsus*, into the great Hauen. Which they aboute perceiuing, speedily made away, they, and the whole Armie of the *Syracusians*, into the Citie; with opinion that they could no longer hinder them, with the strength they now had, from bringing their Wall through vnto the Sea. After this the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and deliuered to the *Syracusians* their dead, vnder Truce; and they on the other side deliuered to the *Athenians*, the body of *Lamachus*, and of the rest slaine with him. And their whole Armie, both Land and Sea-forces being now together, they began to incloze the *Syracusians* with a double Wall, from *Epipolæ* and the Rockes, vnto the Sea-side. The necessaries of the Army were supplied from all parts of *Italy*: and many of the *Siculi*, who before stood aloofe to obserue the way of Fortune, tooke part now with the *Athenians*, to whom came also three *Penteconteri* [long-boates of 50. Oares apiece] from *Hetruria*; and diuers other wayes their hopes were nourished. For the *Syracusians* also, when there came no helpe from *Peloponnesius*, made no longer account to subsist by Warre, but conferred, both amongst themselues, and with *Nicias*, of composition: for *Lamachus* being dead, the sole command of the Armie was in him. And though nothing were concluded, yet many things (as was likely with men perplexed, and now more straitely besieged then before) were propounded vnto *Nicias*, and more amongst

G g g them.

*Nicias* assaulted in his Campe, defended it. \* Ten Plechers, 680 ft. Plecher containing, according to *Suidas*, 68. cubits.

The *Syracusan* change  
their Generals;

*Gylippus* despaireth of  
Sicily, and seeks to  
save Italy.

*Nicias* despaireth the com-  
ing of *Gylippus*.

themselves. And the present ill successe, had also bred A  
some ieaiousie amongst them, one of another. And they  
discharged the Generals, vnder whose conduct this hap-  
pened, as if their harme had come, either from their unlucki-  
nesse, or from their perfidioufnesse, and chose *Heracledes*,  
*Eucles*, and *Tellias* in their places.

Whilest this passed, *Gylippus* of *Lacedæmon*, and the Co-  
*rinthians* Gallies were already at *Leucas*, purposing with all  
speed to goe ouer into *Sicily*. But when terrible reports  
came vnto them from all hands, agreeing in an vntruth,  
That *Syracuse* was already quite enclosed, *Gylippus* had B  
hope of *Sicily* no longer, but desiring to assure *Italy*, he, and  
*Pythen*, a *Corinthian*, with two *Laconicke* and two *Corinthian*  
Gallies, with all speede crossed the *Ionique* Sea to *Taren-*  
*tum*. And the *Corinthians* were to man tenne Gallies of  
their owne, two of *Leucas*, and three of *Ambracia*, and  
come after. *Gylippus* went first from *Tarentum* to *Thuria*,  
as *Ambassadour*, by his Fathers right, who was free of  
the Citie of *Tarentum*; but not winning them to his side,  
hee put out againe, and sailed along the Coast of *Italy*. Pas-  
sing by the *Terinean* Gulfe, hee was put from the shore C  
(by a wind which in that quarter bloweth strongly against  
the North) and driuen into the maine Sea; and after an-  
other extreme Tempest, brought in againe, into *Tarentum*,  
where he drew vp such of his Gallies as had beene hurt by  
the weather, and repaired them.

*Nicias* hearing that hee came, contemned the small  
number of his Gallies, as also the *Thurians* had before, sup-  
posing them furnished as for Piracie, and appointed no  
Watch for them yet.

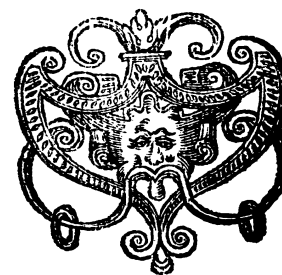
About the same time of this Summer, the *Lacedæmonians* D  
inuated the Territory of *Argos*, they and their Confede-  
rates, and wasted a great part of their Land. And the *A-*  
*thenians* ayded the *Argiues* with thirty Gallies, which  
moit apparantly broke the Peace betweene them and the  
*Lacedæmonians*. For before, they went out from *Pylus*  
with the *Argiues* and *Mantineans*, but in the nature of Free-  
booters; and that also not into *Laconia*, but other parts of  
*Peloponnesus*. Nay, when the *Argiues* haue often entreated  
them, but onely to Land with their Armes in *Laconia*, and  
hauing wasted neuer so little of their Territory, to re- E  
turne, they would not. But now, vnder the Conduct of

*Pythodorus*,

A *Pythodorus*, *Læpodius*, and *Demaratus*, they landed in the  
Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*, and in *Præsia*, and there and  
in other places wasted the Countrey, and gaue vnto the  
*Lacedæmonians* a most iustifiable cause to fight against the  
*Athenians*. After this, the *Athenians* being departed from  
*Argos* with their Gallies, and the *Lacedæmonians* gone  
likewise home, the *Argiues* inuaded *Phliasia*, and  
when they had wasted part of their Terri-  
tory, and killed some of their  
men, returned.

Ggg 2

THE



A



THE  
**S E V E N T H**  
 B **BOOKE OF THE HISTO-**  
**RIE OF THVCYDIDES.**

The principall Contents.

Gylippus arriueth at Syracuse, checketh the fortune of the Athenians, and cutteth off their workes with a Counterwall. The Lacedæmonians inuade Attica, and fortifie Decelea. The Confederates of each side are solicited for supplies to be sent to Syracuse. Two battels fought in the great Hauen; in the first of which the Syracusians are beaten, in the second, superiour; Demosthenes arriueth with a new Army, and attempting the workes of the enemy in Epipolæ by night, is repulsed with great slaughter of his men. They fight the third time, and the Syracusians hauing the Victory, blocke vp the Hauen with Boats. A Catalogue of the Confederates on each side. They fight againe at the Barres of the Hauen, where the Athenians losing their Gallies, prepare to march away by land. In their march they are afflicted, beaten, and finally subdued by the Syracusians; The death of Nicias and Demosthenes, and misery of the Captines in the Quarry; which hapned in the nineteenth yeere of this Warre.

D



Gylippus, and Pythen, hauing repaired their Gallies, from Tarenium, went along the Coast to Locri Epizephyrij. And vpon certaine intelligence now, that Syracuse was not wholly enclozed, but that comming with an Army, there was entrance still by Epipole, they consulted whether it were better to take Sicily on their right hand, and aduenture into the Towne by Sea, or on the left, and

Gylippus and Pythen resolve to goe to Syracuse.



with his Army by night, went to assault it; but the Athenians also knowing it (for they lodged all night without the wall) went presently to releue it; which Gylippus perceiuing, againe retired. And the Athenians, when they had built it higher, kept the watch in this part themselves, and diuided the rest of the Wall to the charge of their Confederates. Also it seemed good to Nicias to fortifie the place called *Plemmyrium*, (it is a Promontory ouer ouer against the Citie, which shooting into the entrance of the great Hauen, streightneth the mouth of the same) which fortified, he thought, would facilitate the bringing in of necessaries to the Army. For by this meanes, their Gallies might ride neerer to the \* Hauen of the *Syracusians*, and not vpon euery motion of the Nauy of the enemies, to be to come out against them, as they were before, from the bottome of the [great] Hauen. And he had his mind set chiefly now, vpon the Warre by Sea, seeing his hopes by Land deminished, since the arriual of Gylippus. Hauing therefore drawne his Army, and Gallies to that place, he built about it three Fortifications, wherein he placed his baggage, and where now also lay at Road both his great vessels of Carriage, and the nimblest of his Gallies. Hereupon principally ensued the first occasion of the great losse of his Sea-Souldiers. For hauing but little water, and that farre to fetch, and his Mariners going out also to fetch in wood, they were continually intercepted by the *Syracusan* Horsemen, that were masters of the Field. For the third part of the *Syracusan* Cauallery, were quartered in a little Towne called \* *Olympieum*, to keepe those in *Plemmyrium*, from going abroad to spoyle the Countrey.

Nicias was aduertized moreouer of the coming of the rest of the *Corinthian* Gallies, and sent out a guard of twenty Gallies, with order to wait for them about *Locri*, and *Rhegium*, and the passage there, into *Sicily*.

Gylippus in the meane time, went on with the wall through *Epipolæ*, vsing the Stones laid ready there by the Athenians, and withall drew out the *Syracusians* and their Confederates beyond the point of the same, and euer as hee brought them forth, put them into their order; and the Athenians on the other side imbattelled themselves against them. Gylippus, when he saw his time, began the battell; and being come to hands, they fought betweene the Fortifications

The Athenians fortifie Plemmyrium.

\* Nicias is to Hauen.

\* The Towne there called Olympieum was convenient to Iupiter Olympus.

Hee sent forth 20 Gallies to lie in wait for the 200 coming from Peloponnesus.

Gylippus goeth on with his wall, and diggeth vnder the Athenians, twice and in the latter battell hauing the Victory, he finished his wall, and vnderly excluded the proceeding on the wall of the Athenians.

Fortifications of them both, where the *Syracusians* and their Confederates had no vse at all of their Horsemen: The *Syracusians* and their Confederates being ouercome, and the Athenians hauing giuen them Truce to take vp their dead, and erected a Trophie, Gylippus assembled the Armie, and told them, That this was not theirs, but his owne fault, who by pitching the Battell so farre within the Fortifications, had deprived them of the vse both of their Cauallery, and Darters; and that therefore hee meant to bring them on againe; and wished them to consider, that for Forces they were nothing inferior to the Enemy: and for courage, it were a thing not to be endured, that being *Peloponnesians* and *Doriens*, they should not master, and driue out of the Countrey, Ionians, Ilanders, and a rabble of mixed Nations.

After this, when he saw his opportunity, hee brought on the Armie againe. Nicias and the Athenians, who thought it necessary, if not to beginne the Battell, yet by no meanes to set light by the Wall in hand (for by this time it wanted little of passing the point of theirs, and proceeding, would giue the Enemy aduantage, both to winne, if hee fought, and not to fight, vnlesse hee listed) did therefore also set forth to meete the *Syracusians*.

Gylippus, when hee had drawne his men of Armes further without the Wallles than hee had done before, gaue the onset. His Horsemen and Darters hee placed vpon the Flanke of the Athenians, in ground enough, to which neither of their Wallles extended. And these Horsemen, after the fight was begunne, charging vpon the left Wing of the Athenians next them, put them to flight; by which D means the rest of the Armie was by the *Syracusians* ouercome likewise, and driuen headlong within their Fortifications. The night following, the *Syracusians* brought vp their Wall beyond the Wall of the Athenians, so as they could no longer hinder them, but should bee vterly vnable, though masters of the Field, to enclose the City.

After this, the other 12 Gallies of the *Corinthians*, *Ambraciot*es and *Leucadians*, vndercryed of the Athenian Gallies that lay in waite for them, entred the Hauen, vnder the Command of *Erafmedes*, a *Corinthian*, and helped the *Syracusians* to finish what remained, to the crosse Wall.

H h h

Now

The rest of the Gallies come in from Peloponnesus, vnlesse of the Athenians that were set to watch them.

Gylippus goeth about Sicily, and sendeth into Peloponnesus for more ayde.

Now Gylippus went vp and downe Sicily, rayfing Forces. **A** both for Sea and Land, and folliciting to his side all such Cities as formerly either had not beene forward, or had wholly abstained from the Warre. Other Ambassadours also, both of the Syracusians and Corinthians, were sent to Lacedæmon and Corinth, to procure new Forces to be transported either in Ships or Boats, or how they could, because the Athenians had also sent to Athens for the like. In the meane time the Syracusians both manned their Nauie, and made tryall of themselues, as intending to take in hand that part also; and were otherwise exceedingly encouraged.

Nicias writeth to Athens for supply, and to be eased of his charge.

Nicias perceiuing this, and seeing the strength of the Enemy, and his owne necessities dayly increasing, hee also sent Messengers to Athens, both at other times, and often, vpon the occasion of euery action that passed; and now especially, as finding himselfe in danger, and that vnlesse they quickly sent for those away that were there already, or sent a great supply vnto them, there was no hope of safety: and fearing lest such as hee sent, through want of vterance or iudgement, or through desire to please the Multitude, should deliuer things otherwise then they were, hee wrote vnto them a Letter. Concealing that thus the Athenians should best know his minde, whereof no part could now be suppressed by the Messenger, and might therefore enter into deliberation vpon true grounds.

With these Letters, and other their instructions, the Messengers took their Iourney; and Nicias in the meane time, hauing a care to the well guarding of his Campe, was wary of entering into any voluntarie dangers.

The Athenians besiege Amphipolis.

In the end of this Summer, Euction, Generall for the Athenians, with Perdiccas, together with many Toracians, warring against Amphipolis, tooke not the Citie; but bringing his Gallies about into Strymon, besieged it from the Riuer lying at Imeraum: And so this Summer ended.

The end of the eighteenth Summer.

The next Winter, the Messengers from Nicias arriued at Athens; and hauing spoken what they had in charge, and answered to such questions as they were asked, they presented the Letter, which the Clerke of the Citie, standing

A ding forth, read vnto the Athenians, containing as followeth.

### THE LETTER OF NICIAS to the People of Athens.

**A**THENIANS, You know by many other my Letters, what hath passed formerly: nor is it lesse needfull for you to be informed of the state we are in, and to take counsell vpon it at this present. **B** When we had in many Battels beaten the Syracusians, against whom we were sent, and had built the Walles within which we now lye, came Gylippus a Lacedæmonian, with an Armie out of Peloponnesus, and also out of some of the Cities of Sicily; and in the first Battell was ouercome by vs; but in the second, forced by his many Horsemen and Darters, we retired vvithin our Workes. Whereupon giuing ouer our vvalling vp of the Citie, for the multitude of our enemies, we now sit still. Nor can vve indeed haue the vse of our vvhole Army, because some part of the men of Armes are employed to defend our Walles. And they haue built a single Wall vnto vs, so that now vve haue no more meanes to encloze it, except one should come with a great Army, and vvinne that crosse-wall of theirs by assault. And so it is, that wee vvho seemed to besiege others, are besieged our selues, for so much as concerneth the Land. For wee cannot goe farre abroad by reason of their Caualtery. They haue also sent Ambassadours for another Armie into Peloponnesus; and Gylippus is gone amongst the Cities of Sicily, both to sollicite such to ioyne with him in the Warre, as haue not yet stirred; and of others to get, if he can, both more Land-souldiers, and more munition for their Nauie. For they intend (as I haue beene informed) **D** both to assault our Wall by Land with their Armie, and to make tryall what they are able to doe with their Nauy by Sea. For though our Fleet (vvhich they also haue heard) were vigorous at first, both for soundnesse of the Gallies, and entirenese of the men; yet our Gallies are now soaked, with lying so long in the water, and our men consumed. For vve vvant the meanes to hale aland our Gallies, and trim them, because the Gallies of the Enemy, as good as ours, and more in number, doe keepe vs in a continuall expectation of assault, which they manifestly endeavour. And seeing it is in their owne choice to attempt or not, they haue therefore liberty to dry their Gallies at their **E** pleasure. For they lye not, as we, in attendance vpon others. Nay, vve could hardly doe it, though we had many Gallies spare, and vvere not

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constrained, as now, to keepe watch vpon them with our whole number. For should we abate, though but a little, of our obseruance, we should want prouision, vvhich as we are, being to passe so neere their Citie, is brought in with difficulty; and hence it is, that our Mariners, both formerly haue beene, and are now wasted. For our Mariners, fetching wood and water, and forraging farre off, are intercepted by the Horsemen; and our Slaues, now wee are on equall termes, runne ouer to the Enemie. As for strangers, some of them hauing come aboard by constraint, retorne presently to their Cities; and others hauing beene leuied at first with great wages, and thinking they came to enrich themselues rather then to fight, now they see the Enemie make so strong resistance, both otherwise beyond their expectation, and especially, with their Nauie, partly take pretext to be gone, that they may serue the Enemie, and partly, (Sicily beeing large) shifte themselues away, euery one as hee can. Some there are also, who hauing bought heere \* Hyccarian slaues, haue gotten the Captaines of Gallies to accept of them in the roome of themselues, and thereby destroyed the purity of our Nauall strength. To you I write, who know how small a time any Fleet continueth in the height of vigour, and how few of the Mariners are skilfull, both how to hasten the course of a Gallie, and how to containe the Oare. But of all, my C greatest trouble is this, that being Generall, I can neither make them doe better. (for your natures are hard to be gouerned) nor get Mariners in any other place, (which the Enemy can doe from many places) but must of necessity haue them from whence wee brought both these we haue, and those we haue lost. For our now Confederate Cities, Naxus and Catana, are not able to supply vs. Had the Enemie but this one thing more, that the Townes of Italy, that now send vs prouision, seeing what estate we are in, and you not helpe vs, would turne to them, the Warre were at an end, and wee expugned, without another stroke. I could haue written to you other things, more pleasing then these, but not more profitable, seeing it is necessary for you to know certainly the affaires heere, when you goe to counsell vpon them; withall, (because I know your natures to be such, as though you loue to heare the best, yet afterwards when things fall not out accordingly, you will call in question them that write it) I thought best to write the truth for my owne safeties sake. And now thinke thus, that though we haue carried our selues, both Captaines and Souldiers, in that for which we came at first hither, vnblameably; yet since all Sicily is vnited against vs, and another Army expected out of Peloponnesus, you must resolue (for those we haue here, are not enow E for the Enemies present forces) eyther to send for these away, or to send hither

\* These were they, which Nicias put to the taking of Hyccaria, making sale of, being sold.

A hither another Army, both of Land and Sea-souldiers, no lesse then the former, and money, not a little; and also a Generall to succeed me who am able no longer to stay heere, being troubled with the stone in the Kidney. I must craue your pardon. I haue done you many good seruices in the conduits of your Armies when I had my health. What you will doe, doe in the very beginning of Spring, and delay it not. For the Enemie will soone haue furnished himselfe of his Sicilian aydes; And though those from Peloponnesus will bee later, yet if you looke not to it, they will get hither partly vnseene, as before, and partly by preuenting you with speed.

B These were the Contents of the Letter of Nicias.

The Athenians, when they had heard it read, though they released not Nicias of his Charge, yet for the present till such time as others chosen to be in Commission might arriue, they ioyned with him two of those that were already in the Armie, Menander and Euthydemon, to the end that hee might not sustaine the whole burthen alone in his sicknesse. They concluded likewise to send another Armie, aswell for the Sea as the Land, both of Athenians enrolled, and of their Confederates. And for fellow-Generals with Nicias, they elected Demosthenes the sonne of Alcisthenes, and Eurymedon the sonne of Thucles. Eurymedon they sent away presently for Sicily, about the time of the Winter Solstice, with tenne Gallies, and twenty Talents of Siluer, to tell them there, that ayde was comming, and that there was care taken of them. But Demosthenes staying, made preparation for the Voyage, to set out early the next Spring; and sent vnto the Confederates, appointing what Forces they should prouide, and to furnish himselfe amongst D them, with Money, and Gallies, and men of Armes.

The Athenians sent also twenty Gallies about Peloponnesus, to watch that none should goe ouer into Sicily, from Corinth or Peloponnesus. For the Corinthians, after the Ambassadours were come to them, and had brought newes of the amendment of the affaires in Sicily, thought it was well that they had sent thither those other Gallies before; but now they were encouraged a great deale more, and prepared men of Armes to be transported into Sicily in Ships, and the Lacedaemonians did the like for the rest of Peloponnesus. The Corinthians manned five and twenty Gallies, to present Battell to the Fleet that kept watch at Naupactus; that

The Athenians conclude to send a new Army to Syracuse.

They send twenty Gallies to Naupactus, to keep the Corinthians from transporting their forces into Sicily.

The Lacedæmonians prepare to invade Attica, and fortify Decælea, opposing the Athenians to have broken the Peace.

that the Ships with the men of Armes, whilest the *Athenians* attended these Gallies to embattailed against them, might passe by unhindered.

The *Lacedæmonians*, as they intended before, and being also instigated to it by the *Syracusians* and *Corinthians*, vpon aduertisement now of the *Athenians* new supply for *Sicily*, prepared likewise to invade *Attica*, thereby to diuert them. And *Alcibiades* also importunately vrged the fortifying of *Decælea*, and by no meanes to warre remissely. But the *Lacedæmonians* were heartned thereunto principally, because they thought the *Athenians* hauing in hand a double War, one against them, and another against the *Sicilians*, would be the easilier pulled downe; and because they conceived the breach of the last Peace was in themselves; for in the former Warre, the iniury proceeded from their own side, in that the *Thebans* had entred *Platea* in time of peace, And because also, whereas it was inserted in the former Articles, that Armes should not bee carried against such as would stand to tryall of Iudgement, they had refused such tryall when the *Athenians* offered it. And they thought all their misfortunes had deseruedly befallne them for that cause; remembring amongst others, the calamity at *Pylus*. But when the *Athenians* with a Fleet of thirty Sayle had spoiled part of the Territory of *Epidaurus*, and of *Prasæ*, and other places, and their Souldiers that lay in Garrison in *Pylus*, had taken bootie in the Countrey about; And seeing that as often as there arose any controuersie touching any doubtfull point of the Articles, the *Lacedæmonians* offering tryall by Iudgement, they refused it; Then indeed, the *Lacedæmonians* conceiuing the *Athenians* to bee in the same fault that themselves had beene in before, betooke themselves earnestly to the Warre. And this Winter they sent about vnto their Confederates, to make ready Iron, and all Instruments of Fortification. And for the ayde they were to transport in Ships to the *Sicilians*, they both made prouision amongst themselves, and compelled the rest of *Peloponnesus* to doe the like. So ended this Winter, and the eighteenth Yeere of the Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

THE NINETEENTH YEERE.

The Peloponnesians invade Attica, and fortify Decælea.

The next Spring, in the very beginning, earlier then euer before, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates entered with their Armie into *Attica*, vnder the command of

*Agis*

**A** *Agis* the sonne of *Archidamus*, their King. And first they wasted the Champaigne Countrey, and then went in hand with the Wall at *Decælea*, diuiding the worke amongst the Armie according to their Cities. This *Decælea* is from the Citie of *Athens*, at the most, but 120. Furlongs, and about as much, or a little more from *Boætia*. This Fort they made in the plaine, and in the most opportune place that could bee, to annoy the *Athenians*, and in sight of the Citie. Now the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates in *Attica* went on with their fortification.

**B** They in *Peloponnesus* sent away their Ships with the men of Armes about the same time into *Sicily*. Of which, the *Lacedæmonians*, out of the best of their *Helotes*, and men made newly free, sent in the whole sixe hundred, and *Ecritus* a *Spartan* for Commander. And the *Boæotians* three hundred, vnder the Conduet of *Xenon* and *Nicon*, *Thebans*, and *Hegesander* a *Thebian*. And these set forth first, and put to Sea at *Tenarus* in *Laconia*. After them a little, the *Corinthians* sent away five hundred more, part from the Citie it selfe of *Corinth*, and part mercenarie *Arcadians*, and *Alexarchus* a *Corinthian* for Captaine. The *Sicyonians* also sent two hundred with them that went from *Corinth*, and *Sargeus* a *Sicyonian* for Captaine. Now the 25 *Corinthian* Gallies that were manned in Winter, lay opposite to the twenty Gallies of *Athens* which were at *Nausactus*, till such time as the men of Armes in the Ships from *Peloponnesus* might get away; for which purpose they were also set out at first, that the *Athenians* might not haue their mindes vpon these Ships, so much as vpon the Gallies.

In the meane time also, the *Athenians*, whilest *Decælea* was fortifying, in the beginning of the Spring, sent twenty Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Cariacles* the sonne of *Apollodorus*, with order when hee came to *Argos*, to take aboard the men of Armes which the *Argiues* were to send them, according to League; and sent away *Demosthenes* (as they intended before) into *Sicily*, with threescore Gallies of *Athens*, and five of *Chios*, and one thousand two hundred men of Armes of the Roll of *Athens*, and as many of the Islanders as they could get, provided by their subiect Confederates of all other necessities for the Warre: But he had order to ioyne first with *Charicles*, and helpe him to make Warre first vpon *Laconia*. So *Demosthenes*

The Peloponnesians send away their men of Armes for Sicily.

The Athenians send out Demosthenes toward Sicily.

*mosthenes* went to *Ægina*, and staid there both for the *A* remnant of his owne Army, if any were left behind, and for *Charicles* till he had taken aboard the *Argives*.

In *Sicily*, about the same time of the Spring, *Gylippus* also returned to *Syracuse*, bringing with him from the Cities hee had dealt withall, as great forces as feuerally hee could get from them; And hauing assembled the *Syracusians*, he told them, that they ought to man as many Gallies as they could, and make triall of a battell by Sea, and that he hoped thereby to performe somewhat to the benefit of the Warre, which should be worthy the danger. *Hermocrates* also was none of the least meanes of getting them to vndertake the *Athenians* with their Nauy, who told them, That neither the *Athenians* had this skill by Sea, hereditary, or from euerlasting, but were more Inland-men than the *Syracusians*, and forced to become Sea-men by the *Medes*: And that to daring men, such as the *Athenians* are, they are most formidable that are as daring against them. For wherewith they terrise their neighbours, which is not alwayes the aduantage of power, but boldnesse of enterprizing, with the same shall they in like manner be terrified by their enemies. He knew it, *C* he said, certainly, that the *Syracusians* by their unexpected daring to encounter the *Athenian* Nauy, would get more aduantage in respect of the feare it would cause, then the *Athenians* should endamage them by their oddes of skill. He bade them therefore, to make triall of their Nauy, and to be afraid no longer. The *Syracusians* on these perswasions of *Gylippus* and *Hermocrates*, and others, if any were, became now extremely desirous to fight by Sea, and presently manned their Gallies.

*Gylippus*, when the Nauy was ready, drew out his *D* whole power of Land Souldiers in the beginning of night, meaning to go himselfe and assault the Fortifications in *Plemmyrium*. Withall, the Gallies of the *Syracusians*, by appointment, 35 of them came vp towards it, out of the great Hauen, and 45 more came about out of the little Hauen, where also was their Arsenall, with purpose to ioine with those within, and to goe together to *Plemmyrium*, that the *Athenians* might be troubled on both sides. But the *Athenians* hauing quickly manned 60 Gallies to oppose them; with 25 of them, they fought with the 35 of the *Syracusians* in the great Hauen, and with the rest went to

*Gylippus* perswadeth the *Syracusians* to fight by Sea.

The *Syracusians* win *Plemmyrium*, but are beaten by Sea.

*A* to meete those that came about from the little Hauen. And these fought presently before the mouth of the great Hauen, and held each other to it for a long time; one side endeououring to force, the other to defend the entrance. In the meane time *Gylippus* (the *Athenians* in *Plemmyrium* being now come downe to the water side, and hauing their mindes busied vpon the fight of the Gallies) betimes in the morning, and on a sudden assaulted the Fortifications, before they could come backe againe to defend them; and possessed first the greatest, and afterwards the two lesser: for they that watched in these, when they saw the greatest so easily taken, durst stay no longer. They that fled vpon the losing of the first Wall, and put themselves into Boats, and into a certaine Ship, got hardly into the Campe; for whilest the *Syracusians* in the great Hauen, had yet the better in the fight vpon the water, they gaue them chase with one nimble Gally. But by that time that the other two Walles were taken, the *Syracusians* vpon the water were ouercome, and the *Athenians* which fled from those two Walles, got to their Campe with more ease. For those *Syracusan* Gallies that fought before the Hauens mouth, hauing beaten backe the *Athenians*, entered in disorder, and falling foule one on another, gaue away the Victorie vnto the *Athenians*, who put to flight not onely them, but also those other, by whom they had before bene ouercome within the Hauen, and sunke eleuen Gallies of the *Syracusians*, and slew most of the men aboard them, saue onely the men of three Gallies, whom they tooke aliue. Of their owne Gallies they lost onely three.

*D* When they had drawne to Land the wrecke of the *Syracusan* Gallies, and erected a Trophie in the little Iland ouer against *Plemmyrium*, they returned to their Campe. The *Syracusians*, though such were their successe in the Battell by Sea, yet they wonne the Fortification in *Plemmyrium*, and set vp three Trophies, for euery Wall one. One of the two Walles last taken, they demolished, but two they repayred, and kept with a Garrison.

At the taking of these Walles, many men were slaine, *E* and many taken aliue, and their goods, which all together was a great matter, were all taken. For the *Athenians*

The *Syracusians* winne the workes of the *Athenians* in *Plemmyrium*.

The *Athenians* get the victory by water.

using these Workes for their storehouse, there was in them A much wealth and victuall, belonging vnto Merchants, and much vnto Captaines of Gallies: For there were Sayles within it for fortie Gallies, besides other furniture, and three Gallies drawne to Land. And this losse of *Plemmyrium* was it that most and principally empayred the *Athenians* Army. For the entrance of their prouision was now no longer safe, (for the *Syracusians* lying against them there with their Gallies, kept them out) and nothing could be brought in vnto them but by fight, and the Armie besides was thereby otherwise terrified and B deiected.

After this the *Syracusians* sent out twelue Gallies, vnder the command of *Agatharchus* a *Syracusan*. Of which one carried Ambassadors into *Peloponnesus*, to declare what hope they had now of their businesse, and to instigate them to a sharper Warre in *Attica*. The other eleuen went into *Italy*, vpon intelligence of certaine Vessels laden with commodities comming to the *Athenians* Army: which also they met with, and destroyed most of them; and the Timber which for building of Gallies, the C *Athenians* had ready framed, they burned in the Territory of *Caunonia*.

After this they went to *Locri*, and riding heere, there came vnto them one of the Ships that carried the men of Armes of the *Thespians*; whom the *Syracusians*, tooke aboard, & went homeward by the Coast. The *Athenians* that watched for them with 20 Gallies at *Megara*, tooke one of them, and the men that were in her, but could not take the rest: So that they escaped through to *Syracuse*.

There was also a light Skirmish in the Hauen of D *Syracuse*, about the Piles which the *Syracusians* had driuen downe before their old Harbour, to the end that the Gallies might ride within, and the *Athenians* not annoy them by assault. The *Athenians* hauing brought to the place a Ship of huge greatnesse, fortified with Woodden Turrets, and couered against Fire, caused certaine men with little Boats, to goe and fasten Cords vnto the Piles, and so broke them vp with craning. Some also the Diuers did cut vp with Sawes. In the meane time the *Syracusians* from the Harbour, and they E from the great Ship, shot at each other, till in the end,

A end, the greatest part of the Piles were by the *Athenians* gotten vp. But the greatest difficulty was to get vp those Piles which lay hidden; for some of them they had so driuen in, as that they came not about the Water. So that hee that should come neere, was in danger to bee throwne vpon them as vpon a Rocke. But these also for reward the Diuers went downe, and sawed asunder. But the *Syracusians* continually draue down other in their stead. Other deuices they had against each other, (as was not vnlikely betweene Armies so neere opposed) and many light B Skirmishes passed, and attempts of all kindes were put in execution.

The *Syracusians* moreouer sent Ambassadors, some *Corinthians*, some *Ambraciotes*, and some *Lacedaemonians*, vnto the Cities about them, to let them know, that they had wonne *Plemmyrium*, and that in the Battell by Sea, they were not overcome by the strength of the Enemy, but by their own disorder; and also to shew what hope they were in, in other respects, and to intreat their ayd both of Sea and Land-forces, forsomuch as the *Athenians* expecting another C Army, if they would send ayde before it came, whereby to ouerthrow that which they had now there, the Warre would be at an end. Thus stood the affaires of *Sicily*.

*Demosthenes*, as soone as his forces which he was to carry to the succour of those in *Sicily*, were gotten together, put to Sea from *Agina*, and sayling into *Peloponnesus*, ioyned with *Charicles*, and the 30. Gallies that were with him. And hauing taken aboard some men of Armes of the *Argiues*, came to *Laconia*, and first wasted part of the Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*. From thence, going to that part of D *Laconia* which is ouer against the Iland *Cythera*, (where is a Temple of *Apollo*) they wasted a part of the Countrey, and fortified an Isthmus there, both that the *Helots* might haue a refuge in it, running away from the *Lacedaemonians*, and that Freebooters from thence, as from *Pylus*, might fetch in Prizes from the Territory adioyning. As soone as the place was taken in, *Demosthenes* himselfe went on to *Corcyra*, to take vp the Confederates there, with intent to goe thence speedily into *Sicily*. And *Charicles* hauing staid to finish, and put a Garrison into the Fortification, went af- E terwards with his thirty Gallies to *Athens*; and the *Argiues* also went home.

*Demosthenes* in his way to *Sicily*, fortified a necke of Land in *Laconia*.

The aydes of the *Thracians* come too late to goe into *Sicily*.

The Incommodities which befell the *Athenians* by the fortification in *Decelea*.

The same Winter also came to *Athens* a thousand and A three hundred Targettiers, of those called *Machærophori*, of the race of them that are called *Dij*, and were to haue gone with *Demosthenes* into *Sicily*. But comming too late, the *Athenians* resolu'd to send them backe againe into *Thrace*, as being too chargeable a matter to entertaine them onely for the Warre in *Decelea*; for their pay was to haue beene a Drachma a man by the day. For *Decelea* being this Summer fortified, first by the whole Army, & the by the feuerall Cities maintained with a Garrison by turnes, much endamaged the *Athenians*, and weakned their B estate, both by destroying their commodities, and consuming of their men, so as nothing more. For the former inualions hauing beene short, hindred them not from reaping the benefit of the earth for the rest of the time; but now, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, and sometimes with greater forces, sometimes of necessity with the ordinary Garrison making incursions, and fetching in bootie, *Agis* the King of *Lacedæmon* being alwayes there in person and diligently prosecuting the Warre, the *Athenians* were thereby very grievously afflicted: for they were not C onely depriv'd of the fruit of the Land, but also about twenty thousand of their slaues fled ouer to the Enemy, where the greatest part were Artificers.

Because they lost all their Sheepe and Oxen. And by the continual going out of the *Athenian* Horsemen, making excursions to *Decelea*, and defending the Countrey, their Horses became partly lamed, through incessant labour in rugged grounds, & partly wounded by the Enemy. And their provision, which formerly they vs'd to bring in from *Eubœa* by *Oropus*, the shortest way, through *Decelea* by Land, they were now forced to fetch in by Sea, at great cost, about the Promontory of *Sunium*. And whatsoever the City was wont to be serued withall from without, it now wanted, and in stead of a Citie was become as it were a Fort. And the *Athenians* watching on the Battlements of the Wall, in the day time by turnes, but in the night, both Winter and Summer, all at once, (except the Horsemen) part at the Wall, and part at the Armes, were quite tyred. But that which pressed them most, was that they had two Warres at once. And yet their obstinacie was so great, as no man would haue beleeu'd, till now they E

A they saw it. For being besieged at home, from the Fortification of the *Peloponnesians*, no man would haue imagined, that they should not onely not haue recalled their Armie out of *Sicily*, but haue also besieged *Syracuse* there, a Citie of it selfe no lesse then *Athens*, and therein so much haue exceeded the expectation of the rest of the *Grecians*, both in power and courage, (who in the beginning of this Warre conceiu'd, if the *Peloponnesians* inuaded their Territory, some of them, that they might hold out two yeeres, others three, no man more) as that in the seuenteenth B yeere after they were first inuaded, they should haue vndertaken an expeditio into *Sicily*, & being euery way weakned already by the former Warre, haue vndergone another, not inferior to that which they had before with the *Peloponnesians*. Now their Treasure being by these Warres, and by the detriment sustained from *Decelea*, and other great expences that came vpon them, at a very low ebbe, about this time they impos'd on such as were vnder their dominion, a twentieth part of all goods passing by Sea, for a Tribute, by this meanes to improue their commings C in. For their expences were not now as before, but so much greater, by how much the Warre was greater, and their reuenue besides cut off.

The *Thracians* therefore, that came too late to goe with *Demosthenes*, they presently sent backe, as being vnwilling to lay out money in such a scarcity; and gaue the charge of carrying them backe to *Dijrepbes*, with command as he went along those Coasts, (for his way was through the \* *Euripus*) if occasion serued, to do somewhat against the Enemy. He accordingly landed them by *Tanagra* and hastily D fetch'd in some small booty. Then going ouer the *Euripus* from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, he disbarqued againe in *Bœotia*, and led his Souldiers towards *Mycalessus*, and lay all night at the Temple of *Mercury* vndiscovered, which is distant from *Mycalessus* about sixteene furlongs. The next day he commeth to the City, being a very great one, and taketh it. For they kept no Watch, nor expected that any man would haue come in and assaulted them, so farre from the Sea. Their Wall, also were but weak, in some places falne downe, and in others low built, and their Gates open through security. The *Thracians* entring into *Mycalessus*, spoiled both Houses and Temples, slew the people, E without

The *Thracians* sent backe, in their way sacke the city of *Mycalessus*.

\* The straight betwene *Eubœa* and *Bœotia*.

The barbarous cruelty of the *Thracians*.

without mercy on old or young, but killed all they could A  
light on, both women and children, yea, and the labour-  
ing Cattell, and whatsoever other living thing they saw.  
For the Nation of the *Thracians*, where they dare, are ex-  
treme bloody, equall to any of the *Barbarians*. Inſomuch  
as there was put in praſtiſe at this time, beſides other diſ-  
order, all formes of ſlaughter that could be imagined.  
They likewiſe fell vpon the Schoolehouſe ( which was  
in the Citie a great one, and the children newly entred into  
it ) and killed them euery one. And the calamity of the  
whole City, as it was as great as euer befell any, ſo alſo B  
was it more vnexpected, and more bitter. The *Thebans*  
hearing of it, came out to helpe them; and ouertaking  
the *Thracians* before they were gone farre, both recovered  
the booty, and chaſed them to the *Euripus*, and to the Sea,  
where the Gallies lay that brought them. Some of them  
they killed, of thoſe moſt, in their going aboard. For  
ſwimme they could not; and ſuch as were in the ſmall  
Boats, when they ſaw how things went a-land, had thruſt  
off their Boats, and lay without the *Euripus*. In the reſt  
of the retreat, the *Thracians* behaued themſelues not vn- C  
handſomely, againſt the *Theban* Horſemen, by whom  
they were charged firſt; but running out, and againe ral-  
lying themſelues in a circle, according to the manner of  
their Countrey, defended themſelues well, and loſt but few  
men in that action. But ſome alſo they loſt in the City  
it ſelfe, whileſt they ſtayd behind for pillage. But in the  
whole, of 1300, there were ſlaine, onely 250. Of the *The-*  
*bans* and others that came out to helpe the Citie, there were  
ſlaine Horſemen, and men of Armes, one with another, a-  
bout 20, and amongſt them *Scirphondas* of *Thebes*, one of D  
the Gouvernours of *Boetia*. And of the *Mycaleſians*  
there periſhed a part. Thus went the matter at *Myca-*  
*leſus*, the loſſe which it receiued, being for the quantity of  
the City, no leſſe to be lamented, then any that happened  
in the whole Warre.

*Demoſthenes* going from *Coreyra*, after his fortifying in  
*Laconia*, found a Ship lying in *Phia* of *Elis*, and in her cer-  
taine men of Armes of *Corinth*, ready to goe into *Sicily*.  
The Ship he ſunke, but the men eſcaped, and after-  
wards getting another Shippe, went on in their E  
voyage.

After

A After this, *Demoſthenes* being about *Zacynthus*, and *Ce-*  
*phallenia*, tooke aboard their men of Armes, and ſent to  
*Naupaſtus* for the *Meſſenians*. From thence he croſſed o-  
uer to the Continent of *Acarnania*, to *Alycea*, and *Anaſto-*  
*rium*, which belonged to the *Athenians*. Whileſt he was  
in theſe parts, he met with *Eurymedon* out of *Sicily*, that  
had been ſent in Winter vnto the Army with commodi-  
ties, who told him amongſt other things, how he had  
heard by the way, after he was at Sea, that the *Syracuſans*  
had wonne *Plemmyrium*. *Conon* alſo the Captaine of *Nau-*  
B *paſtus* came to them, and related, that the 25 Gallies of  
*Corinth* that lay before *Naupaſtus*, would not giue ouer  
Warre, and yet delayed to fight, and therefore deſired to  
haue ſome Gallies ſent him, as being vnable with his  
18 to giue battell to 25 of the enemy. Whereupon *De-*  
*moſthenes* and *Eurymedon* ſent 20 Gallies more to thoſe at  
*Naupaſtus*, the nimbleſt of the whole Fleet, by *Conon* him-  
ſelfe; And went themſelues about furniſhing of what  
belonged to the Army. Of whom *Eurymedon* went to  
*Coreyra*, & hauing appointed the there to man 15 Gallies,  
C leuyed men of Armes; for now giuing ouer his courſe to *A-*  
*thens*, he ioyned with *Demoſthenes*, as hauing been elected  
with him, in the charge of Generall; and *Demoſthenes*  
tooke vp Slingers and Darters, in the parts about *Acar-*  
*nanian*.

The Ambaſſadours of the *Syracuſans*, which after the  
taking of *Plemmyrium*, had been ſent vnto the Cities about,  
hauing now obtained, and leuyed an Army amongſt  
them, were conducting the ſame to *Syracuſe*. But *Nicias*,  
vpon intelligence thereof, ſent vnto ſuch Cities of the *Si-*  
D *cili* as had the paſſages, and were their Confederates, the  
*Centoripines*, *Halicycæans*, and others, not to ſuffer the ene-  
my to goe by, but to vnite themſelues and ſtop them; for  
that they would not ſo much as offer to paſſe any other  
way; ſeeing the *Agrigentines* had already denied them.  
When the \* *Sicilians* were marching, the \* *Siculi*, as the  
*Athenians* had deſired them, put themſelues in Ambuſh in  
three ſeueral places, and ſetting vpon them vnawares, and  
on a ſodaine, ſlew about eight hundred of them, and all  
the Ambaſſadours, ſaue onely one, a *Corinthian*, which  
E conducted the reſt that eſcaped, being about 1500, to *Sy-*  
*racuſe*.

About

*Eurymedon* commeth to  
*Demoſthenes* out of *Sicily*,  
and telleth him of the  
taking of *Plemmyrium*.

*Demoſthenes* and *Euryme-*  
*douley* forces for *Sicily*.

*Nicias* ouerthroweth the  
new ſupply going to *Sy-*  
*racuſe* from the neigh-  
bouring Cities, and kil-  
leth 800 of them.

\* *Zikarid* 3.  
\* *Zikarid* 4.



About the same time, came vnto them, also the ayde of A the *Camarinaeans*, 500 men of Armes, 300 Darters, and 300 Archers. Also the *Geloans* sent them men for five Gallies, besides 400 Darters, and 200 Horsemen. For now all Sicily (except the *Agrigentines*, who were Newtrall) but all the rest, who before stood looking on, came in, to the *Syracusan* side against the *Athenians*. Neuertheless, the *Syracusians*, after this blow receiued amongst the *Siculi*, held their hands, and assaulted not the *Athenians* for a while.

*Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* hauing their Army now ready, crossed ouer from *Corcyra*, and the \* Continent with B the whole Army, to the Promontory of *Iapygia*. From thence they went to the *Cherades*, Ilands of *Iapygia*, and here tooke in certaine *Iapygian* Darters, to the number of 250, of the *Messapian* Nation. And hauing renewed a certaine ancient alliance, with *Arias*, who raigned there, and granted them those Darters, they went thence to *Metapontium*, a City of *Italy*. There by vertue of a League, they got two Gallies, and 200 Darters, which taken aboard they kept along the Shoare, till they came to the Territory of *Thuria*. Here they found the aduers faction C to the *Athenians* to haue been lately driuen out in a sedition. And because they desired to muster their Army here, that they might see if any were left behind, and perswade the *Thurians* to ioyne with them freely in the War, (and as things stood) to haue for friends and enemies, the same that were so to the *Athenians*, they staid about that in the Territory of the *Thurians*.

The *Peloponnesians*, and the rest, who were at the same time in the 25 Gallies that for safegard of the Ships, lay opposite to the Gallies before *Naupactus*, hauing prepared D themselves for battell, and with more Gallies, so as they were little inferiour in number to those of the *Athenians*, went to an Anchor vnder *Erineus* of *Achaia* in *Rhypica*. The place where they rid, was in forme like a halfe-Moone, and their Land forces they had ready on either side to assit them, both *Corinthians*, and other their Confederates of those parts, embattelled vpon the points of the Promontory, and their Gallies made vp the space betweene, vnder the command of *Polyanthes*, a *Corinbian*. Against these, the *Athenians* came vp, with 33 Gallies from *Naupactus*, E commanded by *Diphilus*. The *Corinthians* at first lay still, but

\* The Continent about Acarnania, for there was *Demosthenes*; and at *Corcyra* was *Eurymedon*.

The battell by Sea, before *Naupactus*, betweene the *Corinthians* and *Athenians*.

A but afterwards when they saw their time, and the Signall giuen, they charged the *Athenians*, and the fight began. They held each other to it long. The *Athenians* sunke three Gallies of the *Corinthians*. And though none of their owne were sunke, yet seauen were made vnseruiceable, which hauing encountred the *Corinthian* Gallies a-head, were torne on both sides between the beake and the oares, by the beakes of the *Corinthian* Gallies, made stronger for the same purpose. After they had fought with equall fortune, and so as both sides challenged the victory, (though B yet the *Athenians* were masters of the wrecks, as driuen by the wind into the maine, and because the *Corinthians* came not out to renew the fight) they at length parted. There was no chasing of men that fled, nor a prisoner taken on either side, because the *Peloponnesians* and *Corinthians* fighting neere the Land, easily escaped, nor was there any Gally of the *Athenians* sunke. But when the *Athenians* were gone backe to *Naupactus*, the *Corinthians* presently set vp a Trophie, as victors, in regard that more of the *Athenian* Gallies were made vnseruiceable, than of theirs; and thought C themselves not to haue had the worse, for the same reason that the others thought themselves not to haue had the better. For the *Corinthians* thinke they haue the better, when they haue not much the worse, and the *Athenians* thinke they haue the worse, when they haue not much the better. And when the *Peloponnesians* were gone, and their Armie by Land dissolued, the *Athenians* also set vp a Trophie in *Achaia*, as if the victorie had bene theirs, distant from *Erineus*, where the *Peloponnesians* rid, about twenty Furlongs. This was the successe of that battell by Sea. D

*Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, after the *Thurians* had put in readinesse to goe with them, 700. men of Armes, and 300. Darters, commanded their Gallies to go along the Coast, to *Croton*, and conducted their Land-souldiers, hauing first taken a muster of them all vpon the side of the Riuer *Sycaris*, through the Territory of the *Thurians*. But comming to the Riuer *Hylas*, vpon word sent them from the men of *Croton*, that if the Army went thorow their Territory, it should be against their will, they marched downe to the E Sea side, and to the mouth of the Riuer *Hylas*, where they staid all that night, and were met by their Gallies.

K k k

The

*Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* come along the shore of *Italy*, and take vp forces.

The next day imbarcking, they kept along the shore, and A touched at euery Towne sauing *Locri*, till they arriued at *Petra*, in the Territory of *Rhegium*.

The *Syracusians* make ready their Gallies to fight with the *Athenians* there, before the supply came.

Their manner of strengthening their Gallies.

The *Syracusians* in the meane time, vpon intelligence of their comming on, resolu'd to try againe what they could doe with their Nauy, and with their new supply of Landmen, which they had gotten together on purpose, to fight with the *Athenians*, before *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* should arriue. And they furnished their Nauie, both otherwise, according to the aduantages they had learnt in the last battell, and also made shorter the heads of their Gallies, and B thereby stronger, and made beakes to them of a great thicknesse, which they also strengthened with rafters fastned to the sides of the Gallies, both within and without, of 6 cubits long, in such manner as the *Corinthians* had armed their Gallies a-head to fight with those before *Naupactus*. For the *Syracusians* made account, that against the *Athenian* Gallies, not so built, but weake before, as not vsing so much to meet the Enemie a-head, as vpon the side, by fetching a compasse, they could not but haue the better; and that to fight in the great Hauen, many Gallies in not much C roome, was an aduantage to them, for that vsing to direct encounter, they should breake with their firme and thicke beakes, the hollow and infirme foreparts of the Gallies of their Enemies; and that the *Athenians* in that narrow roome, would want meanes both to goe about, and to goe through them, which was the point of Art they most relied on. For as for their passing through, they would hinder it themselues as much as they could, and for fetching compasse, the straightnesse of the place would not suffer it. And that fighting a-head, which seemed before D to be want of skill in the Masters [to doe otherwise,] was it they would now principally make vse of; for in this would bee their principall aduantage. For the *Athenians*, if ouercome, would haue no retiring, but to the Land, which was but a little way off, and little in compasse, neere their owne Campe, and of the rest of the Hauen themselues should be Masters, and the Enemie being prest, could not choose, thronging together into a little roome, and all into one & the same place, but disorder one another, (which was indeed the thing that in all their battells by Sea, did the *Athenians* the greatest hurt, hauing not, as the *Syracusians* E had,

A had the liberty of the whole Hauen to retire vnto) and to goe about into a place of more roome, they hauing it in their power to set vpon them from the maine Sea, and to retire againe at pleasure, they should neuer be able; especially hauing *Plemmyrium* for enemy, and the Hauens mouth not being large. The *Syracusians* hauing deuised thus much ouer and aboue their former skill and strength, and far more confident now since the former Battell by Sea, assaulted them both with their Army and with their Nauy at once. The Landmen from the City *Gylippus* drew sooner out a B little, and brought them to the Wall of the *Athenians* Campe, vpon the side towards the Citie; and from *Olympieum*, the men of Armes, all that were there, and the Horsemen and light-armed of the *Syracusians*, came vp to the Wall on the other side. And by and by after came sailing forth also the Gallies of the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates. The *Athenians* that thought at first, they would haue made the attempt only with their Landmen, seeing also the Gallies on a sudden comming towards them, were in confusion, and some of them put them- C selues in order vpon and before the Walles, against those that came from the Citie, and others went out to meete the Horsemen and Darters, that were comming in great numbers, and with speed from *Olympieum*, and the parts without. Others againe went aboard, and withall came to ayde those ashore; but when the Gallies were manned, they put off, being 75. in number, and those of *Syracuse* about 80. Hauing spent much of the day in charging and retiring, and trying each other, and performed nothing worth the mentioning, saue that the *Syracusians* sunke a D Gallie or two of the *Athenians*, they parted againe, and the Land-souldiers retired at the same time from the Wall of the *Athenian* Campe. The next day the *Syracusians* lay still, without shewing any signe of what they meant to doe. Yet *Nicias* seeing that the Battell by Sea was with equality, and imagining that they would fight againe, made the Captaines to repaire their Gallies, such as had beene torne, and 2 great Ships to be moored, without those Piles which he had driuen into the Sea before his Gallies, to bee instead of a Hauen inclozed. These Ships he placed about E 2 acres breadth asunder, to the end if any Gally chanced to bee pressed, it might safely runne in, and againe

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* fight.

The Athenians and Syracu-  
sians fight againe.

The Stratagem of Arifton,  
a Master of a Gally.

goe safely out at leasure. In performing of this, the *Athe- A*  
*nians* spent a whole day from morning vntill night.

The next day the *Syracusians* assaulted the *Athenians* a-  
gain with the same Forces both by Sea and Land, that  
they had done before, but begonne earlier in the morning,  
and being opposed Fleet against Fleet, they drew out a  
great part of the day, now againe, as before, in attempting  
vpon each other without effect. Till at last *Arifton*  
the sonne of *Pyrrhicus*, a *Corinthian*, the most expert Ma-  
ster that the *Syracusians* had in their Fleet, perswaded the  
Commanders of the Nauie, to send to such in the Citie as B  
it belonged to, and command that the Market should bee  
speedily kept at the Sea-side, and to compell euery man to  
bring thither whatsoeuer hee had fit for meate, and there  
to sell it, that the Mariners disbarking, might presently  
dine by the Gallies sides, and quickly againe vnlooked-  
for, assault the *Athenians* afresh the same day.

This aduice being liked, they sent a Messenger, and the  
Market was furnished. And the *Syracusians* suddenly row-  
ed a-sterne, towards the Citie, and disbarking, dined there-  
right on the shore. The *Athenians* supposing they had C  
retired towards the Citie, as vanquished, landed at leasure,  
and amongst other businesse, went about the dressing of  
their dinner, as not expecting to haue fought againe the  
same day. But the *Syracusians* suddenly going aboard, came  
towards them againe. And the *Athenians* in great tu-  
mult, and for the most part vndined, imbarking disorderly,  
at length with much adoe went out to meete them. For  
a while they held their hands on both sides, and  
but obserued each other; But anon after, the *Athenians*  
thought not fit by longer dallying, to ouercome them- D  
selues with their owne labour, but rather to fight as soone  
as they could; and thereupon at once with a ioynt shout,  
charged the Enemy, and the fight began. The *Syracusi-*  
*ans* receiued and resisted their charge; and fighting, as  
they had before determined, with their Gallies head to  
head with those of the *Athenians*, and provided with beakes  
for the purpose, brake the Gallies of the *Athenians* very  
much, between the heads of the Gallies and the oares. The  
*Athenians* were also annoyed much by the Darters from the  
Deckes, but much more by those *Syracusians*, who going E  
about in small Boats, passed vnder the rowes of the Oares  
of

A of the Enemies Gallies, and comming close to their sides,  
threw their Darts at the Mariners from thence.

The *Syracusians* hauing fought in this manner with the  
vmost of their strength, in the end gat the victory, and  
the *Athenians*, betweene the two *Ships*, escaped into their  
harbour. The *Syracusan* Gallies chased them as farre as  
to those *Ships*, but the *Dolphins* hanging from the Masts  
ouer the entrance of the harbour, forbad them to follow  
any further. Yet there were two Gallies, which vpon a  
iollity after victory approached them, but were both lost,  
B of which one with her men and all was taken. The *Sy-*  
*racusians*, after they had sunke seuen Gallies of the *Atheni-*  
*ans*, and torne many more, and of the men had taken some  
aliue, and killed others, retired, and for both the battels  
erected Trophies, and had already an assured hope, of be-  
ing farre superiour by Sea, and also made account to sub-  
due the Army by Land. And they prepared to assault  
them againe in both kindes.

In the meane time *Demosthenes*, and *Eurymedon* arriued  
with the *Athenian* supply, being about 73 Gallies, and men  
C of Armes of their owne, and of their Confederates about  
5000. Besides Darters, as well *Barbarians* as *Greekes*, not  
a few, and Slingers, and Archers, and all other provi-  
sion sufficient. For the present, it not a little daunted the  
*Syracusians* and their Confederates, to see no end of their  
danger, and that notwithstanding the fortifying in *Declea*,  
another Army should come now, equall, and like vnto  
their former, and that their power should be so great in  
euery kind. And on the other side, it was a kind of streng-  
thening after weaknesse, to the *Athenian* Army that was  
D there before. *Demosthenes*, when hee saw how things  
stood, and thinking it vnfit to loyter, and fall into *Nicias* his  
case (For *Nicias*, who was formidable at his first com-  
ming, when he set not presently vpon *Syracuse*, but Win-  
tered at *Catana*, both grew into contempt, and was preuen-  
ted also by the comming of *Gylippus* thither, with an Ar-  
my out of *Peloponnesus*. The which if *Nicias* had gone a-  
gainst *Syracuse* at first, had neuer been so much as sent for.  
For supposing themselues to haue been strong enough a-  
lone, they had at once both found themselues too weake,  
E and the City been enclosed with a Wall, whereby though  
they had sent for it, it could not haue helped them, as it  
did)

The *Syracusians* haue the  
victory.

*Demosthenes* and *Euryme-*  
*don*, with a new Army  
arriue at *Syracuse*.

*Demoſthenes attempted to win the Wall which the Syracuſians had built through Epipolæ, to exclude the proceeding of the Wall of the Athenians.*

did) *Demoſthenes* I ſay conſidering this, and that he alſo, **A** euen at the preſent, and the ſame day was moſt terrible to the enemy, intended with all ſpeed to make uſe of this preſent terribleſſe of the Army. And hauing obſerued that the Croſſe-wall of the *Syracuſians*, wherewith they hindred the *Athenians* from enclosing the Citie, was but ſingle, and that if they could be Maſters of the aſcent to *Epipolæ*, and againe of the Campe there, the ſame might eaſily be taken, (for none would haue ſtood againſt them) haſted to put it to triall, and thought it his ſhorteſt way to the diſpatching of the Warre. For either he **B** ſhould haue ſucceſſe, he thought, and ſo winne *Syracuse*, or he would lead away the Army, and no longer without purpoſe conſume, both the *Athenians* there with him, and the whole State. The *Athenians* therefore went out, and firſt waſted the Territory of the *Syracuſians*, about the Riuer *Anapus*, and were the ſtronger as at firſt, both by Sea and Land. For the *Syracuſians* durſt neither way goe out againſt them, but onely with their Horſemen and Darters from *Olympieum*.

After this, *Demoſthenes* thought good to try the Wall, **C** which the *Athenians* had built to encloſe the City withall, with Engines, but ſeeing the Engines were burnt by the Defendants fighting from the Wall, and that hauing aſſaulted it in diuers parts with the reſt of his army, he was, notwithstanding put backe, he reſolued to ſpend the time no longer, but (hauing gotten the conſent of *Nicias*, and the reſt in Commiſſion, thereunto) to put in execution his deſigne for *Epipolæ*, as was before intended. By day, it was thought impoſſible not to be diſcouered, either in their approach, or in their aſcent. Hauing therefore firſt com- **D** manded to take ſiue dayes prouiſion of Viſtuall, and all the Maſons and Workmen, as alſo ſtore of Caſting Weapons, and whatſoeuer they might need, if they ouercame, for Fortification, He, and *Eurymedon*, and *Menander*, with the whole Army, marched about midnight to *Epipolæ*, leauing *Nicias* in the Campe. Being come to *Epipolæ* at *Euryalus* (where alſo the Army went vp before) they were not onely not diſcouered by the *Syracuſians* that kept the Watch, but aſcending, tooke a certaine Fortification of the *Syracuſians* there, and killed part of them that kept it. **E** But the greateſt number eſcaping, ranne preſently to the Campes,

**A** Campes, of which there were in *Epipolæ* three walled about, without the City, one of *Syracuſians*, one of other *Sicilians*, and one of Confederates, and carried the newes of their comming in, and told it to thoſe 600 *Syracuſians* that kept this part of *Epipolæ* at the firſt, who preſently went forth to meet them. But *Demoſthenes* and the *Athenians* lighting on them, though they fought valiantly, put them to flight, and preſently marched on, making uſe of the preſent heat of the Army, to finiſh what he came for, before it were too late. And others going on, in their firſt **B** courſe tooke the Croſſe-wall of the *Syracuſians*, they flying that kept it, and were throwing downe the Battlements thereof. The *Syracuſians* and their Confederates, and *Gylippus*, and thoſe with him, came out to meet them, from their Campes, but becauſe the attempt was vnexpected, and in the night, they charged the *Athenians* timorouſly, and were euen at firſt forced to retire. But as the *Athenians* aduanced more out of order, chiefly as hauing already gotten the victory, but deſiring alſo, quickly to paſſe through all that remained yet vnſoughten with, (left through **C** their remiſſeneſſe in following, they might againe rally themſelues,) the *Bæotians* withſtood them firſt, and charging, forced them to turne their backs. And here the *Athenians* were mightily in diſorder, and perplexed, ſo that it hath been very hard to be informed of any ſide, in what manner each thing paſſed. For if in the day time, when things are better ſcene, yet they that are preſent cannot tell how all things goe, ſaue onely what euery man with much adoe ſeeth neere vnto himſelfe: How then in a battell by night, (the onely one that hapned betweene **D** great Armies in all this Warre) can a man know any thing for certaine? For though the Moone ſhined bright, yet they ſaw one another no otherwiſe then (as by Moone-light was likely) ſo as to ſee a body, but not be ſure whether it were a friend, or not. And the men of Armes on both ſides being not a few in number, had but little ground to turne in. Of the *Athenians*, ſome were already overcome, others went on in their firſt way: Alſo a great part of the reſt of the Army was already, part gotten vp, and part aſcending, and knew not which way to **E** march; For after the *Athenians* once turned their backs, all before them was in confuſion; and it was hard to diſtinguiſh

distinguish of any thing for the noyse. For the *Syracusians* A  
and their Confederates preuailing, encouraged each other,  
and receiued the assailants with exceeding great shouts,  
(for they had no other meanes in the night to expresse  
themselues.) And the *Athenians* fought each other, and  
tooke for Enemies all before them, though friends, and of  
the number of those that fled. And by often asking the  
Word, there being no other meanes of distinction, all ask-  
ing at once they both made a great deale of stirre amongst  
themselues, and reuealed the Word to the Enemy. But  
they did not in like manner know the Word of the *Syracu-* B  
*sians*, because these, being victorious, and vndistracted,  
knew one another better. So that when they lighted on  
any number of the Enemy, though they themselues were  
more, yet the Enemy escaped, as knowing the Watch-  
word; but they, when they could not answer, were  
slaine. But that which hurt them most, was the tune of  
the \* *Pæan*, which being in both Armies the same, draue  
them to their wits end. For the *Argiues* and *Corcyraens*,  
and all other of the *Dorique* Race on the *Athenians* part,  
when they sounded the *Pæan*, terrified the *Athenians* on one C  
side, and the Enemy terrified them with the like on the  
other side. Wherefore at the last falling one vpon ano-  
ther in diuers parts of the Armie, friends against friends,  
and Countrey men against Countrey men, they not onely  
terrified each other, but came to hand-strokes, and could  
hardly againe be parted.

As they fled before the Enemy, the way of the de-  
scend from *Epipolæ*, by which they were to goe backe, be-  
ing but strait, many of them threw themselues downe  
from the Rockes, and dyed so: and of the rest that gate D  
downe safely into the Plaine, though the greatest part,  
and all that were of the old Armie, by their knowledge of  
the Countrey escaped into the Campe, yet of these that  
came last, some lost their way, and straying in the Fields,  
when the day came on, were cut off by the *Syracusan*  
Horsemen that ranged the Countrey about.

The next day the *Syracusians* erected two Trophies, one  
in *Epipolæ* at the ascent, and another, where the first checke  
was giuen by the *Bæotians*. The *Athenians* receiued their  
dead vnder Truce; and many there were that dyed, both E  
of themselues and of their Confederates. But the Armes  
taken,

\* A *Pæan* with Trumpeets or  
other loud Musique, both be-  
fore and after battell.

The *Athenians* fly.

A taken, were more then for the number of the slaine: for  
of such as were forced to quit their Bucklers, and leape  
downe from the Rockes, though some perished, yet some  
there also were that escaped.

After this, the *Syracusians* hauing by such vnlooked for  
prosperity recouered their former courage, sent *Sicanus*  
with fifteene Gallies to *Agrigentum* being in sedition, to  
bring that Citie if they could to their obedience. And *Gyl-*  
*lippus* went againe to the *Sicilian* Cities by Land, to raise yet  
another Army, as being in hope to take the Campe of the  
B *Athenians* by assault, considering how the matter had gone  
in *Epipolæ*.

In the meane time the *Athenian* Generals went to  
Councell vpon their late ouerthrow, and present gene-  
rall weaknesse of the Army. For they saw, not onely that  
their designes prospered not, but that the Souldiers also  
were weary of staying. For they were troubled with sick-  
nesse, proceeding from a double cause; this being the time  
of the yeere most obnoxious to diseases, and the place  
where they lay, moorish and noysome. And all things  
C else appeared desperate.

*Demosthenes* thought fit to stay no longer; and since  
the execution of his Designe at *Epipolæ* had failed, deliue-  
red his opinion for going out of the Hauens whilest the Seas were  
open, and whilest, at least with this addition of Gallies, they were  
stronger then the Army of the Enemy. For it was better, hee  
said, for the Citie to make Warre vpon those which fortifie a-  
gainst them at home, then against the *Syracusians*, seeing they  
cannot now be easily overcome; and there was no reason why they  
should spend much money in lying before the City. This was  
D the opinion of *Demosthenes*.

*Nicias*, though he also thought their estate bad, yet was  
vnwilling to haue their weaknesse discouered, and by de-  
creeing of their departure openly with the Votes of ma-  
ny, to make knowne the same to the enemy. For if at any  
time they had a minde to bee gone, they should then bee  
lesse able to doe it secretly. Besides, the estate of the En-  
emie, as much as hee vnderstood it better then the rest,  
put him into some hope that it might yet grow worse  
then their owne, in case they pressed the Siege, espe-  
E cially being already Masters of the Sea, farre and neere,  
with their present Fleet. There was moreover a party

The *Syracusians* sent for  
more supplies, and to  
winne the *Agrigentum*  
Campe.

The *Athenian* Comman-  
ders, take counsell what  
to doe.

The advice of *Demosthenes*.

for the Athenians in Syracuse that desired to betray the State into their hands, and that sent messengers vnto him, and suffered him not to rise and be gone. All which hee knowing, though hee were intruth doubtfull what opinion to be of, and did yet consider, neuertheless openly in his speech, hee was against the withdrawing of the Armie, and said, *That he was sure, the People of Athens would take it ill, if hee went thence without their order: For that they were not to haue such Iudges, as should giue sentence vpon their owne sight of things done, rather then vpon the report of Calumniators, but such as would beleue whatsoeuer some fine speaker should accuse them of. That many, nay most of the Souldiers heere, who now cry out vpon their misery, will there cry out on the contrary, and say the Generals haue betrayed the State, and come away for a bribe. That hee would not therefore, knowing the nature of the Athenians so well, chuse to bee put to death vnjustly, and charged with a dishonourable crime by the Athenians, rather then, if he must needs doe one, to suffer the same at the hand of the Enemy by his owne aduenture. And yet, he said, the State of the Syracusians was still inferiour to their owne: For paying much money to strangers, and laying out much more on Forts without and about the Citie, hauing also had a great Nauie, a yeare already in pay, they must needs want money at last, and all these things faile them. For they haue spent already two thousand Talents, and are much in debt besides. And whensoever they shall giue ouer this course, and make pay no longer, their strength is gone, as being auxiliary, and not constrained to follow the Warre, as the Athenians are. Therefore it was fit, he said, to stay close to the Citie, and not to goe away, as if they were too weake in money, wherein they were much superiour.*

Nicias, when he spake this, assured them of it, as knowing the state of Syracuse precisely, and their want of money; and that there were some that desired to betray the Citie to the Athenians, and sent him word not to goe. Withall hee had now confidence in the Fleet, which, as being before ouercome, he had not. As for lying where they did, Demosthenes would by no meanes heare of it. But if the Armie might not be carried away without order from the Athenians, but must needs stay in Sicily, then he said they might goe to Thapsus, or Catana, from whence by their Land men they might inuade, and

turne

A turne much of the Countrey to them, and waisting the Fields of the Enemies, weaken the Syracusians, and bee to fight with their Gallies in the maine Sea, and not in a narrow (which is the aduantage of the Enemy) but in a wide place, where the benefit of skill should bee theirs, and and where they should not be forced in charging and retyring, to come vp, and fall off in narrow and circumscribed limits. In summe he said, he by no meanes liked to stay where they were, but with all speed, no longer delaying the matter, to arise and be gone. Eurymedon also gaue the like counsell. Neuertheless vpon the contradiction of Nicias, there grew a kind of sloth and procrastination in the businesse, and a suspicion withall, that the asseueration of Nicias, was ground on somewhat that he knew about the rest, and therevpon the Athenians deferred their going thence, and stayed vpon the place.

In the meane time Gylippus and Syacanus returned vnto Syracuse. Syacanus without his purpose at Agrigentum (for whilest he was yet in Gela, the sedition which had bene raised in the behalfe of the Syracusians was turned into friendship,) but Gylippus not without another great Army, out of Sicily, besides the men of Armes, which hauing set forth from Peloponnesus in Ships the Spring before, were then lately arriued at Selinus from out of Africke. For hauing bene driuen into Africke, and the Cyreneans hauing given them two Gallies with Pilots, in passing by the shore they ayded the Eusperitæ, besieged by the Africans, and hauing ouercome the Africans, they went on to Neapolis, a Towne of traffique belonging to the Carthaginians, where the passage into Sicily is shortest, and but two dayes and a nights saile ouer. And from thence they crossed the Sea to Selinus. As soone as they were come, the Syracusians againe presently prepared to set vpon the Athenians, both by Sea and Land. The Athenian Generals seeing them haue another Armie, and their owne not bettering but growing euery day worse then other, but especially as being pressed to it by the sicknesse of the Souldiers, repented now that they removed not before; and Nicias being now no longer against it, as he was, but desirous onely that it might not be concluded openly, gaue order vnto all, as secretly as was possible, to put forth of the Harbour, and to be ready, when the signe should be giuen.

Gylippus returned with another Armie from the Cities of Sicily.

L 112

But



The Athenians out of superstition forbore to remoue, because of an eclipse of the Moone.

But when they were about it, and euery thing was ready, the Moone hapned to bee eclipsed. For it was full Moone. And not onely the greatest part of the Athenians called vpon the Generals to stay, but Nicias also (for hee was addicted to superstition, and obseruations of that kind somewhat too much) said, that it should come no more into debate, whether they should goe or not, till the three times nine dayes were past, which the Southsayers appoint in that behalfe. And the Athenians, though vpon going, stayed still for this reason.

The Syracusians assault the Athenian Campe with their Land-souldiers.

The Syracusians also, hauing intelligence of this, were encouraged vnto the pressing of the Athenians much the more, for that they confessed themselues already too weake for them, both by Sea and Land; for else they would neuer haue fought to haue runne away.

Besides, they would not haue them sit downe in any other part of Sicily, and become the harder to be warred on; but had rather there-right, and in a place most for their owne aduantage, compell them to fight by Sea. To which end they manned their Gallies, and after they had rested as long as was sufficient, when they saw their time, the first day they assaulted the Athenians Campe, and some small number of men of Armes, and Horsemen of the Athenians sallied out against them by certaine Gates, and the Syracusians intercepting some of the men of Armes, beat them backe into the Campe. But the entrance being strait, there were 70 of the Horsemen lost, and men of Armes some, but not many.

The Syracusians overcome the Athenians againe by Sea.

The next day, they came out with their Gallies, 76 in number, and the Athenians set forth against them with 86; and being come together, they fought. Eurymedon had charge of the Right Wing of the Athenians, and desiring to encompassse the Gallies of the Enemies, drew forth his owne Gallies in length more toward the shoare; and was cut off by the Syracusians, that had first overcome the middle battell of the Athenians from the rest, in the bottome and inmost part of the Hauen; and both slaine himselfe, and the Gallies that were with him lost. And that done, the rest of the Athenian Fleet was also chased and driuen ashore.

Gylippus, when he saw the Nauy of the Enemie vanquished, and carried past the Piles, and their owne Harbour,

A bour, came with a part of his Armie to the peere, to kill such as landed, and to cause that the Syracusians might the easilier pull the Enemies Gallies from the shore, wherof themselues were Masters. But the Tuscans, who kept guard in that part for the Athenians, seeing them comming that way in disorder, made head, and charging these first, forced them into the Marish, called *Iysimelia*. But when afterwards a greater number of the Syracusians and their Confederates came to helpe them, then also the Athenians, to helpe the Tuscans, and for feare to lose their Gallies, fought with them, and hauing overcome them, pursued them, and not onely slew many of their men of Armes, but also saued the most of their Gallies, and brought them backe into the Harbour. Neuerthelesse the Syracusians tooke eightene, and slew the men taken in them. And amongst the rest, they let driue before the Wind, (which blew right vpon the Athenians) an old Ship, full of Faggots and Brands set on fire, to burne them. The Athenians on the other side, fearing the losse of their Nauie, deuised remedies for the fire, and hauing quenched the flame, and kept the Shippe from comming neere, escaped that danger.

After this the Syracusians set vp a Trophie both for the Battell by Sea, and for the men of Armes which they intercepted aboue before the Campe, where also they tooke the Horses. And the Athenians erected a Trophie likewise, both for the flight of those Footmen, which the Tuscans draue into the Marish, and for those which they themselues put to flight with the rest of the Armie.

When the Syracusians had now manifestly overcome their Fleet (for they feared at first the supply of Gallies that came with Demosthenes) the Athenians were in good earnest vtterly out of heart. And as they were much deceiued in the euent, so they repented more of the Voyage. For hauing come against these Cities, the onely ones that were for institution like vnto their owne, and gouerned by the People, as well as themselues, and which had a Nauie, and Horses, and greatnesse, seeing they could create no dissention amongst them, about change of gouernment, to winne them that way, nor could subdue it with the greatnesse of their Forces, when they were farre the stronger, but misprospered in most of their designs, they were then at their

The Athenians delected, repent of the voyage.

wits

wits end. But now, when they were also vanquished by A Sea ( which they would neuer haue thought ) they were much more dejected then euer.

The *Syracusians* went presently about the Hauē without feare, and meditated how to shut vp the same, that the *Athenians* might not steale away without their knowledge, though they would. For now they studyed not onely how to saue themselves, but how to hinder the safety of the *Athenians*. For the *Syracusians* conceiued ( not vntruely ) that their owne strength was at this present the greater, and that if they could vanquish the *Athenians*, B and their Confederates, both by Sea and Land, it would be a mastery of great honour to them, amongst the rest of the *Grecians*. For all the rest of *Greece* should be one part freed by it, and the other part out of feare of subiecti- on hereafter. For it would be vnpossible for the *Atheni- ans*, with the remainder of their strength to sustaine the Warre that would be made vpon them afterwards; and they being reputed the authors of it, should be had in admiration, not only with all men now liuing, but also with posterity. And to say truth, it was a worthy Mastery, C both for the causes shewne, and also for that they became Victors not of the *Athenians* onely, but many others their Confederates, nor againe they themselves alone, but their Confederates also, hauing been in ioynt command with the (*Corinthians* and *Lacedæmonians*) and both exposed their City to the first hazard, and of the busines by Sea performed the greatest part themselves.

The greatest number of Nations, except the generall Roll of those which in this Warre adhered to *Athens*, and D *Lacedæmon*, were together at this one City; And this number on both sides, against *Sicilie*, and for it, some to helpe winne, and some to helpe saue it, came to the Warre at *Syracuse*, not on any pretence of right, nor as kindred to aid kindred, but as profit or necessity seuerally chanced to induce them. The *Athenians* being *Ionique* went against the *Syracusians* that be *Dorique*, voluntarily. With these, as being their Colonies, went the *Lemnians*, and *Imbrians*, and the *Æginetæ*, that dwelt in *Ægina* then, all of the same language and institutions with themselves.

Also the *Hestians* of *Eubœa*. Of the rest, some went with

The *Syracusians* intend to keep in the *Athenians*, & reckon vpon the glory of a still victory.

The Nations that were at the Warres of *Syracuse* on one side or other.

*Athenians*.

*Lemnians*, *Imbrians*, *Æginetæ*.

*Hestians* of *Eubœa*.

A with them as their subiects, and some as their free Confederates, and some also hired. Subiects and Tributaries, as the *Eretrians*, *Chalcideans*, *Syrians*, and *Carystians*, from *Eubœa*. *Ceians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, from out of the Ilands. *Milefians*, *Sunians*, and *Chians*, from *Ionia*. Of these the *Chians* followed them as free, not as tributaries of money, but of Gallies. And these were almost all of them *Ionians*, descended from the *Athenians*, except onely the *Carystians*, that are of the Nation of the *Dryopes*. And though they were subiects and went vpon constraint, yet they B were *Ionians* against *Derians*. Besides these, there went with them *Æolians*, namely the *Methyminæans*, subiects to *Athens*, not tributaries of money, but of Gallies, & the *Tenedians* and *Ænians* tributaries. Now here, *Æolians* were constrained to fight against *Æolians*, namely against their Founders the *Bœotians*, that tooke part with the *Syracusians*. But the *Platæans*, and onely they, being *Bœotians*, fought against *Bœotians* vpon iust quarrell. The *Rhodians* and *Cytherians* *Dorique* both, by constraint, bore Armes one of them, namely the *Cytherians* a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians* with C the *Athenians*, against the *Lacedæmonians* that were with *Gylippus*; and the other, that is to say, the *Rhodians*, being by descent *Argiues*, not onely against the *Syracusians*, who were also *Dorique*, but against their owne Colony the *Gelans* which tooke part with the *Syracusians*. Then of the Ilanders about *Peloponnesus*, there went with them the *Cephallenians*, and *Zaibythians*, not but that they were free States, but because they were kept in awe as Ilanders by the *Athenians* who were masters of the Sea. And the *Corecyraans*, being not only *Dorique*, but (*Corinthians*, fought openly D against both *Corinthians* and *Syracusians*, though a Colony of the one, and of kin to the other: which they did necessarily ( to make the best of it ) but indeed no lesse willingly, in respect of their hatred to the *Corinthians*. Also the *Messenians* now so called, in *Naupactus*, were taken along to this Warre, and the *Messenians* at *Pylus* then holden by the *Athenians*. Moreouer the *Megarean* Out-lawes though not many, by aduantage taken of their misery, were faine to fight against the *Siluntians*, that were *Megareans* likewise. But now the rest of their Army was rather voluntary. The *Argiues* not so much for the League, as for their enmity with the *Lacedæmonians* and their present

*Eretrians*, *Chalcideans*, *Syrians*, *Carystians*, *Ceians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, *Milefians*, *Sunians*, *Chians*.

*Methyminæans*, *Tenedians*, *Ænians*.

*Platæans*, *Rhodians* and *Cytherians*.

*Cephallenians*, *Zaibythians*.

*Corecyraans*.

*Messenians*.

*Megareans*.

*Argiues*.

*Arcadians and other Arcadians.*

*Cretans, Ætolians.*

*Acarnanians.*

*Thurians.*

*Metapontians, Neapolitans, Catantians, Egestians.*

*Thurians.*

*Lapygians.*

*Syracusians, Camarinians.*

*Himerians.*

*Siculi.*

*Lacedæmonians, who were formerly called Helotes, or accounted among the people.*

*Corinthians, Leucadians, Ambraciotes, Arcadian Mercenaries, Sicyonians.*

sent particular spleene, followed the *Athenians* to the Warre **A** though *Ionique*, against *Dorians*. And the *Mantineans* and other *Arcadian* Mercenaries went with him, as men accustomed euer to invade the enemy shewed them, and now for gaine, had for enemies as much as any those other *Arcadians* which went thither with the *Corinthians*. The *Cretans*, and *Ætolians* were all Mercenary, and it fell out, that the *Cretans*, who together with the *Rhodians* were Founders of *Gela*, not onely tooke not part with their Colony, but fought against it willingly for their hire. And some *Acarnanians* also went with them for gaine, but **B** most of them went as Confederates, in loue to *Demosthenes*, and for good will to the State of *Athens*. And thus many, within the bound of the *Ionian* Gulfe. Then of *Italians* fallen into the same necessity of seditious times, there went with them to this Warre, the *Thurians*, and *Metapontians*. Of *Greece Sicilians*, the *Naxians* and *Catanians*. Of *Barbarian*, the *Egestians*, who also drew with them the most of those *Greece Sicilians*. Without *Sicily*, there went with them some *Thuscans*, vpon quarrels betweene them and the *Syracusians*; and some *Lapygian* Mercenaries. These **C** were the Nations that followed the Army of the *Athenians*.

On the other side, there opposed them, on the part of the *Syracusians*, the *Camarinians* their borderers. And beyond them againe the *Gelans*. And then (the *Agrigentines* not stirring) beyond them againe the same way, the *Selimumians*. These inhabite the part of *Sicily*, that lyeth opposite to *Africke*. Then the *Himerians*, on the side that lyeth to the *Terrhen* sea, where dwel only *Grecians*, of which, these also onely ayded them. These were their Confederates of **D** the *Greece* Nation, within *Sicily*; all *Doreans* and free States. Then of the *Barbarians* there, they had the *Siculi*, all but what reuolted to the *Athenians*. For *Grecians* without *Sicily*, the *Lacedæmonians* sent them a *Spartan* Commander, with some *Helotes* and the rest \* Freed-men. Then ayded them, both with Gallies and with Land-men the *Corinthians* onely; and for kindreds sake the *Leucadians*, and *Ambraciotes*. Out of *Arcadia*, those Mercenaries sent by the *Corinthians*. And *Sicyonians* on constraint. And from without *Peloponnesus*, the *Bootians*. To the forraigne **E** aydes, the *Sicilians* themselves, as being great Cities, added more

**A** more in euery kinde then as much againe; for they got together men of Armes, Gallies and Horses, great flore, and other number in abundance. And to all these againe the *Syracusians* themselves, added, as I may say, about as much more, in respect of the greatnesse, both of their Citie, and of their danger.

These were the succours assembled on either part, and which were then all there, and after them came no more, neither to the one side nor the other. No maruell then, if the *Syracusians* thought it a noble mastery, if to the victorie by Sea already gotten, they could adde the taking of the whole *Athenian* Armie, so great as it was, and hinder their escape both by Sea and Land.

Presently therefore they fall in hand with stopping vp the mouth of the great Hauen, beeing about eight Furlongs wide, with Gallies laid crosse, and Lighters and Boats vpon their Anchors, and withall prepared whatsoeuer else was necessary, in case the *Athenians* would hazard another Battell, meditating on no small matters in any **C** thing.

The *Athenians* seeing the shutting vp of the Hauen, and the rest of the Enemies designes, thought good to goe to counsell vpon it: and the Generals, and Commanders of Regiments, hauing met, and considered their present want, both otherwise, and in this, that they neither had prouision for the present, (for vpon their resolution to bee gone, they had sent before to *Catana*, to forbid the sending in of any more) nor were likely to haue for the future, vnlesse their Nauy got the vpper hand, they resolved to **D** abandon their Campe aboute, and to take in some place, no greater then needs they must, neere vnto their Gallies, with a Wall, and leauing some to keepe it, to goe aboard with the rest of the Armie, and to man euery Gallie they had, seruiceable and lesse seruiceable, and hauing caused all sorts of men to goe aboard, and fight it out, if they gat the victorie, to goe to *Catana*; if not, to make their retreat in order of Battell, by Land (hauing first set fire on their Nauy) the neere way vnto some amicable place, either *Barbarian* or *Grecian*, that they should best **E** be able to reach vnto before the Enemy. As they had concluded, so they did; for they both came downe to the shore

M m m from

The *Syracusians* shut vp the Hauen.

from their Campe aboue, and also manned euery Gallie A they had, and compelled to goe aboard euery man of age, of any ability whatsoeuer. So the whole Nauie was manned, to the number of a hundred and tenne Gallies, vpon which they had many Archers and Darters, both *Acaranians* and other strangers, and all things else provided, according to their meanes and purpose. And *Nicias*, when almost euery thing was ready, perceiving the Souldiers to bee dejected, for being so farre ouercome by Sea, contrary to their custome, and yet in respect of the scarcity of victuall, desirous as soone as could be to fight, called them B together, and encouraged them then the first time, with words to this effect.

### THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

Souldiers, Athenians, and other our Confederates, though the trial at hand will be common to all alike, and will concerne the safety and Countrey, no lesse of each of vs, then of the Enemy: (For if our Gallies get the victory, we may euery one see his natu. C *Citiz* againe) yet ought wee not to bee discouraged, like men of no experience, who failing in their first aduentures, euer after carry a fear, suitable to their misfortunes. But you Athenians heere present, hauing had experience already of many Wars, and you our Confederates, that haue alwayes gone along with our armies, remember how often the euent falleth out oherwise in Warre, then one would thinke; and in hope that Fortune will once also be of our side, prepare your selues to fight againe, in such manner as shall be worthy the number you see your selues to bee. What we thought would be helpe in the narrownesse of the Hauens, against such a multitude of Gallies as will be there, and against the prouision of the Enemy vpon their Deckes, whereby wee were formerly D and no el, we haue with the Masters now considered them all, and as well as our present meanes will permit, made them ready. For many Archers and Darters shall goe aboard, and that multitude, which if wee had beene to fight in the maine Sea, wee would not haue vsed, because by slugging the Gallies, it would take away the vse of Skill, will neuertheless be usefull heere, where wee are forced to make a Land-fight from our Gallies. Wee haue also deuised, instead of what should E haue beene provided for in the building of our Gallies, against

A against the thickeesse of the beakes of theirs, which did most hurt vs, to lash their Gallies vnto ours with Iron Grapnels, whereby (if the men of Armes doe their part) wee may keepe the Gallies which once come close vp, from falling backe againe. For we are brought to a necessity now, of making it a Land-fight vpon the Water; and it will be the best for vs, neither to fall backe our selues, nor to suffer the Enemy to doe so. Especially, when, except what our men on Land shall make good, the shore is altogether hostile. Which you remembering, must therefore fight it out to the vtmost, and not suffer your selues to bee beaten backe vnto the shore. But when Gallie to Gallie shall B once be fast close, neuer thinke any cause worthy to make you part, vnlesse you haue first beaten off the men of Armes of the Enemy, from their Deckes. And this I speake to you rather, that are the men of Armes, than to the Mariners, in as much as that part belongeth rather vnto you that fight aboue; and in you it lyeth, euen yet to archiue the Victory for the most part with the Land-men. Now for the Mariners, I aduise, and withall beseech them, not to bee too much daunted with the losses past, hauing now, both a greater number of Gallies, and greater Forces vpon the Deckes. Thinke it a pleasure worth preserving, that being taken, by your knowledge of the language, and imitation of our fashions for Athenians, (though you be not so) you are not only admired for it through all Greece, but also partake of our dominion, in matter of profit, no lesse then our selues; and for awfulnessse to the Nations subiect, and protection from iniury, more. You therefore that alone participate freely of our Dominion, cannot with any iustice betray the same. In despight therefore of the Corinthians, whom you haue often vanquished, and of the Sicilians, who, as long as our Fleet was at the best, durst neuer so much as stand vs, repell them, and make it appeare, that your knowledge, euen with weaknesse and losse, is better then the strength of another, with Fortune. Again, D to such of you as are Athenians, I must remember this, that you haue no more such Fleets in your Harbours, nor such able men of Armes, and that if ought happen to you but victory, your Enemies here will presently bee vpon you at home; and those at home will bee vn- able to defend themselves, both against those that shall goe hence, and against the Enemy that lyeth there already. So one part of vs shall fall into the mercy of the Syracusians, against whom you your selues know, with what intent you came hither, and the other part which is at home, shall fall into the hands of the Lacedaemonians. Being therefore in this one battell to fight both for your selues E and them, be therefore valiant now, if euer; and beare in mind euery one of you, that you that goe now aboard, are the Land-forces, the Sea-forces,

the whole estate, and great name of Athens. For which, if A any man excell others in skill or courage, he can neuer shew it more opportunely then now, when he may both helpe himselfe with it, and whole.

Nicias hauing thus encouraged them, commanded presently to goe aboard.

Gylippus and the Syracusians, might easily discern that the Athenians meant to fight, by seeing their preparation. Besides, they had aduertisement of their purpose to cast Iron Grapnels into their Gallies. And as for euery thing B else, so also for that, they had made prouision. For they couered the fore-part of their Gallies, and also the Deckes for a great way, with Hydes, that the Grapnels cast in, might slip, and not be able to take hold. When all was ready, Gylippus likewise, and other the Commanders, vied vnto their Souldiers this hortatiue.

### THE ORATION OF GYLIPPVS, and the Syracusian Generals.

**T**HAT not onely our former acts haue beene honourable, but that wee are to fight now also for further honour, (Men of Syracuse, and Confederates) the most of you seeme to know already (for else you neuer would so valiantly haue undergone it.) And if there be any man that is not so sensible of it as he ought, wee will make it appeare vnto him better. For whereas the Athenians came into this Countrey, with designe, first to enslave Sicily, and then, if that succeeded, Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece. And whereas already they had the greatest dominion of any Grecians whatsoeuer, either present or past, you, the first that euer D withstood their Navy, wherewith they were euery where Masters, haue in the former Battels overcome them, and shall in likelihood overcome them againe in this. For men that are cut short, where they thought themselves to exceed, become afterwards further out of opinion with themselves, then they would haue beene, if they had neuer thought so. And when they come short of their hope, in things they glory in, they come short also in courage, of the true strength of their forces. And this is likely now to be the case of the Athenians. Whereas with vs, it falleth out, that our former courage, wherewith, though vnexperienced, we durst stand them, being now confirmed, and an opinion added of being the stronger, giueth to euery one E of

A of vs a double hope. And in all enterprizes, the greatest hope conser-  
reth for the most part the greatest courage. As for their imitation of  
our prouisions, they are things we are acquainted withall, and we shall  
not in any kinde be vnprovided for them. But they, when they shall  
haue many men of Armes vpon their Deckes, (being not vsed to it)  
and many (as I may terme them) \* Land-Darters, both Acarnuni-  
ans, and others, who would not be able to direct their Darts, though  
they should sit, how can they choose but put the Gallies into danger,  
and be all in confusion amongst themselves, mouing in a fashion \* not  
their owne? As for the number of their Gallies, it will helpe them no-  
thing (if any of you feare also that, as being to fight against oddes in  
number.) For many in little roome, are so much the slower to doe what  
they desire, and easiest to bee annoyed by our munition. But the  
very truth you shall now vnderstand by these things; whereof  
we suppose we haue most certaine intelligence.

Overwhelmed with Calamities, and forced by the difficulties which  
they are in at this present, they are growne desperate, not trusting to  
their Forces, but willing to put themselves vpon the decison of For-  
tune, as well as they may, that so they may either goe out by force,  
or else make their retreat after ward by Land, as men whose estates  
C cannot change into the worse.

Against such confusion therefore, and against the fortune of our  
greatest enemies, now betraying it selfe into our hands, let vs fight  
with anger, and with an opinion, not onely that it is most lawfull, to  
fulfill our hearts desire vpon those our enemies that iustified their com-  
ming hither, as a righting of themselves against an assailant; but also,  
that to be reuenged on an Enemy, is both most naturall, and, as is  
most commonly said, the sweetest thing in the world. And that they  
are our Enemies, and our greatest Enemies, you all well enough know,  
seeing them come hither into our dominion, to bring vs into seruitude.

D Wherein if they had sped, they had put the men to the greatest tor-  
tures, the women and children to the greatest dishonesty, and the  
whole Citie to the most ignominious \* name in the world. In regard  
whereof, it is not fit that any of you should be so tender, as to thinke  
it gaine, if they goe away without putting you to further danger; for so  
they meane to doe, though they get the Victory: But effecting (as it  
is likely we shall) what wee intend, both to be reuenged of these, and  
to deliuer vnto all Sicily their liberty, which they enjoyed before,  
but now is more assured. Honourable is that Combate, and rare are  
those hazards, wherein the failing bringeth little losse, and the suc-  
E cesse, a great deale of Profit.

When

When *Gylippus*, and the Commanders of the *Syracusians* A had in this manner encouraged their Souldiers, they presently put their men aboard, perceiuing the *Athenians* to doe the same.

*Nicias* perplexed with this present estate, and seeing how great and how neere the danger was, being now on the point to put forth from the Harbour, and doubting (as in great battels it falleth out) that somewhat in euery kind was still wanting, and that he had not yet sufficiently spoken his mind, called vnto him againe, all the Captaines of Gallies, and spake vnto them euery one by their fathers, B their tribes, and their proper names, and entreated euery one of them that had reputation in any kind, not to betray the same; and those whose Ancestors were eminent, not to deface their hereditary vertues; remembering them of *their Countreys liberty, and the vnccontrolled power of all men to liue as they pleased*, and saying whatsoeuer else in such a pinch men are accustomed, not out of their store to \* vtter things stale, and in all occasions the same, touching their *Wives, Children, and patriall Gods*, but such things as being thought by them auailable in the present discouragement, they C vse to cry into their eares. And when he thought he had admonished them not enough, but as much as the time would permit, he went his way, and drew out those forces that were to serue on Land, to the Sea side, and embattelled them so, as they might take vp the greatest length of ground they were able, thereby, so much the more to confirme the courage of them that were aboard. And *Demosthenes Menander*, and *Eudemus*, (for those of the *Athenian* Commanders went aboard) putting forth of the Harbour, went immediately to the Locke of the Hauen, D and to the passage that was left open, with intention to force their way out. But the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, being out already with the same number of Gallies, they had before disposed part of them to the guard of the open passage, and the rest in circle about the Hauen, to the end they might fall vpon the *Athenians* from all parts at once, and that their Land-forces might withall be neere to aide them, wheresoeuer the Gallies touched. In the *Syracusan* Nauy, commanded *Sicanus*, and *Agatharchus*, each of them ouer a Wing, and *Pythen*, with the *Corinthians*, had E the middle Battell. After the *Athenians* were come to the

*Nicias* encouraged his Souldiers anew.

*Demosthenes* To speake old or stale Sentences.

He prepareth to fight.

A the Locke of the Hauen, at the first charge they ouer-came the Gallies placed there to guard it, and endeauoured to breake open the barres thereof. But when afterwards the *Syracusians* and Confederates came vpon them from euery side, they fought not at the Locke only, but also in the Hauen it selfe. And the battell was sharpe, and such as there had neuer before been the like. For the courage wherewith the Mariners on both sides brought vp their Gallies to any part they were bidden, was very great, and great was the plotting and counterplotting, and B contention one against another of the Masters. Also the Souldiers, when the Gallies boarded each other, did their vtmost to excell each other in all points of skill that could be vsed from the Decks, and euery man in the place assigned him, put himselfe forth to appeare the formost. But many Gallies falling close together in a narrow compasse (for they were the most Gallies that in any battell they had vsed, and fought in the least roome, being little fewer on the one side and the other, then 200.) they ranne against each other, but seldome, because there was no C meanes of retiring, nor of passing by, but made assaults vpon each other oftner, as Gally with Gally, either flying, or pursuing chanced to fall foule. And as long as a Gally was making vp, they that stood on the Decks, vsed their Darts and Arrowes, and Stones in abundance, but being once come close, the Souldiers at hand-strokes attempted to boord each other. And in many places it so fell out, through want of roome, that they which ran vpon a Gally on one side, were runne vpon themselves on the other, and that two Gallies, or sometimes more, were forced D to lye aboard of one, and that the Masters were at once to haue a care, not in one place onely, but in many together, how to defend on the one side, and how to offend on the other. And the great noise of many Gallies fallen foule of one another, both amazed them and tooke away their hearing of what their \* *Directors* directed; for they directed thicke and loud on both sides, not onely as Art required, but out of their present eagernesle, the *Athenians* crying out to theirs, to force the passage, and now, if euer, valiantly to lay hold vpon their safe returne to their Country; E and the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, to theirs; how honourable a thing to euery one of them it would be, to hinder

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* fight.

\* *Directors*.



hinder their escape, and by this Victory to improve every A man, the honour of his owne Countrey. Moreouer, the Commanders of either side where they saw any man without necessity to row a Sterne, would call vnto the Captain of the Gally by his name, & aske him, The *Athenians*, whether he retired, because he thought the most hostile Land to be more their friend then the Sea, which they had so long bene masters of? The *Syracusians* theirs, whether when they knew that the *Athenians* desired earnestly by any meanes to flie, they would neuertheless flie from the Flyers? Whilest the Conflict was vpon the Water, the B Land-men had a Conflict and sided with them in their affections. They of the place, contending for increase of the honours they had already gotten, and the Inuaders fearing a worse estate thē they were already in. For the *Athenians*, who had their whole fortune at stake in their Gallies, were in such a feare of the euent, as they had neuer been in the like; and were thereby of necessity to behold the fight vpon the Water, with very different passions. For the fight being neere, and not looking all of them vpon one and the same part, he that saw their owne side preuaile, tooke C heart, and fell to calling vpon the Gods, that they would not deprive them of their safety; and they that saw them haue the worse, not onely lamented, but shrieked out-right, and had their minds more subdued by the sight of what was done, then they, that were present in the battell it selfe. Others that looked on some part where the fight was equall, because the contention continued so, as they could make no iudgment on it, with gesture of body on euery occasion, agreeable to their expectation, passed the time in a miserable perplexity. For they were euer within a little ether of escaping, or of perishing. And one might heare D in one and the same Army, as long as the fight vpon the Water was indifferent, at one & the same time, *Lamentations, Shouts, That they won, That they lost*, and whatsoeuer else a great Army, in great danger is forced differently to vtter. They also that were aboard, suffered the same, till at last the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, after long resistance of the other side, put them to flight, & manifestly pressing, chased them with great clamor & encouragement of their owne, to the Shoare. And the Sea-forces making to the E Shore, some one way, and some another, except only such as were

The diversity of passion  
in them that beheld the  
fight from the Shoare.

The *Athenians* flye.

A were lost by being far from it, escaped into the Harbour. And the Army that was vpon the Land, no longer now of different passions, with one and the same vehemence, all with shrikes and sighes, vnable to sustaine what befell, ran part to saue the Gallies, part to the defence of the Campe, and the residue, who were far the greatest number, fell presently to consider euery one of the best way to saue himselfe. And this was the time, wherein of all other, they stood in greatest feare, and they suffered now, the like to what they had made others to suffer before at *Pylus*. For B the *Lacedæmonians* then, besides the losse of their Fleet, lost the men which they had set ouer into the Iland, and the *Athenians* now (without some accident not to be expected) were out of all hope to saue themselves by Land. After this cruell battell, and many Gallies and men on either side consumed, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates hauing the victory, tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of their dead, and returning into the City, erected a Trophy. But the *Athenians*, in respect of the greatnesse of their present losse, neuer thought vpon asking leaue to take vp their dead or wreck, C but fell immediately to consultation how to be gone the same night. And *Demosthenes* comming vnto *Nicias*, deliuered his opinion, for going once againe aboard, and forcing the passage, if it were possible, betimes the next morning; saying that their Gallies which were yet remaining, and seruiceable, were more then those of the Enemy. (for the *Athenians* had yet left them about 60, and the *Syracusians* vnder 50.) But when *Nicias* approued the aduice, and would haue manned out the Gallies, the Mariners refused to goe aboard, as being not onely deiected with their defeat, but also without opinion of euer hauing the vpper D hand any more. Whereupon they now resolued all, to make their retreat by Land. But *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse* suspecting their purpose, and apprehending it as a matter dangerous, that so great an Army going away by Land, and sitting downe in some part or other of *Sicily*, should there renewe the War, repayed vnto the Magistrates, and admonished them, that it was not fit through negligence, to suffer the Enemy in the night time to goe their wayes, (allegding what he thought best to the purpose) but that E all the *Syracusians* and their Confederates should goe out and fortifie in their way, and preposse all the narrow passages

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passages

The stratagem of *Hermocrates*, to hinder the escape of the *Athenians*.

pallages with a guard. Now they were all of them of the same opinion, no lesse then himselfe, and thought it fit to be done, but they conceaued withall, that the Souldier now ioyfull, and taking his ease after a fore battell, being also holiday, (for it was their day of sacrifice to *Hercules*) would not easily be brought to obey. For through excesse of ioy for the victory, they would most of them, being holiday, be drinking, and looke for any thing, rather then to be perswaded at this time to take Armes againe, and goe out. But seeing the Magistrates vpon this consideration thought it hard to be done, *Hermocrates* not preuailing, of his own head contriued this. Fearing lest the *Athenians* should passe the worst of their way in the night, and so at ease out-goe them, as soone as it grew darke, he sent certaine of his friends, and with them certaine Horsemen, to the *Athenian* Campe, who approaching so neere as to be heard speake, called to some of them to come forth, as if they had bene friends of the *Athenians* (for *Nicias* had some within that vsed to giue him intelligence) and bade them to aduise *Nicias* not to dislodge that night, for that the *Syracusians* had beset the waies, but that the next day, hauing had the leasure to furnish their Armie, they might march away. Vpon this aduertisement they abode that night, supposing it had bene without fraud. And afterwards, because they went not presently, they thought good to stay there that day also; to the end that the Souldiers might packe vp their necessities as commodiously as they could, and be gone, leauing all things else behind them, saue what was necessary for their bodies. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians*, with their land-forces, went out before them, and not only stopped vp the waies in the Countrey about, by which the *Athenians* were likely to passe, and kept a guard at the foords of brookes and riuers, but also stood embattelled to receiue and stop their Army in such places as they thought conuenient. And with their Gallies they rowed to the Harbour of the *Athenians*, and towed their Gallies away from the shore, some few whereof they burnt, as the *Athenians* themselves meant to haue done; but the rest, at their leasure, as any of them chanced in any place to driue ashore, they afterwards haled into the City. After this, when euery thing seemed vnto *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, sufficiently prepared they dislodged, being now the third day from their fight by Sea.

It

*Gylippus* goeth out with his Forces, and besets the way.

The *Athenians* march away from before *Syracuse* by Land.

A It was a lamentable departure, not onely for the particulars, as that they marched away with the losse of their whole Fleet, & that in stead of their great hopes, they had endangered both themselves and the State, but also for the dolorous obiects, which were presented both to the eye and minde of euery of them in particular, in the leauing of their Campe. For their dead lying vnburyed, when any one saw his friend on the ground, it strooke him at once, both with feare and grieve. But the liuing that were sicke or wounded, both grieued them more then the dead, and were more miserable. For with intreaties and lamentations they put them to a stand, pleading to bee taken along by whomsoeuer they saw of their fellowes or familiars, and hanging on the neckes of their Camerades, and following as farre as they were able. And when the strength of their bodies failed, that they could goe no further, with Ay-mees and imprecations, were there left. Insomuch as the whole Armie filled with teares, and irresolute, could hardly get away, though the place were hostile, and they had suffered already, and feared to suffer in the future, more then with teares could bee expressed, but hung downe their heads, and generally blamed themselves. For they seemed nothing else, but euen the people of some great City expugned by siege, and making their escape. For the whole number that marched, were no lesse, one with another, then 40000. men. Of which, not onely the ordinary sort carried euery one what he thought he should haue occasion to vse; but also the men of Armes & Horsemen, contrary to their custome, carried their victuals vnder their Armes, partly for want, & partly for distrust of their seruants, who from time to time ran ouer to the enemy, but at this time went the greatest number: and yet what they carried, was not enough to serue the turne. For not a iot more prouision was left remaining in the Campe. Neither were the sufferings of others, and that equal diuision of misery, which neuerthelesse is wont to lighten it, in that we suffer with many, at this time so much as thought light in it selfe. And the rather, because they considered from what splendor and glory which they enioyed before, into how low an estate they were now falne: For neuer *Grecian* Army so differed from it selfe. For whereas they came with a purpose to enslave others, they departed in greater feare of

N n n 2

being

being made slaues themselves, and in stead of Prayers A and Hymnes, with which they put to Sea, they went backe againe with the contrary maledictions; and where-as they came out Sea-men, they departed Land-men, and relyed not vpon their Nauall forces, but vpon their men of Armes. Neuertheless, in respect of the great danger yet hanging ouer them, these miseries seemed all but tolerable. Nicias perceiuing the Armie to be dejected, and the great change that was in it, came vp to the Rankes, and encouraged and comforted them, as far as for the present meanes he was able. And as he went from part to part, B he exalted his voyce more then euer before, both as being earnest in his exhortation, and because also he desired that the benefitor his words might reach as farre as might be.

### THE ORATION OF NICIAS to his afflicted Army.

A Thenians, and Confederates, we must hope still, euen in our present estate. Men haue beene saued ere now from greater dangers then these are. Nor ought you too much to accuse your selues, either for your losses past, or the vnderferued miseries we are now in. Euen I my selfe, that haue the aduantage of none of you in strength of body, (you see how I am in my sicknesse) nor am thought inferiour to any of you for prosperity past, either in respect of mine owne priuate person, or otherwise, am neuertheless now in as much danger as the meanest of you. And yet I haue worshipped the Gods frequently according to the Law, and liued iustly and vnblamably towards men. For which cause, my hope is still confident of the future, though these calamities, as being not according to the measure of our desert, doe indeed make me feare. But they may D perhaps cease. For both the Enemies haue already had sufficient fortune, and the Gods if any of them haue beene displeased with our Voyage, haue already sufficiently punished vs. Others haue invaded their neighbours as well as wee, and as their offence, which proceeded of humane infirmity, so their punishment also hath beene tolerable. And we haue reason now, both to hope for more fauour from the Gods, (for our case deserueth their pity rather then their hatred) and also not to despaire of our selues, seeing how good and how many men of Armes you are, marching together in order of Battell. Make account of this, that where soeuer you please to sit E downe, there presently of your selues you are a City, such as not any other

A other in Sicily can either easily sustaine, if you assault, or remoue, if you be once beaten. Now for your March, that it may be safe and orderly, looks to it your selues, making no other account any of you but what place soeuer he shall be forced to fight in, the same, if he win it, must be his Country and his Wallis. March you must with diligence, both night and day alike, for our victuall is short; and if we can but reach some amicable Territory of the Siculi, (for these are still firme to vs for feare of the Syracusians,) then you may thinke your selues secure. Let vs therefore send before to them, and bid them meete vs, and bring vs forth some supplies of victuall. B In summe, Souldiers, let me tell you, it is necessary that you be valiant; for there is no place neere, where being cowards, you can possibly be saued. Whereas if you escape thorow the Enemies at this time, you may euery one see againe what soeuer any where he most desires, and the Athenians may re-erect the great power of their City, how low soeuer false. For the men, not the Wallis, nor the empty Gallies, are the Citie.

Nicias, as he vsed this hortatiue, went withall about the Armie, and where he saw any man straggle and not march in his Ranke, he brought him about, and set him in his place. Demosthenes hauing spoken to the same or like purpose, did as much to those Souldiers vnder him; and they marched forward, those with Nicias in a square Battallion, and then those with Demosthenes in the Rere. And the men of Armes receiued those that carried the Baggage, and the other multitude, within them.

When they were come to the Foord of the Riuer Anapus, they there found certaine of the Syracusians and their Confederates embattelled against them on the banke, but D these they put to flight, and hauing wonne the passage, marched forward. But the Syracusan Horsemen lay still vpon them, and their Light-armed plyed them with their Darts in the flanke. This day the Athenians marched forty Furlongs, and lodged that night at the foot of a certaine Hill. The next day, as soone as it was light, they marched forwards, about 20 Furlongs, and descending into a certaine Champaigne ground, encamped there, with intent both to get victuall at the houses, (for the place was inhabited) and to carry water with them thence, for before E them, in the way they were to passe, for many Furlongs together there was little to bee had. But the Syracusians

The Athenians march,  
and the Syracusians assault  
them alwaies as they goe

*Syracusians* in the meane time got before them, and cut off **A** their passage with a wall. This was at a steepe Hill, on either side wherof was the Channel of a torrent with steep and rocky banks, and it is called *Acræum Lepas*. The next day the *Athenians* went on. And the Horsemen and Darters of the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, being a great number of both, pressed them so with their Horses and Darts, that the *Athenians* after long fight, were compelled to retire againe into the same Campe: But now with lesse victuall then before, because the Horsemen would suffer them no more to straggle abroad. In the morning be- **B** times they dislodged, and put themselves on their march againe, and forced their way to the Hill which the Enemy had fortified, where they found before them, the *Syracusian* Foot embattelled in great length aboue the Fortification, on the Hills side (for the place it selfe was but narrow.) The *Athenians*, comming vp assaulted the Wall, but the shot of the Enemy, who were many, and the steep- nesse of the Hill (for they could easily cast home from a- boue) making them vnable to take it, they retired againe and rested. There hapned withall some claps of Thun- **C** der, and a showre of Raine, as visually falleth out at this time of the yeere, being now neere *Autumne*, which fur- ther disheartened the *Athenians*, who thought that also this did tend to their destruction. Whilst they lay still, *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* sent part of their Army, to raise a Wall at their backs, in the way they had come, but this the *Athenians* hindred, by sending against them part of theirs. After this, the *Athenians* retiring with their whole Army into a more Champaigne ground, lodged there that night; and the next day went forward againe. And the *Syracusians* with their Darts from euery part round about, **D** wounded many of them; and when the *Athenians* charged, they retired, and when they retired, the *Syracusians* charged; and that especially vpon the hindmost, that by putting to flight a few, they might terrifie the whole Army. And for a good while the *Athenians*, in this manner withstood them, and afterwards, being gotten fife or six Furlongs forward, they rested in the Plaine; and the *Syracusians* went from them to their owne Campe.

This night it was concluded by *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, **E** seeing the miserable estate of their Army, and the want already

*Nicias* and *Demosthenes* rise in the night, and march a contrary way, *Nicias* foremost, and in order, but *Demosthenes* in the Reere, slower and more in disorder.

**A** already of all necessities, and that many of their men, in many assaults of the Enemy were wounded, to lead away the Army as farre as they possible could, not the way they purposed before, but toward the Sea, which was the contrary way to that which the *Syracusians* guarded. Now this whole iourney of the Army lay not towards *Catana*, but towards the other side of *Sicily*, *Camarina*, and *Gela*, and the Cities, as well *Grecian*, as *Barbarian*, that way. When they had made many fires accordingly, they marched in the night, and (as visually it falleth out in all Armies, and **B** most of all in the greatest, to be subiect to affright and ter- rour, especially marching by night, and in hostile ground, and the enemy neere) were in confusion. The Army of *Nicias* leading the way, kept together and got farre afore, but that of *Demosthenes*, which was the greater halfe, was both seuered from the rest, and marched more disorderly. Neuerthelesse, by the morning betimes they got to the Sea side, and entring into the *Helorine* way, they went on towards the Riuer *Cacyparis*, to the end when they came thither to march vpwards along the Riuer side, through **C** the heart of the Countrey. For they hoped that this way, the *Siculi* to whom they had sent, would meet them. When they came to the Riuer, here also they found a certaine guard of the *Syracusians*, stopping their passage with a Wall, and with Pyles. When they had quickly forced this guard, they passed the Riuer, and againe marched on, to another Riuer called *Erineus*, for that was the way which the Guides directed them. In the meane time the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, as soone as day ap- peared, and that they knew the *Athenians* were gone, most **D** of them accusing *Gylippus*, as if he had let them go with his consent, followed them with speed the same way, which they easily vnderstood they were gone, and about dinner time ouertooke them. When they were come vp to those with *Demosthenes*, who were the hindmost, and had marched more slowly and disorderly then the other part had done, as hauing been put into disorder in the night, they fell vpon them, and fought. And the *Syracusian* Horsemen hemmed them in, and forced them vp into a narrow compasse, the more easily now, because they were **E** diuided from the rest. Now the Army of *Nicias* was gone by this time 150 Furlongs further on. For he led away

*Demosthenes* ouertaken by the enemy, resisteth as long as he can, and is taken.

away the faster, because he thought not that their safety **A** consisted in staying and fighting voluntarily, but rather in a speedy retreat, and then onely fighting when they could not choose. But *Demosthenes* was both in greater, and in more continuall toyle, in respect that he marched in the Reere, and consequently was pressed by the Enemy. And seeing the *Syracusians* pursuing him, he went not on, but put his men into order to fight, till by his stay he was encompassed, and reduced, he and the *Athenians* with him into great disorder. For being shut vp, within a place enclosed round with a Wall, and which on either side had a **B** way open, amongst abundance of Oliue trees, they were charged from all sides at once with the Enemies shot. For the *Syracusians* assaulted them in this kind, and not in close battell, vpon very good reason. For to hazzard battell against men desperate, was not so much for theirs, as for the *Athenians* aduantage. Besides, after so manifest successles, they spared themselves somewhat, because they were loth to weare themselves out before the end of the businesse, and thought by this kind of fight, to subdue and take them alieue. Whereupon, after they had plyed the *Athenians* & their Confederates, all day long from euery side **C** with shot, and saw that with their wounds, and other annoyance, they were already tired; *Gylippus*, and the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, first made Proclamation, that if any of the Ilanders would come ouer to them, they should be at liberty; And the men of some few Cities went ouer. And by and by after they made agreement with all the rest, that were with *Demosthenes*, That they should deliuer vp their Armes, and none of them be put to death, neither violently, nor by bonds, nor by want of the necessities of **D** life. And they all yeilded, to the number of 2000 men, and the siluer they had, they laid it all downe, casting it into the hollow of Targets, and filled with the same, foure Targets. And these men, they carried presently into the Citie.

*Nicias* and those that were with him attained the same day to the Riuer *Erineus*, which passing, he caused his Armie to sit downe vpon a certaine ground more eleuate then the rest; where the *Syracusians* the next day ouertooke and told him, That those with *Demosthenes* had yeilded **E** themselves, and willed him, to do the like. But he, not beleeuing

*Demosthenes* yeilded.

**A** beleeuing it, tooke Truce for a Horseman to enquire the truth. Vpon returne of the Horseman, and word that they had yeilded, he sent a Herald to *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians*, saying, That he was content to compound on the part of the *Athenians*, to repay whatsoeuer money the *Syracusians* had laid out, so that his Army might be suffered to depart. And that till payment of the money were made, he would deliuer them Hostages, *Athenians*, euery Hostage rated at a Talent. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* refusing the condition, charged them, and hauing hemmed them in, **B** plyed them with shot, as they had done the other Army, from euery side, till euening. This part of the Armie was also pinched with the want both of victuall and other necessities. Neuerthelesse obseruing the quiet of the night, they were about to march. But no sooner tooke they their Armes vp, then the *Syracusians* perceiuing it, gaue the Alarme. Whereupon the *Athenians* finding themselves discouered, sate downe againe; all but 300, who breaking by force through the guards, marched as farre as they could that night. And *Nicias* when it was day, led **C** his Army forward, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates still pressing them in the same manner, shooting and darting at them from euery side. The *Athenians* hastened to get the Riuer *Asinarus*, not onely because they were vrged on euery side by the assault of the many Horsemen, and other multitude, and thought to be more at ease when they were ouer the Riuer, but out of wearinesse also, and desire to drinke. When they were come vnto the Riuer, they rushed in without any order, euery man struiuing who should first get ouer. But the pressing of the Enemy, made the **D** passage now more difficult. For being forced to take the Riuer in heaps; they fell vpon and trampled one another vnder their feet; and falling amongst the Speares, and ventiles of the Armie, some perished presently, and others catching hold one of another, were carried away together downe the streame. And not only the *Syracusians* standing along the farther banke being a steepe one, killed the *Athenians* with their shot from aboue, as they were many of them greedily drinking, and troubling one another in the hollow of the Riuer; but the *Peloponnesians* came also **E** downe, and slew them with their Swords, and those especially that were in the Riuer. And suddenly the

The offer of *Nicias* to redeeme his army, not accepted.

Ooo

water

water was corrupted. Neuertheless they drunke it, foule A  
as it was, with blood and mire, and many also fought for  
it. In the end, when many dead lay heaped in the Riuer,  
and the Armie was vtterly defeated, part at the Riuer, and  
part (if any gat away) by the Horsemen, *Nicias* yeelded  
himselfe vnto *Gylippus*, (hauing more confidence in him  
then in the *Syracusians*) To be for his owne person at the discre-  
tion of him and the *Lacedæmonians*, and no further slaughter to  
be made of the Souldiers. *Gylippus* from thenceforth comman-  
ded to take prisoners. So the residue, except such as were  
hidden from them (which were many) they carried aliue B  
into the Citie. They sent also to pursue the 300. which  
brake through their guards in the night, and tooke them.  
That which was left together of this Armie, to the pub-  
like, was not much; but they that were conueyed away  
by stealth were very many: and all *Sicily* was filled with  
them, because they were not taken, as those with *Demosthenes*  
were, by composition. Besides, a great part of these  
were slaine; for the slaughter at this time was exceeding  
great, none greater in all the *Sicilian* Warre. They were  
also not a few that dyed in those other assaults in their C  
March. Neuertheless many also escaped, some then pre-  
sently, and some by running away after seruitude, the Ren-  
dez-vous of whom was *Catana*.

The *Syracusians* and their Confederates, being come to-  
gether, returned with their prisoners, all they could get,  
and with the spoile, into the Citie. As for all other the  
prisoners of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, they put  
them into the \* *Quarries*, as the safest custodie. But *Nicias*  
and *Demosthenes* they killed, against *Gylippus* his will. For  
*Gylippus* thought the victory would be very honourable, if D  
ouer and aboue all his other successe, he could carry home  
both the Generals of the Enemy to *Lacedæmon*. And it  
fell out, that the one of them, *Demosthenes*, was their great-  
est Enemy, for the things he had done in the \* *Iland*, and  
at *Pylus*; and the other, vpon the same occasion, their great-  
est friend; For *Nicias* had earnestly laboured to haue  
those prisoners which were taken in the *Iland*, to bee set at  
liberty, by perswading the *Athenians* to the Peace. For  
which cause the *Lacedæmonians* were inclined to loue him.  
And it was principally in confidence of that, that he ren- E  
dred himselfe to *Gylippus*. But certaine *Syracusians*, (as it is  
repor-

\* A. B. C. uis.

\* Spinastris.

A reported) some of them for feare (because they had beene  
tampering with him) lest being put to the torture, hee  
might bring them into trouble, whereas now they were  
well enough; and others (especially the *Corinthians*) sea-  
ring he might get away by corruption of one or other, (be-  
ing wealthy) and worke them some mischief afresh, ha-  
uing perswaded their Confederates to the same, killed him.  
For these, or for causes neere vnto these, was hee put to  
death, being the man that of all the *Grecians* of my time,  
had least deserued to be brought to so great a degree of mi-  
B sery. As for those in the *Quarries*, the *Syracusians* handled  
them at first but vngently. For in this hollow place, first  
the Sunne and suffocating ayre (being without rooffe) an-  
noyed them one way: and on the other side, the nights  
comming vpon that heate, autumnall and cold, put them,  
by reason of the alteration, into strange diseases. Especi-  
ally, doing all things for want of roome, in one and the  
same place, and the Carkasses of such as dyed of their  
wounds, or change of ayre, or other like accident, lying to-  
gether there on heaps. Also the smell was intollerable.  
C besides that they were afflicted with hunger and thirst.  
For for eight moneths together, they allowed them no  
more but to euery man a \* *Cotyle* of water by the day, and  
two *Cotiles* of Corne. And whatsoever misery is probable  
that men in such a place may suffer, they suffered. Some  
70 dayes they liued thus thronged. Afterwards, retaining  
the *Athenians*, and such *Sicilians* and *Italians* as were of the  
Army with them, they sold the rest. How many were  
taken in all, it is hard to say exactly; but they were 7000  
at the fewest. And this was the greatest action that hap-  
D ned in all this Warre, or at all, that we haue heard of a-  
mongst the *Grecians*, being to the Victors most glorious,  
and most calamitous to the vanquished. For being whol-  
ly ouercome, in euery kinde, and receiuing small losse in  
nothing, their Army, and Fleet, and all that euer they had,  
perished (as they vse to say) with an vniuersall de-  
struction. Few of many returned home. And  
thus passed the businesse concer-  
ning *Sicily*.

\* A small measure, about  
half our Pynt.





THE  
EIGHTH BOOK  
OF THE HISTORIE  
OF THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

- The Revolt of the Athenian Confederates, and the Offers made by Tisſaphernes, and Pharnabazus, the Kings Lieutenants of the lower Asia, draw the Lacedæmonians to the Warre in Ionia, and Hellespont. First in Ionia; and the Prouinces of Tisſaphernes, who by the Councell of Alcibiades, and conuincence of Altyochus, hindereth their proceedings. Alcibiades in the meane while to make way for his returne into his countrey, giueth occasion of sedition about the gouernment, whence ensued the authority of the 400, vnder the pretext of the 5000; the recalling of Alcibiades by the Army; and at length by his countenance the deposing againe of the 400, and end of the Sedition. But in the meane time they lose Eubœa. Mindarus, Successor of Altyochus, finding himselfe abused by Tisſaphernes, carrieth the Warre to Pharnabazus, into Hellespont, and there presently loseth a Battell to the Athenians before Abydus, being then Summer, and the 21 yeere of the Warre.*

**W**hen the newes was told at Athens, they beleueed not a long time, though it were plainly related, and by those very Souldiers that escaped from the defeat it selfe, that all was so vtterly lost, at it was. When they knew it, they were mightily offended with the Orators that furthered the Voyage, as if they themselues had neuer decreed it, They were angry also with those that gaue out *Prophecies*, and with the Soothsayers,

The feare and sorrow of the Athenians vpon the hearing of the newes.

Soothsayers, and with whosoever else had at first by any A  
 divination put them into hope that *Sicily* should be subdued. Every thing, from every place, grieved them; and  
 feare and astonishment, the greatest that ever they were  
 in, beset them round. For they were not onely grieved  
 for the losse which both every man in particular, and the  
 whole City sustained, of so many men of Armes, Horse-  
 men, and serviceable men, the like whereof they saw was  
 not left, but seeing they had neither Gallies in their Ha-  
 uen, nor money in their Treasure, nor furniture in their  
 Gallies, were even desperate at that present of their B  
 safety, and thought the Enemy out of *Sicily*, would come  
 forthwith with their Fleet into *Piræus*, (especially after  
 the vanquishing of so great a Navy) and that the Enemy  
 here would surely now, with double preparation in every  
 kinde, presse them to the utmost, both by Sea and Land,  
 and be aided therein by their revolting Confederates. Ne-  
 verthelesse, as farre as their meanes would stretch, it was  
 thought best to stand it out, and getting materials and mo-  
 ney where they could have it, to make ready a Nauie, and  
 to make sure of their Confederates, especially those of C  
*Eubæa*; and to introduce a greater frugality in the Citie,  
 and to erect a Magistracie of the elder sort, as occasion  
 should be offered, to praconsult of the businesse that pas-  
 sed. And they were ready, in respect of their present  
 feare, (as is the Peoples fashion) to order every thing a-  
 right. And as they resolved this, so they did it. And the  
 Summer ended.

The Athenians resolve to  
 stand it out.

The end of the nine-  
 teenth Summer.

The Grecians take part all  
 of them against the A-  
 thenians.

The Winter following, vpon the great overthrow of  
 the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, all the *Grecians* were presently vp a-  
 gainst them. Those who before were Confederates of D  
 neither side, thought fit no longer, though vncalled, to  
 abstaine from the Warre, but to goe against the *Athenians*  
 of their owne accord, as hauing not onely enery one seue-  
 rally this thought, that had the *Athenians* prospered in *Si-  
 cily*, they would afterwards haue come vpon them also,  
 but imagined withall, that the rest of the Warre would be  
 but short, whereof it would be an honour to participate.  
 And such of them as were Confederates of the *Lacedæmo-  
 nian*, longed now more then ever, to be freed as soone as  
 might be of their great toyle. But about all, the Cities E  
 subiect to the *Athenians*, were ready, even beyond their a-  
 bility,

A bility, to reuolt, as they that iudged according to their pas-  
 sion, without admitting reason in the matter, that the next  
 Summer they were to remaine with victory. But the *Lacedæ-  
 monians* themselues tooke heart, not onely from all  
 this, but also principally from that, that their Confede-  
 rates in *Sicily*, with great power, hauing another Navy  
 now necessarily added to their owne, would in all likeli-  
 hood be with them in the beginning of the Spring. And  
 being every way full of hopes, they purposed without de-  
 lay to fall close to the Warre; making account, if this  
 B were well ended, both to be free hereafter from any more  
 such dangers as the *Athenians*, if they had gotten *Sicily*,  
 would haue put them into, and also hauing pulled them  
 downe, to haue the principality of all *Greece*, now secure  
 vnto themselues.

The hopes of the Lacedæ-  
 monians.

Whereupon *Agis* their King went out with a part of  
 his Armie the same Winter from *Decelea*, and leuied mo-  
 ney amongst the Confederates, for the building of a Navy.  
 And turning into the *Melian* Gulfe vpon an old grudge,  
 tooke a great Booty from the *Oetæans*, which hee made  
 C money of, and forced those of *Phiotis*, being *Achaians*, and  
 others in those parts, Subiects to the *Thessalians*, (the *Thes-  
 salians* complaining, and vnwilling) to giue him Hostages,  
 and Money. The Hostages he put into *Corinth*, and en-  
 deuoured to draw them into the League.

*Agis* leuieeth money.

And the *Lacedæmonians* imposed vpon the States confe-  
 derate, the charge of building 100 Gallies, [that is to say]  
 on their owne State, and on the *Boeotians*, each 25. On the  
*Phocæans* and *Locrians*, 15. On the *Corinthians*, 15. On the  
*Arcadians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Pelienians*, 10. And on the *Mega-  
 reans*, *Træzenians*, and *Hermionians*, 10. And put all things  
 D else in readinesse, presently with the Spring to beginne  
 the Warre.

The *Lacedæmonians* ap-  
 point a Fleet of 100.  
 Gallies, to be made rea-  
 dy amongst the Cities of  
 League.

The *Athenians* also made their preparations, as they had  
 designed, hauing gotten Timber, and built their Nauie  
 this same Winter, and fortified the Promontory of *Sunium*,  
 that their Corne-boats might come about in safety. Also  
 they abandoned the Fort in *Lazonia*, which they had built  
 as they went by for *Sicily*. And generally where there  
 appeared expence vpon any thing vnusefull, they con-  
 E tracted their charge.

The *Athenians* build their  
 Navy, and contract their  
 charges.

Whilest they were on both sides doing thus, there came  
 vnto

The *Eubæans* offer to re-  
 uolt to *Agis*.

unto *Agis*, about their revolt from the *Athenians*, first the *A* Ambassadors of the *Eubæans*. Accepting the motion, he sent for *Alcarnenes* the sonne of *Sibnelaidas*, and for *Melanthon*, from *Lacedæmon*, to goe Commanders into *Eubæa*. Whom, when he was come to him, with about 300 freedmen, he was now about to send ouer. But in the meane time came the *Lesbians*, they also desiring to revolt, and by the meanes of the *Bæotians*, *Agis* changed his former resolution, and prepared for the revolt of *Lesbos*, deferring that of *Eubæa*, and assigned them *Alcarnenes*, the same that should haue gone into *Eubæa*, for their Gouvernour. And the *Bæotians* promised them tenne Gallies, and *Agis* other tenne. Now this was done, without acquainting therewith the State of *Lacedæmon*. For *Agis*, as long as he was about *Decelea* with the power he had, had the Law in his owne hands, to send what Armie, and whither he listed, and to leuy men and mony at his pleasure. And at this time, the Confederates of him (as I may call them) did better obey him, then the Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians* did them at home. For hauing the power in his hands, he was terrible wherefoeuer he came. *C* And he was now for the *Lesbians*. But the *Chians* and *Erythreans*, they also desiring to revolt, went not to *Agis*, but to the *Lacedæmonians* in the City, and with them went also an Ambassadour from *Tissaphernes*, Lieutenant to King *Darius* in the low Countries of *Asia*. For *Tissaphernes* also instigated the *Peloponnesians*, and promised to pay their Fleet. For he had lately begged of the King the Tribute accruing in his owne Prouince, for which he was in arreare, because he could receiue nothing out of any of the *Greeke Cities*, by reason of the *Athenians*. And therefore *D* he thought by weakning the *Athenians*, to receiue his Tribute the better, and withall to draw the *Lacedæmonians* into a League with the King, and thereby, as the King had commanded, to kill or take aliue *Amorges*, *Pissutibes* his bastard sonne, who was in rebellion against him about *Caria*. The *Chians* therefore and *Tissaphernes*, followed this businesse ioyntly.

*Caligetus* the sonne of *Laopbon*, a *Magarean*, and *Timagoras* the sonne of *Athenagoras*, a *Cyzicene*, both banished their owne Cities, and abiding with *Pharnabazus* the sonne of *E* *Pharnaces* came also about the same time to *Lacedæmon*, sent by

The *Lesbians* offer to revolt to *Agis*.

The *Chians* and *Erythreans* desire to revolt.

*Tissaphernes* Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, laboureth to haue the *Lacedæmonians* come vnto him.

*Pharnabazus* Lieutenant of *Helyseus*, laboureth the like for himselfe.

*A* by *Pharnabazus*, to procure a Fleet for the *Hellepont*, that he also, if he could, might cause the *Athenian Cities* in his Prouince to revolt for his Tributes sake, and be the first to draw the *Lacedæmonians* into league with the King. But the same things that were desired before by *Tissaphernes*. Now *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes* treating apart, there was great canuassing at *Lacedæmon*, betweene the one side, that perswaded to send to *Ionis* and *Chius*, and the other, that would haue the Armie and Fleet goe first into the *Hellepont*. But the *Lacedæmonians* indeed approved best by much *B* of the businesse of the *Chians*, and of *Tissaphernes*. For with these cooperated *Alcibiades*, hereditary Guest and friend of *Endius*, the *Ephore* of that yeere, in the highest degree; in so much as in respect of that guesthood, *Alcibiades* his family received a *Laconique* name. For *Endius* was called *Endius* \* *Alcibiadis*. Neuerthelesse the *Lacedæmonians* sent first one *Phrynus*, a man of those parts, to *Chius*, to see if the Gallies they had, were so many as they reported, and whether the Citie were otherwise so sufficient as it was said to be. And when the messenger brought backe word *C* that all that had beene said, was true, they received both the *Chians* and the *Erythreans* presently into their League, and decreed to send them forty Gallies, there being at *Chius*, from such places as the *Chians* named, no lesse then 60 already. And of these at first they were about to send out tenne, with *Melaneridas* for Admirall; but afterwards, vpon occasion of an Earthquake, for *Melaneridas* they sent *Chalcideus*, and in stead of tenne Gallies, they went about the making ready of fife onely, in *Laconia*. So the Winter ended, and nineteenth yeere of this Warre, written *D* by *Thucydides*.

In the beginning of the next Summer, because the *Chians* pressed to haue the Gallies sent away, and feared lest the *Athenians* should get notice what they were doing, (for all their Ambassadors went out by stealth) the *Lacedæmonians* send away to *Corinth* three *Spartans*, to will them with all speed to transport their Gallies ouer the *Isthmus*, to the other Sea towards *Athens*, and to goe all to *Chius*, as well those which *Agis* had made ready to goe to *Lesbos*, as the rest. The number of the Gallies of the League, which *E* were then there, being forty wanting one.

But *Calligetus* and *Timagoras*, who came from *Pharnabazus*,  
P p p

\* The name of *Endius* here is from *Alcibiades*, in whom *Chians* and *Erythreans* put that name, because of *Alcibiades* his name.

THE TWENTIETH YEERE.  
The *Lacedæmonians* send to *Corinth*, to hasten away the Fleet to *Chius*.

As it pertains to Gallies  
of the

The Confederates in  
councell at Corinth set  
downe an order for the  
Warre following, with  
which to beginne, and  
which to follow.

*bazus*, would haue no part in this Fleet that went for *Achius*, nor would deliuer the Money, \* twenty five Talents, which they had brought with them to pay for their setting forth, but made account to goe out with another Fleet afterwards by themselves.

When *Agis* saw that the *Lacedaemonians* meant to send first to *Chius*, he resolued not of any other course himselfe, but the Confederates assembling at *Corinth*, went to counsell vpon the matter, and concluded thus, That they should goe first to *Chius*, vnder the command of *Chalcidius* who was making ready the five Gallies in *Laconia*; And then, *B* to *Lesbos*, vnder the charge of *Alcamenes*, intended also to be sent thither by *Agis*; and lastly into *Hellepont*, in which voyage they ordained that *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias* should haue the Command; and concluded to carry ouer the *Isthmus*, first the one halfe of their Gallies, and that those should presently put to Sea, that the *Athenians* might haue their mindes more vpon those, then on the other halfe to bee transported afterwards. For they determined to passe that Sea openly, contemning the weaknesse of the *Athenians*, in respect they had not any Navy of importance yet appearing. As they resolued, so presently they carried ouer one and twenty Gallies. But when the rest *C* vrged to put to Sea, the *Corinthians* were vnwilling to goe along, before they should haue ended the celebration of the *Isthmian* Holidayes, then come. Heerevpon *Agis* was content that they for their parts should obserue the *Isthmian* Truce; and he therefore to take the Fleet vpon himselfe as his owne.

The Athenians vnderstand  
the purpose of the Chians  
to revolt.

But the *Corinthians* not agreeing to that, and the time passing away, the *Athenians* got intelligence the easilier *D* of the practice of the *Chians*, and sent thither *Aristocrates*, one of their Generals, to accuse them of it. The *Chians* denying the matter, hee commanded them, for their better credit, to send along with him some Gallies for their ayde, due by the League; and they sent seven. The cause why they sent these Gallies, was the *Many* not acquainted with the practice, and the *Few* and conscious not willing to vndergoe the enmity of the multitude, without hauing strength first, and their not expecting any longer the comming of the *Lacedaemonians*, because they *E* had so long delayed them.

In

The Athenians desire of  
Peloponnesians Gallies in  
Piræus, a desert Haven  
and there besiege the

*A* In the meane time, the *Isthmian* Games were celebrating, and the *Athenians* (for they had word sent them of it) came and saw; and the businesse of the *Chians* grew more apparent. After they went thence, they tooke order presently, that the Fleet might not passe from *Cenchrea* vndiscouered. And after the Holidayes were ouer, the *Corinthians* put to Sea for *Chius*, vnder the conduct of *Alcamenes*. And the *Athenians* at first, with equall number came vp to them, and endeououred to draw them out into the maine Sea. But seeing the *Peloponnesians* followed not farre, but *B* turned another way, the *Athenians* went also from them. For the seven Gallies of *Chius*, which were part of this number, they durst not trust. But afterwards hauing manned thirty seven others, they gaue chase to the Enemy by the shore, and draue them into *Piræus*, in the Territorie of *Corinth*, (this *Piræus* is a desert Haven, and the vtmost vpon the Confines of *Epidauria*.) One Gallie that was farre from Land, the *Peloponnesians* lost, the rest they brought together into the Haven. But the *Athenians* charging them by Sea with their Gallies, and withall setting their men aland, mightily troubled and disordered them, *C* brake their Gallies vpon the shore, and slew *Alcamenes* their Commander. And some they lost of their owne.

The fight being ended, they assigned a sufficient number of Gallies to lye opposite to those of the Enemy, and the rest to lye vnder a little Island, not farre off, in which also they encamped, and sent to *Athens* for supply. For the *Peloponnesians* had with them for ayde of their Gallies, the *Corinthians* the next day, and not long after, diuers others *D* of the Inhabitants thereabouts. But when they considered that the guarding of them in a desert place would be painefull, they knew not what course to take, and once they thought to haue set the Gallies on fire; but it was concluded afterwards to draw them to the Land, and guard them with their Land-men, till some good occasion should bee offered for their escape. And *Agis* also, when he heard the newes, sent vnto them *Thermon*, a *Spartan*.

The *Lacedaemonians* hauing beene aduertised of the departure of these Gallies from the *Isthmus*, (for the *Ephores* *E* had commanded *Alcamenes*, when he put to Sea, to send him

The voyage of Chalcidius  
and Alcibiades to Chius.

word by a Horseman) were minded presently to haue sent away the five Gallies also that were in *Laconia*, and *Chalcidius* the Commander of them, and with him *Alcibiades*; but afterwards, as they were ready to goe out, came the newes of the Gallies chased into *Peiræus*: which so much discouraged them, in respect they stumbled in the very entrance of the *Ionique* Warre, that they purposed now, not onely not to send away those Gallies of their owne, but also to call backe againe some of those that were already at Sea.

When *Alcibiades* saw this, he dealt with *Endius*, and the rest of the *Ephores* againe, not to feare the Voyage, alleging that they would make haste, and be there before the *Chians* should haue heard of the misfortune of the Fleet. And that as soone as he should arriue in *Ionia* himselfe, he could easily make the Cities there to reuolt, by declaring vnto them the weaknesse of the *Athenians*, and the diligence of the *Lacedæmonians*, wherein he should be thought more worthy to bee believed then any other. Moreouer to *Endius* hee said, that it would be an honour in particular to him, that *Ionia* should reuolt, and the King be made Confederate to the *Lacedæmonians*, by his owne meanes, and not to haue it the mastery of *Agis*, for he was at difference with *Agis*. So, hauing preuailed with *Endius* and the other *Ephores*, he tooke Sea with 5 Gallies, together with *Chalcidius* of *Lacedæmon*, and made haste.

About the same time, came backe from *Sicily* those 16 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, which hauing ayded *Gylippus* in that Warre, were intercepted by the way, about *Leucadia*, and euill intreated by twenty feuen Gallies of *Athens*, that watched thereabouts, vnder the command of *Hippocles* the sonne of *Menippus*, for such Gallies as should returne out of *Sicily*. For all the rest, sauing one, auoyding the *Athonians*, were arriued in *Corinth* before.

*Chalcidius* and *Alcibiades*, as they sayled, kept prisoner euery man they met with by the way, to the end that notice might not be giuen of their passage, and touching first at *Corycus* in the Continent, where they also dismissed those whom they had apprehended, after conference there with some of the Conspirators of the *Chians*, that aduised them to goe to the Citie, without sending them word before, they came vpon the *Chians* suddenly and v unexpected.

put

Sixteene Gallies of Peloponnesians intercepted, and hardly handled, in their returne from Sicily, by the Athenians, at time in Corinth.

put the *Commons* into much wonder and astonishment, but the *Few* had so ordered the matter beforehand, that an Assembly chanced to be holden at the same time. And when *Chalcidius*, and *Alcibiades* had spoken in the same, and told them that many Gallies were comming to them, but not that those other Gallies were besieged in *Peiræus*, the *Chians* first, and afterwards the *Erythreans*, reuolted from the *Athenians*.

After this, they went with three Gallies to *Clazomenæ*, and made that City to reuolt also. And the *Clazomenians* presently crossed ouer to the Continent, and there fortified *Polichna*, least they should need a retyring place, from the little Island wherein they dwelt. The rest also, all that had reuolted, fell to fortifying, and making of preparation for the Warre.

This newes of *Chius* was quickly brought to the *Athenians*, who conceiuing themselves to be now beset with great and euident danger, and that the rest of the Confederates, seeing so great a City to reuolt, would be no longer quiet, in this their present feare, decreed that those \* 10000 Talents, which through all this Warre, they had affected to keepe vntouched, forthwith abrogating the punishment ordained for such, as spake or gaue their suffrages to stirre it, should now be vsed, and therewith Gallies, not a few, manned. They decreed also to send thither out of hand, vnder the command of *Strombichides* the sonne of *Diotimus*, 8 Gallies, of the number of those that besieged the Enemy at *Peiræus*, the which, hauing forsaken their charge to giue chase to the Gallies that went with *Chalcidius*, and not able to ouertake them, were now returned, and shortly after also to send *Thrafiletes* to help the with 12 Gallies more, which also had departed from the same guard vpon the Enemy. And those 7 Gallies of *Chius*, which likewise kept watch at *Peiræus* with the rest, they fetched from thence, and gaue the bondmen that serued in them their liberty, and the chaynes to those that were free. And in stead of all those Gallies, that kept guard vpon the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, they made ready other with all speed in their places, besides 30 more which they intended to furnish out afterwards. Great was their diligence, and nothing was of light importance, that they went about for the recovery of *Chius*.

Strom-

Chius and Erythreans.

Clazomenians reuolted.

The Athenians abrogate the decree touching the 10000 Talents reserved for the extremities of State, and furnish out a Fleet with the money. \* 107500 pounds sterling.

*Strombichides* in the meane time arriued at *Samos*, and taking into his company, one *Samian* Gally, went thence to *Teus*, and entreated them not to stirre. But towards *Teus*, was *Chalcideus* also comming with 23 Gallies from *Chius*, and with him also the Land-forces of the *Clazomenians*, and *Erythraens*, whereof *Strombichides* hauing been aduertized, he put forth againe, before his arriual, and standing off at Sea, when he saw the many Gallies that came from *Chius*, he fled towards *Samos*, they following him. The Land-forces, the *Teans* would not at the first admit, but after this flight of the *Athenians*, they brought them in. And these for the most part held their hands for a while, expecting the returne of *Chalcideus* from the chase; but when he stayed somewhat long, they fell of themselves to the demolishing of the wall built about the Citie of *Teus*, by the *Athenians*, towards the Continent; wherein they were also helped by some few *Barbarians* that came downe thither, vnder the leading of *Tages*, Deputy Lieutenant of *Tissaphernes*.

*Chalcideus*, and *Alcibiades*, when they had chased *Strombichides* into *Samos*, armed the Mariners that were in the Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and left them in *Chius*, in stead of whom they manned with Mariners of *Chius*, both those, and 20 Gallies more, and with this Fleet they went to *Miletus*, with intent to cause it to reuolt. For the intention of *Alcibiades*, that was acquainted with the principall *Milefians*, was to preuent the Fleet which was to come from *Peloponnesus*, and to turne these Cities first, that the honour of it might be ascribed to the *Chians*, to himselfe, to *Chalcideus*, and (as he had promised) to *Endius*, that set them out, as hauing brought most of the Cities to reuolt, with the Forces of the *Chians* onely, and of those Gallies that came with *Chalcideus*. So these, for the greatest part of their way vndiscovered, and arriuing, not much sooner then *Strombichides*, and *Thrasycles*, (who now chancing to be present with those 12 Gallies from *Athens*, followed them with *Strombichides*) caused the *Milefians* to reuolt. The *Athenians* following them at the heeles with 19 Gallies, being shut out by the *Milefians*, lay at Anchor at *Lada*, an Iland ouer against the City.

Presently vpon the reuolt of *Miletus*, was made the first League

A League betweene the King, and the *Lacedæmonians* by *Tissaphernes* and *Chalcideus*, as followeth.

The *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, haue made a League with the King and *Tissaphernes*, on these Articles.

Whatsoeuer Territory or Cities the King possesseth, and his Ancestors haue possessed, the same are to remaine the Kings.

Whatsoeuer money or other profit redounded to the *Athenians* from their Cities, the King, and the *Lacedæmonians* are ioyntly to binder, so as the *Athenians* may receiue nothing from thence,

B neither money nor other thing.

The King and the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, are to make ioynt Warre against the *Athenians*. And without consent of both parts, it shall not be lawfull to lay downe the Warre against the *Athenians*, neither for the King, nor for the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates.

If any shall reuolt from the King, they shall be enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates. And if any shall reuolt from the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, they shall in like manner be enemies to the King.

C This was the League.

Presently after this, the *Chians* set out ten Gallies more, and went to *Anæa*, both to hearken what became of the businesse at *Miletus*, and also to cause the Cities there, abouts to reuolt. But word being sent them from *Chalcideus*, to goe backe, and that *Amorges* was at hand with his Army, they went thence to the Temple of *Iupiter*. Being therethey descryed 15 Gallies more, which had beene sent out by the *Athenians* vnder the charge of *Diomedon*, after the putting to Sea of those with *Thrasycles*, vpon sight of whom they fled, one Gally to *Ephesus*, the rest towards *Teos*. Foure of them, the *Athenians* tooke, but empty, the men being gotten on Shore, the rest escaped into the City of *Teos*. And the *Athenians* went away againe towards *Samos*.

The *Chians* putting to Sea againe, with the remainder of their Fleet, and with the Land-forces, caused first *Lebedus* to reuolt, and then *Ere*. And afterwards returned, both with their Fleet and Land-men, euery one to his owne.

E About the same time, the twenty Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, which the *Athenians* had formerly chased into *Peiræus*, and

League betweene *Tissaphernes* and the *Lacedæmonians*.

*Lebedus* and *Ere* reuolt.

The *Peloponnesians* in *Teos* escape.



and against whom they now lay with a like number, suddenly forced their passage, and hauing the victory in fight, tooke foure of the *Athenian* Gallies, and going to *Cenchreae*, prepared afresh for their voyage to *Chius* and *Ionia*. At which time there came also vnto them from *Lacedaemon*, for Commander, *Astyocheus*, who was now Admirall of the whole Navy.

When the Land-men were gone from *Teos*, *Tisaphernes* himselfe came thither with his Forces, and he also demolished the Wall, as much as was left standing, and went his way againe.

Not long after the going away of him, came thither *Diomedon* with tenne Gallies of *Athens*, and hauing made a Truce with the *Teians*, that he might also bee receiued, he put to Sea againe, and kept the shore to *Ere*, and assailed it, but failing to take it, departed.

It fell out about the same time, that the Commons of *Samos*, together with the *Athenians* who were there with three Gallies, made an insurrection against the great men, and slew of them in all about two hundred. And hauing banished foure hundred more, and distributed amongst themselves their Lands and Houses, (the *Athenians* hauing now, as assured of their fidelity, decreed them their liberty) they administred the affaires of the Citie from that time forward, by themselves, no more communicating with the \* *Gesmori*, nor permitting any of the Common people to marry with them.

After this, the same Summer, the *Chians*, as they had begunne, perseuering in their earnestnesse to bring the Citie to revolt, euen without the *Lacedaemonians*, with their single forces, and desiring to make as many fellowes of their danger, as they were able, made Warre by themselves with thirteene Gallies, against *Lesbos*, (which was according to what was concluded by the *Lacedaemonians*, namely to goe thither in the second place, and thence into the *Hellepont*.) And withall, the Land-forces, both of such *Peloponnesians* as were present, and of their Confederates thereabouts, went along by them to *Clazomenae* and *Cyme*. These vnder the command of *Eualas* a *Spartan*, and the Gallies, of *Deinadas*, a man of the parts thereabouts. The Gallies putting in at *Methymna*, caused that Citie to revolt first. \*\*\*\*\*

The

A Now *Astyocheus* the *Lacedaemonian* Admirall, hauing set forth as he intended from *Cenchreae*, arriued at *Chius*. The third day after his comming thither, came *Leon* and *Diomedon* into *Lesbos*, with 25 Gallies of *Athens*; for *Leon* came with a supply of tenne Gallies more, from *Athens* afterwards. *Astyocheus* in the euening of the same day, taking with him one Gally more of *Chius*, tooke his way toward *Lesbos*, to helpe it what he could, and put in at *Pyrrha*, and the next day at *Eressus*. Here he heard that *Mitylene* was taken by the *Athenians*, euen with the shout of their voyces.

B For the *Athenians* comming v unexpected, entred the Hauen, and hauing beaten the Gallies of the *Chians*, disbarked, and ouercame those that made head against them, and wonne the Citie. When *Astyocheus* heard this, both from the *Eressians*, and from those *Chian* Gallies that came from *Methymna* with *Eubulus*, (which hauing beene left there before, as soone as *Mitylene* was lost, fled, and three of them chanced to meete with him, for one was taken by the *Athenians*) he continued his course for *Mitylene* no longer, but hauing caused *Eressus* to revolt, and armed

C the Souldiers he had aboard, made them to march toward *Antissa* and *Methymna* by Land, vnder the conduct of *Eieonicus*, and he himselfe with his owne Gallies, and those 3. of *Chius*, rowed thither along the shore, hoping that the *Methymneans*, vpon sight of his Forces, would take heart, and continue in their revolt. But when in *Lesbos* all things went against him, he imbarqued his Army, and returned to *Chios*. And the Landmen that were aboard, and should haue gone into *Hellepont*, went againe into their Citie. After this came to them fixe Gallies to *Chios*, of

D those of the Confederate Fleet at *Cenchreae*. The *Athenians*, when they had reestablished the State of *Lesbos*, went thence, and tooke *Polichna*, which the *Clazomenians* had fortified in the Continent, and brought them all backe againe into the Citie, which is in the Iland, saue onely the authors of the revolt, (for these got away to *Daphnus*) and *Clazomenae* returned to the obedience of the *Athenians*.

The same Summer, those *Athenians* that with twenty Gallies lay in the Ile of *Lada*, before *Milerus*, landing in the Territory of *Milerus*, at *Panormus*, slew *Chalcideus* the *Lacedaemonian* Commander, that came out against him but with a few, and set vp a Trophie, and the third

Q 9 9

The Athenians recover Mitylene.

Astyocheus seeing hee could doe no good at Lesbos returned to Chios.

The Athenians recover Clazomenae.

Chalcideus slayne.

day after departed. But the *Milefians* pulled downe A the Trophy, as erected where the *Athenians* were not Masters.

The *Athenians* make  
sharp war vpon *Gonos*.

*Leon* and *Diomedon*, with the *Athenian* Gallies that were at *Lesbos*, made Warre vpon the *Chians* by Sea, from the Iles called *Oinussa*, which lye before *Chius*, and from *Sidussa*, and *Pteleum* (Forts they held in *Erythraea* and from *Lesbos*. They that were aboard, were men of Armes of the Roll, compelled to serue in the Fleet. With these they landed at *Cardamyle*; and hauing ouerthrowne the *Chians* that made head, in a Battell at *Bolissus*, and slaine many of B them, they recouered from the Enemy all the places of that quarter. And againe they ouercame them in another Battell at *Phane*, and in a third at *Leuconium*. After this, the *Chians* went out no more to fight; by which meanes the *Athenians* made spoile of their Territory, excellently well furnished. For except it were the *Lacedaemonians*, the *Chians* were the onely men that I haue heard of, that had ioyned aduisednesse to prosperity, and the more their Citie increased, had carried the more respect in the administration thereof to assure it. Nor ventured they now to reuolt C (lest any man should thinke, that in this act at least they regarded not what was the safest) till they had many and strong Confederates, with whose helpe to try their fortune; nor till such time as they perceiued the People of *Athens* (as they themselves could not deny) to haue their estate, after the defeat in *Sicily*, reduced to extreme weaknesse.

Praise of the *Chians*.

And if through humane misreckoning, they miscarried in ought, they erred with many others, who in like manner had an opinion, that the State of the *Athenians* D would quickly haue beene ouerthrowne.

Being therefore shut vp by Sea, and hauing their Lands spoyled, some within undertooke to make the Citie returne vnto the *Athenians*. Which though the Magistrates perceiued, yet they themselves stirred not, but hauing receiued *Astyochus* into the City, with foure Gallies that were with him from *Erythraea*, they tooke aduice together, how by taking Hostages, or some other gentle way, to make them giue over the Conspiracy: Thus stood the businesse with the *Chians*.

In the end of this Summer (a thousand five hundred E men

A men of Armes of *Athens*, and a thousand of *Arges* (for the *Athenians* had put Armour vpon five hundred Light-armed of the *Argiues*) and of other Confederates a thousand more, with forty eight Gallies, reckoning those which were for transportation of Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Phrynichus*, *Ozomacles*, and *Scironidas*, came in to *Sancos*, and crossing ouer to *Miletus*, encamped before it. And the *Milefians* issued forth with eight hundred men of Armes of their owne, besides the *Peloponnesians* that came with *Chalcideus*, and some auxiliar strangers with *Tissaphernes*, (Tissaphernes B himselve being also there with his Cauallery) and fought with the *Athenians* and their Confederates. The *Argiues*, who made one Wing of themselves, aduancing before the rest, and in some disorder in contempt of the enemy, as being *Ionians*, and not likely to sustaine their charge, were by the *Milefians* ouercome, and lost no lesse then 300 of their men. But the *Athenians*, when they had first ouerthrowne the *Peloponnesians*, and then beaten backe the *Barbarians* and other multitude, and not fought with the *Milefians* at all, (for they, after they were come from the chase of the C *Argiues*, and saw their other Wing defeated, went into the Towne) sate downe with their Armes, as being now masters of the Field, close vnder the Wall of the Citie. It fell out in this Battell, that on both sides the *Ioniques* had the better of the *Doriques*. For the *Athenians* ouercame the opposite *Peloponnesians*, and the *Milefians* the *Argiues*. The *Athenians*, after they had erected their Trophy, the place being an *Isthmus*, prepared to take in the Towne with a Wall, supposing if they got *Miletus*, the other Citie would easily come in. In the meane time it was told them about twi-light, that the five and fifty Gallies from *Peloponnesus* and *Sicily* were hard by, and onely not already D come. For there came into *Peloponnesus* out of *Sicily*, by the instigation of *Hermocrates*, to helpe to consummate the subuersion of the *Athenian* State, twenty Gallies of *Syracuse*, and two of *Selinus*. And the Gallies that had beene preparing in *Peloponnesus* being then also ready, they were, both these and the other, committed to the charge of *Theramenes*, to bee conducted by him to *Astyochus* the Admirall. And they put in first at *Eleus*, E an Iland ouer against *Miletus*, and beeing aduertised there, that the *Athenians* lay before the Towne, they

The *Athenians* fight with  
the *Milefians*, and beeing  
to battell the Citie.

The *Athenians* rise from  
*Miletus*, vpon the coming  
of 55 Gallies from  
*Peloponnesus*.

they went from thence into the Gulfe of *Iasus*, to learne A how the affaires of the *Milesians* stood. *Alcibiades* comming a horsebacke to *Teichiussa*, of the Territory of *Miletus*, in which part of the Gulfe the *Peloponnesian* Gallies lay at Anchor, they were informed by him of the Battell; for *Alcibiades* was with the *Milesians*, and with *Tissaphernes* present in it. And he exhorted them (vnlesse they meant to lose what they had in *Ionia*, and the whole businesse) to succour *Miletus* with all speed, and not to suffer it to be taken in with a Wall. According to this they concluded to goe the next morning and relieue it. *Phrynichus*, when hee B had certaine word from *Derus*, of the arriual of those Gallies, his Colleagues aduising to stay, and fight it out with their Fleet, said, that he would neither do it himselfe, nor suffer them to doe it, or any other, as long as he could hinder it. For seeing he might fight with the hereafter, when they should know against how many Gallies of the Enemy, & with what addition to their owne, sufficiently, and at leasure made ready, they might do it; he would neuer, he said, for feare of being vpbraided with basenesse, for it was no basenesse for the *Athenians* to let their Nauy giue way C vpon occasion; but by what meanes soeuer it should fall out, it would be a great basenesse to be beaten) be swayd to hazard battell against reason, and not only to dishonour the State, but also to cast it into extreme danger. Seeing that since their late losses, it hath scarce beene fit, with their strongest preparation, willingly, no nor vrged by precedent necessity, to vndertake, how then without constraint to seeke out voluntary dangers? Therefore he commanded them with all speede to take aboard those that were wounded, and their Land men, and whatsoeuer D tentiles they brought with them but to leaue behind whatsoeuer they had taken in the territory of the Enemy, to the end that their Gallies might be the lighter, and to put off for *Samos*, and thence, when they had all their Fleete together to make out against the Enemy, as occasion should be offered.

As *Phrynichus* aduised this, so he put it in execution, and was esteemed a wise man, not then onely, but afterwards, nor in this onely, but in whatsoeuer else he had the ordering of. Thus the *Athenians* presently in the euening, with E their victory vnperfect, dislodged from before *Miletus*.  
From

A From *Samos*, the *Argines* in haste, and in anger for their ouerthrow, went home.

The *Peloponnesians* setting forth betimes in the morning from *Teichiussa*, put in at *Miletus*, and staid there one day. The next day they tooke with them those Gallies of *Chius*, which had formerly been chased together with *Chalcidians*, and meant to haue returned to *Teichiussa*, to take aboard such necessaries as they had left a Shore; But as they were going, *Tissaphernes* came to them with his Landmen, and perswaded them to set vpon *Iasus*, where *Amorges* the Kings Enemy then lay. Whereupon they assauled *Iasus* vpon a sodaine, and (they within not thinking but they had been the Fleet of the *Athenians*) tooke it. The greatest praise in this action was giuen to the *Syracusians*. Hauing taken *Amorges*, the bastard sonne of *Pissuthnes*, but a Rebelle to the King, the *Peloponnesians* deliuered him to *Tissaphernes*, to carry him, if he would, to the King, as he had order to doe. The City they pillaged, wherein, as being a place of ancient riches, the Army got a very great quantity of money. The auxiliary Souldiers of C *Amorges*, they receiued, without doing them hurt, into their owne Army, being for the most part *Peloponnesians*. The Towne it selfe they deliuered to *Tissaphernes*, with all the prisoners, as well free, as bond, vpon composition with him, at a Darique stater by the poll. And so they returned to *Miletus*. And from hence they sent *Pedarithus* the sonne of *Leon*, whom the *Lacedaemonians* had sent hither to be Gouvernour of *Chius*, to *Erythrae*, and with him, the bands that had ayded *Amorges*, by Land, and made *Phillip* Gouvernour there, in *Miletus*. And so this Summer D ended.

The next Winter *Tissaphernes*, after he had put a Garrison into *Iasus*, came to *Miletus*, and for one moneths pay, (as was promised on his part at *Lacedaemon*) he gaue vnto the Souldiers through the whole Fleet after an Attique \* Drachma a man by the day. But for the rest of the time he would pay but \* 3 oboles, till he had asked the Kings pleasure, and if the King commanded it, then he said he would pay them the full Drachma. Neuertheless vpon the contradiction of *Hermocrates* Generall of the *Syracusians* (for *Theramenes* was but slacke in exacting pay, as not being Generall, but onely to deliuer the Gallies that came

The *Peloponnesians* and *Tissaphernes*, take *Iasus*, wherein was *Amorges*, Rebelle to the King, whom they take prisoner.

The end of the 10 Summer.

\* 7 pence halfe penny, of our money.

\* 3 pence halfe penny farthing. This diminution of their stipend, proceeded from the counsell which *Alcibiades* gaue to *Tissaphernes*, as is hereafter declared.

came with him, to *Astyochus*.) It was agreed that but for A the \* five Gallies that were ouer and aboue, they should haue more then 3 oboles a man. For to 55 Gallies, he allowed three Talents a moneth, and to as many, as should be more then that number, after the same proportion.

The same Winter the *Athenians* that were at *Samos*, (for there were now come in 35 Gallies more from home, with *Charminus*, *Strombichides*, and *Euctemon*, their Commanders) hauing gathered together their Gallies, as well those that had been at *Chius*, as all the rest, concluded, distributing to euery one his charge by Lot, to goe lye before *Miletus* with B a Fleet; but against *Chius*, to send out both a Fleet, and an Army of Landmen. And they did so. For *Strombichides*, *Onomacles*, and *Euctemon*, with thirty Gallies, and part of those 1000 men of Armes that went to *Miletus*, which they caried along with them in vessels for transportation of Souldiers, according to their Lot, went to *Chius*, and the rest remaining at *Samos* with 74 Gallies, were Masters of the Sea, and went to *Miletus*.

*Astyochus*, who was now in *Chius*, requiring Hostages in respect of the Treason, after he heard of the Fleet that was come with *Theramenes*, and that the Articles of the League with *Tissaphernes* were mended, gaue ouer that business; and with 10 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and 10 of *Chius*, went thence, and assaulted *Pteleum*, but not being able to take it, he kept by the Shore to *Clazomenae*. There hee summoned those within to yeeld, with offer to such of them as fauoured the *Athenians*, that they might go vp and dwell at *Daphnus*. And *Tamos* the Deputy Lieutenant of *Ionis*, offered them the same. But they not hearkning thereunto, he made an assault vpon the Citie being vnwal- D led, but when he could not take it, he put to Sea againe, and with a mighty Wind, was himselfe carried to *Phocaea*, and *Cyme*, but the rest of the Fleet put in at *Marathusa*, *Pele*, and *Drimyssa*, Islands that lye ouer against *Clazomenae*. After they had stayed there 8 dayes in regard of the Winds, spoyling and destroying, and partly taking aboard what- soeuer goods of the *Clazomenians* lay without, they went afterwards to *Phocaea*, and *Cyme*, to *Astyochus*. While *Astyochus* was there, the Ambassadors of the *Lesbians* came vnto him, desiring to reuolt from the *Athenians*, and as for E him, they preuailed with him, but seeing the *Corinthians* and

A and the other Confederates were vnwilling, in respect of their former ill successe there, hee put to Sea for *Chius*. Whither, after a great Tempest, his Gallies, some from one place, and some from another, at length arrived all.

After this, *Pedaritus*, who was now at *Erythrae*, whither he was come from *Miletus* by Land, came ouer with his Forces into *Chius*. Besides those Forces hee brought ouer with him, he had the Souldiers which were of the five Gallies that came thither with *Chalcideus*, and were left B there to the number of five hundred, and Armour to Armethem.

Now some of the *Lesbians* hauing promised to reuolt, *Astyochus* communicated the matter with *Pedaritus* and the *Chians*, alleaging how meete it would be to goe with a Fleet, and make *Lesbos* to reuolt, for that they should eyther get more Confederates, or fayling, they should at least weaken the *Athenians*. But they gaue him no care; and for the *Chian* Gallies, *Pedaritus* told him plainly, he should haue none of them. Whereupon *Astyochus* taking with C him five Gallies of *Corinth*, a sixth of *Megara*, one of *Hermione*, and those of *Laconia* which he brought with him, went towards *Miletus* to his Charge; mightily threatning the *Chians*, in case they should neede him, not to helpe them.

When he was come to *Corycus* in *Erythrae*, hee stayed there; and the *Athenians* from *Samos* lay on the other side of the point, the one not knowing that the other was so neere. *Astyochus*, vpon a Letter sent him from *Pedaritus*, signifying that there were come certaine *Erythraean* Cap- D tivities dismissed from *Samos*, with designe to betray *Erythrae*, went presently backe to *Erythrae*, so little he missed of falling into the hands of the *Athenians*. *Pedaritus* also went ouer to him; and hauing narrowly enquired touching these seeming Traytors, and found that the whole matter was but a pretence, which the men had vsed for their escape from *Samos*, they acquitted them, and departed, one to *Chius*, the other, as hee was going before, towards *Miletus*.

In the meane time, the Army of the *Athenians* beeing E come about by Sea from *Corycus*, to *Argenum*, lighted on three long Boats of the *Chians*, which when they saw, they presently

*Astyochus*, and *Pedaritus* the Gouernour of *Chius* disagree.

The *Athenian* Gallies tof- sed with Tempest.

The Athenians offer to turne to *Astyochus*.

The Athenians offer to turne to *Astyochus*.

The Athenians offer to turne to *Astyochus*.

presently chased. But there arose a great Tempest, and the long Boats of *Chius* with much ado recovered the Harbour. But of the *Athenian* Gallies, especially such as followed them furthest, there perished three, driven ashore at the Citie of *Chius*; and the men that were aboard them, were part taken, and part slaine; the rest of the Fleet escaped into a Haven called *Phanicius*, vnder the Hill *Mimas*; from whence they got afterwards to *Lesbos*, and there fortified.

The same Winter, *Hippocrates* setting out from *Peloponnesus* with tenne Gallies of *Thurium*, commanded by *Dorieus* the sonne of *Diagoras*, with two others, and with one Gallie of *Laconia*, and one of *Syracuse*, went to *Cnidus*. This City was now revolted from *Tissaphernes*: and the *Peloponnesians* that lay at *Miletus* hearing of it, commanded that (the one halfe of their Gallies remaining for the guard of *Cnidus*) the other halfe should goe about *Triopium*, and help to bring in the Ships which were to come from *Egypt*. This *Triopium* is a Promontory of the Territory of *Cnidus*, lying out in the Sea, and consecrated to *Apollo*. The *Athenians* vpon aduertisement hercof, setting forth from *Samos*, tooke those Gallies that kept guard at *Triopium*, but the men that were in them escaped to Land. After this they went to *Cnidus*, which they assaulted, and had almost taken, being without Wall; and the next day they assaulted it againe; but being lesse able to hurt it now then before, because they had fenced it better this night, and the men also were gotten into it, that fled from their Gallies vnder *Triopium*, they invaded and wasted the *Cnidian* Territory, and so went backe to *Samos*.

About the same time, *Astyochus* being come to the Navy at *Miletus*, the *Peloponnesians* had plenty of all things for the Army. For they had not onely sufficient pay, but the Souldiers also had store of money yet remaining of the pillage of *Iasus*. And the *Milesians* underwent the Warre with a good will. Neuerthelesse the former Articles of the League made by *Chalcidens* with *Tissaphernes* seemed defectiue, and not so aduantageous to them as to him. Whereupon they agreed to new ones, in the presence of *Tissaphernes*, which were these.

E

The

A The Agreement of the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, with King *Darius* and his children, and with *Tissaphernes*, for league and amity, according to the Articles following.

Whatsoever Territories or Cities doe belong vnto King *Darius*, or were his Fathers, or his Ancestours, Against those shall neither the *Lacedæmonians* goe to make Warre, nor any way to annoy them. Neither shall the *Lacedæmonians*, nor their Confederates, exact Tribute of any of those Cities. Neither shall King *Darius*, nor any vnder his Dominion, make Warre vpon, or any way annoy the *Lacedæmonians*, or any of the *Lacedæmonian* Confederates.

B If the *Lacedæmonians* or their Confederates shall neede any thing of the King, or the King of the *Lacedæmonians*, or of their Confederates, what they shall perswade each other to doe, that if they doe it, shall be good.

They shall, both of them, make Warre ioyntly against the *Athenians* and their Confederates; And when they shall giue over the Warre, they shall also doe it ioyntly.

Whatsoever Army shall be in the Kings Countrey, sent for by the King, the King shall defray.

C If any of the Cities comprehended in the League made with the King, shall invade the Kings Territories, the rest shall oppose them, and defend the King to the utmost of their power.

If any Citie of the Kings, or vnder his Dominion, shall invade the *Lacedæmonians*, or their Confederates, the King shall make opposition, and defend them, to the utmost of his power.

After this accord made, *Theramenes* deliuered his Gallies into the hands of *Astyochus*, and putting to Sea in a Light-horseman, is no more seene.

The *Athenians* that were now come with their Armie from *Lesbos* to *Chius*, and were Masters of the Field, and of the Sea, fortified *Delphinium*, a place both strong to the Land-ward, and that had also a Harbour for Shipping, and was not farre from the Citie it selfe of *Chius*. And the *Chians*, as hauing beene disheartned in diuers former Battels, and otherwise, not onely, not mutually well affected, but iealous one of another, (for *Tydeus* and his Complices, had bin put to death by *Pedarinus* for *Anticisme*, and the rest of the City was kept in awe, but by

Rrr

force,

The second League betwene the *Lacedæmonians* and the King of *Persia*.

*Theramenes* goeth to Sea in a Light-horseman, and is cast away.

The *Chians* in distresse, send for ayde to *Astyochus*.

The *Athenians* take the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, sent to waite in the Ships of Corne from *Egypt* to *Cnidus*.

They assault the City of *Cnidus*, but cannot win it.

force, and for a time) stirred not against them. And for A the causes mentioned, not conceiving themselves, neither with their owne strength, nor with the helpe of those that *Pedaritus* had with him, sufficient to giue them battell, they sent to *Miletus*, to require aide from *Astyochnus*. Which when he denyed them, *Pedaritus* sent Letters to *Lacedæmon*, complaining of the wrong. Thus proceeded the affaires of the *Athenians* at *Chius*. Also their Fleet at *Samos* went often out, against the Fleet of the Enemy at *Miletus*; but when theirs would neuer come out of the Harbour to encounter them, they returned to *Samos*, and lay still. B

The same Winter, about the Solstice, went out from *Peloponnesus* towards *Ionis*, those 27 Gallies, which at the procurement of *Calligetis* of *Megara*, and *Timagoras* of *Cyzicus*, were made ready by the *Lacedæmonians* for *Pharnabazus*. The Commander of them was *Antisthenes* a *Spartan*, with whom the *Lacedæmonians* sent eleuen *Spartans* more, to bee of counsell with *Astyochnus*, whereof *Lichas* the sonne of *Arcefilas* was one. These had Commission, that when they should bee arrived at *Miletus*, besides their C generall care to order euery thing to the best, they should send away these Gallies, eyther the same, or more, or fewer, into the *Hellepont* to *Pharnabazus*, if they so thought fit, and and to appoint *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhampbias*, that went along in them, for Commander. And that the same eleuen, if they thought it meete, should put *Astyochnus* from his Charge, and ordaine *Antisthenes* in his place: for they had him in suspition for the Letters of *Pedaritus*.

These Gallies holding their course from *Malea* D through the maine Sea, and arriuing at *Melos*, lighted on tenne Gallies of the *Athenians*, whereof three they tooke, but without the men, and fired them.

After this, because they feared lest those *Athenian* Gallies that escaped from *Melos*, should giue notice of their comming, to those in *Samos*, (as also it fell out) they changed their course, and went towards *Crete*, and hauing made their Voyage the longer, that it might be the safer, they put in at *Cannus* in *Asia*. Now from thence, as being in a place of safety, they sent a Messenger to the Fleet E at *Miletus* for a Conuoy.

The

*Astyochnus* refuseth to ayde them, and is complained on by *Pedaritus* his Letters to the State.

The Gallies that were provided for *Pharnabazus* set forth towards *Ionis*.

*Antisthenes* and 11 other *Spartans* sent with absolute authority into *Ionis*.

They arrive at *Cannus* in *Asia*.

A The *Chians* and *Pedaritus* about the same time, notwithstanding their former repulse, and that *Astyochnus* was still backward, sent messengers to him, desiring him to come with his whole Fleet, to helpe them being besieged, and not to suffer the greatest of their Confederate Cities in all *Ionis*, to be thus shut vp by Sea, and rauaged by Land, as it was. For the *Chians* hauing many slaues, more then any one State, except that of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom for their offences they the more vngently punished because of their number, many of them, as soone as the *Athenians* appeared to be settled in their fortifications, ran ouer presently to them, and were they, that knowing the territory so well, did it the greatest spoile. Therefore the *Chians* said he must helpe them, whilest there was hope and possibility to do it. *Demophilum* being still in fortifying, and vnfurnished, and greater fences being in making, both about their Campe and Fleet; *Astyochnus* though he meant it not before, because he would haue made good his threats, yet when he saw the Confederates were willing, he was bent to haue relieved them.

But in the meane time came the messenger from the 27 C Gallies, and from the *Lacedæmonian* Counsellours, that were come to *Cannus*. *Astyochnus* therefore esteeming the waisting in of these Gallies, whereby they might the more freely command the Sea, and the safe comming in of those *Lacedæmonians*, who were to looke into his actions, a businesse that ought to be preferred before all other, presently gaue ouer his journey for *Chius*, and went towards *Cannus*.

As he went by the Coast, he landed at *Cos* *Myropidis*, being unvalled, and throwne downe by an Earth-quake, D which had hapned there, the greatest verily in mans memorie, and rifled it, the Inhabitants being fled into the Mountaines, and ouerrunning the Countrey, made bobtrie of all that came in his way, slaying of freemen, and those he dismissed. From *Cos* he went by night to *Chius*, but found it necessary, by the aduice of the *Chians*, not to land his men there, but to follow, as he was after those 27 Gallies of *Athens*, wherwith *Charminus* one of the *Athensian* Generals gone out fro *Samos*, stood watching for those 27 Gallies that were come from *Peloponnesus*, the same that *Astyochnus* himselfe was going to conuoy in. For they at *Samos* had had Intelligence from *Miletus* of their comming, and

R r r 2

Charminus.

*Astyochnus* is directed from helping the *Chians*, and goeth to wait in the 27 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, that lay at *Cannus*.



*Charminus* was lying for them about *Syme*, *Chalce*, *Rhodes*, **A** and the Coast of *Lycia*: For by this time hee knew that they were at *Caunus*. *Astyocheus* therefore desiring to outgoe the report of his comming, went as he was, to *Syme*, hoping to finde those Gallies out from the shore. But a shoure of raine, together with the cloudinesse of the Skie, made his Gallies to misse their course in the darke, and disordered them.

A fight betweene the Peloponnesian and Athenian Fleets, wherein the Athenians had the worse.

The next morning, the Fleet being scattered, the left Wing was manifestly discred by the *Athenians*, whilest the rest wandred yet about the Island: And thereupon **B** *Charminus* and the *Athenians* put forth against them with twenty Gallies, supposing they had bene the same Gallies they were watching for, from *Caunus*. And presently charging, sunke three of them, and hurt others, and were superiour in the fight, till such time as, contrary to their expectation, the greater part of the Fleet came in sight, and enclozed them about. Then they betooke themselves to flight, and with the losse of sixe Gallies, the rest escaped into the Island of *Teuglussa*; and from thence to *Halicarnassus*.

After this the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *Cnidus*, and **C** ioyning with those fewen and twenty Gallies that came from *Caunus*, went all together to *Syme*, and hauing there erected a Trophie, returned againe, and lay at *Cnidus*.

The *Athenians*, when they vnderstood what had passed in this battell went from *Samos* with their whole Nauie to *Syme*. But neither went they out against the Nauie in *Cnidus*, nor the Nauy there, against them. Whereupon they tooke vp the furniture of their Gallies at *Syme*, and assaulted *Loryma*, a Towne in the Continent, and so returned to *Samos*. **D**

The whole Nauy of the *Peloponnesians* being at *Cnidus*, was now in repaying, and refurnishing with such things as it wanted; and withall, those eleuen *Lacedemonians* conferred with *Tissaphernes* (for hee also was present) touching such things as they disliked in the Articles before agreed on, and concerning the Warre, how it might bee carried for the future, in the best and most aduantageous manner for them both. But *Lychas* was he that considered the businesse most neerely, and said, that neither the first League, **E** nor yet the later by *Theramenes*, was made as it ought to haue

Tissaphernes and the Lacedemonians disagree about the Articles of their League.

**A** haue bene. And that it would be a very hard Condition, that whatsoeuer Territories the King and his Ancestours possessed before, he should possesse the same now: for so he might bring againe into subiection all the Islands, and the Sea, and the *Locrians*, and all as farre as *Bootia*; and the *Lacedemonians*, in stead of restoring the *Grecians* into liberty, should put them into subiection to the rule of the *Medes*. Therefore he required other and better Articles to bee drawne, and not to stand to these. As for pay, in the new Articles they would require none. But *Tissaphernes* charging at this, went his way in choler, and nothing was done.

The *Peloponnesians* solicited by Messengers from the great men of *Rhodes*, resolved to goe thither, because they hoped it would not proue impossible, with their number of Seamen, and Army of Land-Souldiers, to bring that Island into their power; and withall supposed themselves able, with their present Confederates to maintaine their Fleet, without asking money any more of *Tissaphernes*. Presently therefore, the same Winter, they put forth from **C** *Cnidus*, and arriuing in the Territory of *Rhodes*, at *Cameirus*, first frightened the Commons out of it, that knew not of the businesse; and they fled. Then the *Lacedemonians* called together both these, and the \* *Rhodians* of the two Cities, *Lindus* and *Ielysus*, and perswaded them to reuolt from the *Athenians*. And *Rhodes* turned to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Athenians* at the same time hearing of their designe, put forth with their Fleet from *Samos*, desiring to haue arriued before them, and were seene in the maine Sea, too late, though not much. For the present they went away to **D** *Chalce*, and thence backe to *Samos*, but afterwards they came forth with their Gallies diuers times, and made Warre against *Rhodes*, from *Chalce*, *Cos*, and *Samos*. Now the *Peloponnesians* did no more to the *Rhodians*, but leaue money amongst them, to the summe of \* thirty two Talents, and otherwise for fourescore dayes that they lay there, hauing their Gallies haled ashore, they meddled not.

In this time, as also before the going of the *Peloponnesians* to *Rhodes*, came to passe the things that follow.

**E** *Alcibiades*, after the death of *Chalcideus*, and Battell at *Miletus*, being suspected by the *Peloponnesians*; and *Astyocheus* hauing

*Rhodes* reuolseth to the *Peloponnesians*.

\* The City of *Rhodes* was not then built.

\* 6000 pounds sterling.

*Alcibiades* flyeth to *Tissaphernes*, and crosseth the business of the *Peloponnesians*.

having receiued letters from them from *Lacedæmon*, to put A him to death (for he was an enemy to *Ages*, and also otherwise not well trusted) retired to *Tissaphernes*, first for feare, and afterwards to his power hindered the affaires of the *Peloponnesians*. And being in every thing his instructor, he not only cut shorter their pay, in so much as from a \* *Drachma*, he brought it to 3 \* *oboles*, and those also not continually paid, advising *Tissaphernes* to tell them, how that the *Athenians*, men of a long continued skill in Nauall affaires, allowed but three *oboles* to their owne, not so much for want of money, but lest the Mariners, some of them growing insolent, by superfluity, should disable their bodies; by spending their money on such things as would weaken them, and others should quit the Gallies, with the arreare of their pay in their Captaines hands for a pawne; but also gaue counsell to *Tissaphernes*, to giue money to the Captaines of the Gallies, and to the Generals of the severall Cities (saue onely those of *Syracuse*) to giue way vnto it. For *Hermocrates*, the Generall of the *Syracusians* was the onely man, that in the name of the whole League stood against it. And for the Cities that came to require money; he would put them backe himselfe, and answer them in *Tissaphernes* his name, and say, namely to the *Chians*, that they were impudent men, being the richest of the *Grecian* States, and persecuted by Strangers, to expect neuertheless, that others, for their liberty, should not only venture their persons, but maintaine them with their purses. And to other States, that they did vniuersally, hauing laid out their mony before they revolted, that they might serue the *Athenians*, not to bestow as much, or more now vpon themselves. And told them, that *Tissaphernes*, now he made Warre at his owne owne charges, had reason to be sparing, but when money should come downe from the *King*, he would then giue them their full pay, and assist the Cities as should be fit. Moreover, he advised *Tissaphernes* not to be too hasty, to make an end of the Warre, nor to fetch in the *Phanician* Fleet which was making ready, nor take more men into pay, whereby to put the whole power both by Sea and Land, into the hands of one. But to let the Dominion remaine diuided into two, that the *King*, when one side troubled him, might see vpon it with the other. Whereas the Dominion both by Sea and

\* 7 pence a penny.

\* 3 pence half a penny farthing.

He aduiseeth *Tissaphernes* to shorten their pay.

And to corrupt the Captaines.

The integrity of *Hermocrates*.*Alcibiades* answereth in *Tissaphernes* name, to the Cities that call vpon him for money, and puts them off.He counsaileth *Tissaphernes* to prolong the Warre, and assist both sides.

A and Land being in one, he will want, by whom to pull downe those that hold it, vnlesse with great danger and cost, he should come and try it out himselfe. But thus the danger would be lesse chargeable (he being but at a small part of the cost,) and he should weare out the *Grecians* one against another, and himselfe in the meane time remaine in safety.

He said further, that the *Athenians* were fitter to partake dominion with him then the other, for that they were lesse ambitious of power by Land, and that their speeches

B and actions tended more to the *Kings* purpose: For that they would ioine with him to subdue the *Grecians*, that is to say, for themselves, as touching the dominion by Sea, and for the *King*, as touching the *Grecians* in the *Kings* Territories. Whereas the *Lacedæmonians* on the contrary, were come to set them free. And it was not likely but that they that were come to deliuer the *Grecians* from the *Grecians*, will (if they overcome the *Athenians*) deliuer them also from the *Barbarians*.

C He gaue counsell therefore, first to weare them out both, and then, when he had clipped, as neere as he could, the wings of the *Athenians*, to dismisle the *Peloponnesians* out of his Countrey. And *Tissaphernes* had a purpose to doe accordingly, as farre as by his actions can be coniectured: For hereupon he gaue himselfe to beleue *Alcibiades*, as his best Counsellour in these affaires, and neither paid the *Peloponnesians* their wages, nor would suffer them to fight by Sea, but pretending the comming of the *Phanician* Fleete, whereby they might afterwards fight with oddes, he ouerthrew their proceedings, and abated the D vigour of their Nauy, before very puissant, and was in all things else more backward, then hee could possibly dissemble.

Now *Alcibiades* aduised the *King* and *Tissaphernes* to this, whilst he was with them, partly, because he thought the same to be indded the best course, but partly also, to make way for his owne returne into his Countrey: knowing, that if he destroyed it not, the time would one day come, that he might perswade the *Athenians* to recall him. And the best way to perswade them to it, he thought was this, E to make it appeare vnto them, that he was powerfull with *Tissaphernes*. Which also came to passe. For after the

He aduiseeth him, of the two, to fauour the *Athenians*, the rather, as fitter to helpe subdue the *Grecians*.*Tissaphernes* guided by the counsell of *Alcibiades*, hindreth the successe of the *Peloponnesians*.*Alcibiades* aymeth at his returne to *Athen*, by making shew of his power with *Tissaphernes*.*Athenian*

Motion made for the recalling of Alcibiades, & deposing of the People.

Athenian Souldiers at Samos saw what power he had with A him, the Captaines of Gallies, and principall men there, partly vpon Alcibiades his owne motion, who had sent to the greateft amongst them, that they should remember him to the best fort, and say, that he desired to come home, so the gouernment might bee in the hands of a Few, not of euill persons, nor yet of the Multitude that cast him out; and that he would bring Tissaphernes to be their friend, and to warre on their side; but chiefly of their owne accords had their mindes enclined to the deposing of the popular gouernment.

This businesse was set on foot first in the Campe, and from thence proceeded afterwards into the Citie. And certaine persons went ouer to Alcibiades out of Samos, and had conference with him. And when he had vndertaken to bring to their friendship, first Tissaphernes, and then the King, in case the Gouernment were taken from the People, (for then, he said, the King might the better rely vpon them) they that were of most power in the City, who also were the most toyled out, entred into great hope, both to haue the ordering of the State at home themselves, and victory also ouer the enemy. And when they came backe to Samos, they drew all such as were for their purpose into an Oath of Conspiracie with themselves, and to the Multitude gaue it out openly, that if Alcibiades might be recalled, and the People put from the Gouernment, the King would turne their friend, and furnish them with Money. Though the Multitude were grieued with this proceeding for the present, yet for the great hope they had of the Kings pay, they stirred not.

But they that were setting vp the Oligarchy, when they had communicated thus much to the Multitude, fell to consideration anew, and with more of their Complices, of the things spoken by Alcibiades. And the rest thought the matter easie, and worthy to be beleued: but Phrynichus, who yet was Generall of the Army, liked it not, but thought (as the truth was) that Alcibiades cared no more for the Oligarchy then the Democracie, nor had any other ayme in it, but onely by altering the Gouernment that then was, to be called home by his associates. And said, they were especially to looke to this, that they did not mutiny for the King, who could not very easily be induced (the Pelopon-

Conspiracy in the Army at Samos, against the Democracie of Athens.

Phrynichus is against the recalling of Alcibiades.

Anefians being now as much masters at Sea as themselves, and ha- uing no small Cities within his Dominions) to ioyne with the Athe- nians, whom he trusted not, and to trouble himselfe, when he might haue the friendship of the Peloponnesians, that neuer did him hurt.

As for the Confederate Cities to whom they promise Oligar- chy, in that they themselves doe put downe the Democracie, he said, he knew full well, that neyther those which were already re- uolted would the sooner returne to, nor those that remained, be euer the more confirmed in their obedience thereby. For they would neuer bee so willing to be in subiection, either to the Few, or to the People, as they would be to haue their liberty, which side soeuer it were that should giue it them. But would thinke, that euer those which are termed the \* Good men, if they had the Gouernment, would giue them as much to doe, as the People, being Contriuers and authors to the People, of doing those mischiefes against them, out of which they make most profit vnto themselves. And that if the Few had the rule, then they should be put to death vnbear'd, and more violently then by the former, whereas the People is their refuge, and moderator of the others insolence. This he said, hee was certaine that the Cities thought, in that they had learned the same by the actions themselves. And that therefore what was yet propounded by Alcibiades, he by no meanes approued.

But those of the Conspiracy there assembled, not onely approued the present proposition, but also made prepara- tion to send Pisander and others Ambassadors to Athens, to negotiate concerning the reduction of Alcibiades, the dis- solution of the Democracie, and the procuring vnto the Athe- nians the friendship of Tissaphernes.

Now Phrynichus knowing that an ouerture was to bee made at Athens for the restoring of Alcibiades, and that the Athenians would embrace it; and fearing lest being recalled he should doe him a mischiefe (in regard hee had spoken against it) as one that would haue hindred the same, be- tooke himselfe to this course. He sends secret Letters to As- syochus, the Lacedaemonian Generall, who was yet about Mi- letus, and aduertised him, that Alcibiades vndid their affaires, and was procuring the friendship of Tissaphernes for the A- thenians, writing in plaine termes the whole busi- nesse, and desiring to bee excused, if hee rendred euill

S f f

\* *ῥητορὶκὸν*. The Good men, or Aristocracy, a difference from the Oligar- chy, which was of the rich- est only. For the Good men who in the Democra- cie are the Peoples min- ions, and put the People vpon all they doe, will doe the same things themselves, when they haue the Souerainety in their hands.

The treason of Phrynichus against the State, for feare of Alcibiades.

He writes secret Letters to Assyochus.

to

*Alcibiades appeareth him to Alcibiades.*

*Phrynichus sends to Alcibiades againe, and offers to put the whole army into his hands.*

*The device of Phrynichus to auoid the danger.*

to his enemy, with some disadvantage to his Countrey. *Astyochnus* had before this, laid by the purpose of reuenge against *Alcibiades*, especially when he was not in his owne hands. And going to him to *Magnesia*, and to *Tissaphernes*, related vnto them, what aduertisement he had receiued from *Samos*, and made himselfe the appeacher. For he adhered (as was said) to *Tissaphernes* for his priuate lucre, both in this, and in diuers other matters, which was also the cause, that concerning the pay, when the abatement was made, hee was not so stout in opposing it, as hee ought to haue beene. Hereupon *Alcibiades* sendeth Letters presently to those that were in office at *Samos*, accusing *Phrynichus* of what hee had done, and requiring to haue him put to death. *Phrynichus* perplexed with this discouery, & brought into danger indeed, sends againe to *Astyochnus*, blaming what was past, as not well concealed and promised now, to be ready to deliuer vnto him the whole Armie at *Samos*, to be destroyed; writing from point to point, (*Samos* being vnwalled) in what manner he would doe it, and saying, that since his life was brought in danger, they could not blame him, though he did this, or any other thing, rather then be destroyed by his most deadly enemies. This also *Astyochnus* reuealed vnto *Alcibiades*.

But *Phrynichus* hauing had notice betimes how he abused him, and that Letters of this from *Alcibiades* were in a manner come, he anticipates the newes himselfe, and tels the Armie, That whereas *Samos* was vnwalled, and the Gallies rid not all within, the Enemy meant to come and assault the Harbour; That hee had sure intelligence hereof, and that they ought therefore with all speed to raise a Wall about the Citie, and to put Garrisons into other places thereabouts. Now *Phrynichus* was Generall himselfe, and it was in his owne power to see it done. They then fell to walling, wherby *Samos* (which they meant to haue done howsoeuer) was so much the sooner walled in. Not long after came Letters from *Alcibiades*, that the Army was betrayed by *Phrynichus*, and that the Enemy purposed to invade the Harbour where they lay. But now, they thought not *Alcibiades* worthy to be beleued, but rather that hauing foreseene the designe of the enemy, he went about out of malice, to fasten it vpon *Phrynichus*, as conscious of it likewise. So that he did him no hurt by telling it, but bare witness

A nesse rather of that which *Phrynichus* had told them of before.

After this *Alcibiades* endeouored to encline and perswade *Tissaphernes* to the friendship of the Athenians; for though *Tissaphernes* feared the Peloponnesians, because their Fleete was greater then that of the Athenians, yet if hee had beene able, he had a good will to haue beene perswaded by him, especially in his anger against the Peloponnesians, after the dissension at *Cnidus*, about the League made by *Toramenus*, (for they were already false out, the Peloponnesians being about this time in *Rhodes*) wherein that which had beene before spoken by *Alcibiades*, how that the comming of the Lacedaemonians was to restore all the Cities to their liberty, was now verified by *Lichas*, in that he said, it was an Article not to be suffered, that the King should hold those Cities, which he and his Ancestors then or before had holden. *Alcibiades* therefore, as one that laboured for no trifle, with all his might applied himselfe to *Tissaphernes*.

The Athenian Ambassadors sent from *Samos* with *Pisander*, being arrived at *Athens*, were making their propositions to the People. And related vnto them summarily the points of their businesse, and principally this, That if they would call home *Alcibiades*, and not suffer the Gouvernement to remaine in the hands of the People, in such manner as it did, they might base the King for their Confederate, and get the victory of the Peloponnesians. Now when many opposed that point touching the Democracie, and the enemies of *Alcibiades* clamoured withall, that it would bee a horrible thing hee should return by forcing the Gouvernment, when the \**Eumolpidae*, and \**Ceryces* bare witness against him concerning the *Mysteries*, for which he fled, and prohibited his returne vnder their curse. *Pisander*, at this great opposition and querimony, stood out, and going amongst them, tooke out one by one those that were against it, and asked them, Whether, now that the Peloponnesians had as many Gallies at Sea to oppose them, as they themselves had, and Confederate Cities, more then they, and were furnished with money by the King and *Tissaphernes*, the Athenians being without, they had any other hope to save their State, but hyper-swading the King to come about to their side? And they that were asked hauing nothing to

answer, then in plaine termes hee said vnto them, This you cannot now obtaine, except wee administer the State

§ § 2

with

*Alcibiades* returned to the part of the Athenians.

*Pisander* getteth the Athenians to be content with the Oligarchy, and to give him and others Commission to treat with *Alcibiades*.

\* *Eumolpidae*, a Family descended from *Eumolpus*, the author at *Athens* of the *Mysteries* of *Ceres*. This Familie had a chief authority in matters that concerned those Rites.

\* *Ceryces*, *Heracles* in *War*. Ambassadors in peace, *Dionysius*. They pronounced all solemn words in the ceremonies of their Religion, and were a Familie descended from *Ceryx*, the sonne of *Mercury*.

with more moderation, and bring the power into the bands of a few, that the King may rely upon us. And wee deliberate at this time, not so much about the forme, as about the preservation of the State; for if you mislike the forme, you may change it againe hereafter. And let vs recall Alcibiades, who is the onely man that can bring this to passe.

The People hearing of the Oligarchy, tooke it very haynously at first; But when Pisander had proued euidently, that there was no other way of safety, in the end, partly for feare, and partly because they hoped againe to change the Gouvernement, they yeelded thereunto. So they ordered, that Pisander, and tenne others, should goe, and treat, both with Tissaphernes, and with Alcibiades, as to them should seeme best. Withall, vpon the accusation of Pisander against Phrynichus, they discharged both Phrynichus, and Scironidas, his fellow-Commissioner, of their Command, and made Diomedon and Leon Generals of the Fleet in their places.

Now the cause why Pisander accused Phrynichus, and said he had betrayed Iasus and Amorges, was onely this, hee thought him a man vsfit for the businesse now in hand with Alcibiades.

Pisander, after he had gone about to all those Combinations (which were in the Citie before, for obtaining of places of Iudicature, and of Command) exhorting them to stand together, and aduise about deposing the Democracie; and when he had dispatched the rest of his businesse, so as there should be no more cause for him to stay there, tooke Sea with those other tenne, to goe to Tissaphernes.

Leon and Diomedon arriuing the same Winter at the Athenian Fleet, made a Voyage against Rhodes, and finding there the Peloponnesian Gallies drawne vp to Land, disembarked, and ouercame in battell such of the Rhodians as made head; and then put to Sea againe, and went to Chalce. After this they made sharper Warre vpon them from Cos. For from thence they could better obserue the Peloponnesian Navy, when it should put off from the Land.

In this while, there arriued at Rhodes, Xenophontidas a Lacedonian, sent out of Chius from Pedaritus, to aduertise them, that the Fortification of the Athenians there, was now finished, and that vnlesse they came and relieued them with their whole Fleet, the State of Chius must vtterly be

Phrynichus accused by Pisander, and discharged of his command.

Leon and Diomedon warre vpon the Peloponnesian Navy at Rhodes.

Chius distressed, and Pedaritus the Captaine inuain.

be lost. And it was resolved to relieue them. But Pedaritus in the meane time, with the whole power both of his owne auxiliar Forces, and of the Chians, made an assault vpon the Fortification which the Athenians had made about their Nauy, part whereof he wonne, and had gotten some Gallies that were drawne aland. But the Athenians issuing out vpon them, first put to flight the Chians, and then ouercame also the rest of the Army about Pedaritus, and slew Pedaritus himselfe, and tooke many of the Chians prisoners, and much Armour. After this the Chians were besieged both by Sea and Land more narrowly, and great famine was in the City.

Pisander, and the other Athenian Ambassadors that went with him, when they came to Tissaphernes, began to conferre about the agreement. But Alcibiades (for he was not sure of Tissaphernes, because he stood in feare too much of the Peloponnesians, and had a purpose besides, as Alcibiades himselfe had taught him, to weaken both sides yet more) betooke himselfe to this shift; that Tissaphernes should breake off the Treaty, by making to the Athenians exorbitant demands. And it seemed that Tissaphernes and hee aymed at the same thing; Tissaphernes for feare; and Alcibiades, for that when he saw Tissaphernes not desirous to agree, though the offers were neuer so great, he was vnwilling to haue the Athenians thinke hee could not perswade him to it, but rather that he was already perswaded and willing, and that the Athenians came not to him with sufficient offers. For Alcibiades being the man that spake for Tissaphernes, though he were also present, made vnto them such excessiue demands, that though the Athenians should haue yeelded to the greatest part of them, yet it must haue bene attributed to them, that the Treaty went not on. For they demanded first, That all Ionia should be rendred. Then againe The adiacent Ilands, and other things, which the Athenians stood not against. In fine, at the third meeting, when he feared now plainly to be found vnable to make good his word, he required, That they should suffer the King to build a Nauy, and layle vp and downe by their Coast, where soeuer, and with what number soeuer of Gallies hee himselfe should thinke good.

Vpon this, the Athenians would treat no longer, esteeming the Conditions intolerable, and that Alcibiades had

Alcibiades vnable to make good his word, in bringing Tissaphernes to the Athenians side, demandeth excessiue conditions, to make the breach appeare to proceed from the Athenians, and to saue his own credit.

had abused them; and so went away in a chafe to Sa-Amos.

Presently after this the same Winter, Tisaphernes went to Camus, with intent both to bring the Peloponnesians backe to Miletus, and also, (as soone as he should haue agreed vnto new Articles such as he could get) to giue the Fleet their pay; and not to fall directly out with them, for feare, lest so many Gallies wanting maintenance, should either bee forced by the Athenians to fight, and so bee ouercome, or empied of men, the businesse might succeed with the Athenians according to their owne desire, without him. Besides, he was afraid, lest looking out for maintenance, they should make spoile in the Continent. In consideration, and foresight of all which things, he desired to counterpoise the Grecians. And sending for the Peloponnesians, hee gaue them their pay, and now made the third League, as followeth.

In the thirteenth yeere of the raigne of Darius, Alexippidas being Ephore in Lacedæmon, Agreement was made in the Plaine of Mæander, betwene the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates on one part, and Tisaphernes, and Hieramenes, and the sonnes of Pharnaces on the other part; concerning the affaires of the King, and of the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates.

That whatsoeuer Countrey in Asia belongeth to the King, shall be the Kings still. And that concerning his owne Countries, it shall bee lawfull for the King to doe whatsoeuer hee shall thinke meete.

That the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall not invade any the Territories of the King, to harme them; nor the King, the Territories of the Lacedæmonians or their Confederates.

If any of the Lacedæmonians or their Confederates shall invade the Kings Countrey to doe it hurt, the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall oppose it. And if any of the Kings Countrey shall invade the Lacedæmonians, or their Confederates, to doe them hurt, the King shall oppose it.

That Tisaphernes shall, according to the rates agreed on, maintaine the present Fleet, till the Kings Fleet arriue.

That when the Kings Navy shall be come, the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall maintaine their owne Nauie themselves,

A selues, if they please; or if they will haue Tisaphernes to maintaine it, he shall doe it: And that the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, at the end of the Warre, repay Tisaphernes what soeuer money they shall haue receiued of him.

When the Kings Gallies shall be arriued, both they, and the Gallies of the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall make the Warre ioyntly, according as to Tisaphernes, and the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall seeme good. And if they will giue ouer the Warre against the Athenians, they shall giue it ouer in the same manner.

B Such were the Articles.

After this Tisaphernes prepared for the fetching in of the Phœnician Fleet, according to the Agreement, and to doe whatsoeuer else hee had vndertaken, desiring to haue it seene, at least, that he went about it.

In the end of this Winter, the Bœotians tooke Oropus by Treason. It had in it a Garrison of Athenians. They that plotted it, were certaine Eretrians, and some of Oropus it selfe, who were then contriuing the reuolt of Eubœa. For the place being built to keepe Eretria in subiection, it was impossible, as long as the Athenians held it, but that it would much annoy both Eretria, and the rest of Eubœa. Having Oropus in their hands already, they came to Rhodes to call the Peloponnesians into Eubœa. But the Peloponnesians had a greater inclination to relieue Chius now distressed, and putting to Sea, departed out of Rhodes with their whole Fleet. When they were come about Triopium, they discryed the Athenian Fleet in the maine Sea, going from Chalcæ. And neither side assaulting other, they put in, the one Fleet at Samos, the other at Miletus. For the Peloponnesians saw they could not passe to relieue Chius, without a Battell. Thus ended this Winter, and the twentieth yeere of this Warre, written by Thucydides.

The next Summer, in the beginning of the Spring, Dercylidas a Spartan, was sent by Land into Hellespont, with a small Army, to worke the reuolt of Abydus, a Colonie of the Milesians. And the Chians at the same time, whilest Aspyochus was at a stand how to helpe them, were compelled by the pressure of the Siege, to hazzard a Battell by Sea.

Now whilest Aspyochus lay in Rhodes, they had receiued into

Oropus taken by Treason.

THE ONE AND TWENTIETH YEERE.

The Chians fight against the Athenians that besieged them.



into the Citie of *Chius*, after the death of *Pedaritus*, one *Le-A*  
*on* a *Spartian*, that came along with *Antisthenes* as a priuate  
 Souldier, and with him twelue Gallies that lay at the  
 guard of *Miletus*, whereof fise were *Thurians*, foure *Syra-*  
*cusians*, one of *Anaa*, one of *Miletus*, and one of *Leons* owne.  
 whereupon the *Chians* issuing forth with the whole force  
 of the City, seazed a certain place of strength, and put forth  
 thirty fixe Gallies against thirty two of the *Athenians*, and  
 fought. After a sharpe fight, wherein the *Chians* and their  
 associates had not the worst; and when it beganne to bee  
 darke, they retired againe into the City.

*Abydus* and *Lampsacus*  
 reuolt.

Presently after this, *Dercylidas* being arriued now in *Hel-*  
*lespont* from *Miletus*, by Land, *Abydus* reuolted, to him; and  
 to *Pharnabazus*. And two dayes after, reuolted also *Lamp-*  
*sacus*.

*Sirombichides* recouereth  
*Lampsacus*.

*Sirombichides* hauing intelligence of this, made haste  
 thither from *Chius*, with foure and twenty Sayle of *Atheni-*  
*ans*, (those being also of that number, which transported  
 his men of Armes.) And when hee had ouercome the  
*Lampsacens* that came out against him, and taken *Lampsacus*,  
 being an open Towne, at the first shout of their voyces, C  
 and made Prize of all the goods they found, and of the  
 Slaues, he placed the Free-men there againe, and went a-  
 gainst *Abydus*. But when that Citie neither yeelded, nor  
 could be taken by assault, he crossed ouer from *Abydus* to  
 the opposite shore, and in *Sestus*, a Citie of *Chersonnesus*,  
 (possessed heretofore by the *Medes*) he placed a Garrison,  
 for the custody of the whole *Hellespont*.

In the meane time, not onely the *Chians* had the Sea at  
 more command, but *Astyochus* also, and the Army at *Mi-*  
*letus*, hauing beene aduertised what past in the fight by  
 Sea, and that *Sirombichides* and those Gallies with him  
 were gone away, tooke heart. And *Astyochus* going to *Chi-*  
*us*, with two Gallies fetched away the Gallies that were  
 there, and with the whole Fleet now together, went a-  
 gainst *Samos*. But seeing they of *Samos*, by reason of their  
 ieaousie one towards another, came not against him, hee  
 went backe againe to *Miletus*. For it was about this time,  
 that the Democracie was put downe at *Athens*.

The Democracie at *Athens*  
 put downe by *Pisander*  
 and his fellowes.

For after that *Pisander* and his fellow-Ambassadours  
 that had beene with *Tissaphernes*, were come to *Samos*, they E  
 both assured their affaires yet better in the Army, and also  
 pro-

A prouoked the principall men of the *Samians* to attempt  
 with them the erecting of the *Oligarchy*; though there  
 were then an insurrection amongst them against the *Oligar-*  
*chy*. And withall the *Athenians* at *Samos*, in a conference a-  
 mongst themselves, deliberated, how, since *Alcibiades* would  
 not, to let him alone, (for indeed they thought him no fit  
 man to come into an *Oligarchy*) but for themselves, seeing  
 they were already engaged in the danger, to take care, both  
 to keepe the businesse from a relapse, and withall to  
 sustaine the Warre, and to contribute money, and whatso-  
 euer else was needfull, with alacrity, out of their priuate  
 estates, and no more to toyle for other then themselves.  
 Hauing thus aduised, they sent *Pisander* with halfe the  
 Ambassadors presently home, to follow the businesse  
 there, with command to set vp the *Oligarchy* in all Cities  
 they were to touch at by the way, the other halfe they sent  
 about, some to one part of the State, and some to another.  
 And they sent away *Diotrophes* to his Charge, who was  
 now about *Chius*, chosen to goe Gouvernour of the Cities  
 vpon *Torace*.

C Hee, when he came to *Thasus*, deposed the People. And  
 within two moneths at most, after he was gone, the *Tha-*  
*sians* fortified their Citie, as needing no longer an *Aristocracy*  
 with the *Athenians*, but expecting liberty euery day by the  
 helpe of the *Lacedaemonians*. For there were also certaine  
 of them with the *Peloponnesians*, driuen out by the *Atheni-*  
*ans*; and these practised with such in the City as were for  
 their purpose, to receiue Gallies into it, and to cause it to  
 reuolt. So that it fell out for them iust as they would haue  
 it, that that estate of theirs, was set vp without their dan-  
 ger, and that the People was deposed, that would haue  
 withstood it. Insomuch as at *Thasus* it fell out contrary to  
 what those *Athenians* thought, which erected the *Oligarchy*;  
 and so, in my opinion, it did in many other places of their  
 Dominion. For the Cities now growne wise, and withall  
 resolute in their proceedings, sought a direct liberty, and  
 preferred not before it, that outside of a well-ordered Go-  
 uernment, introduced by the *Athenians*.

E They with *Pisander*, according to the order giuen  
 them, entring into the Cities, as they went by, dissolued  
 the Democracies, & hauing in some places obtained also an  
 T t t ayde

The authors of the *Oligar-*  
*chy* resolve to leave out  
*Alcibiades*, and to gouerne  
 the State with their pri-  
 uate meanes for them-  
 selues.

The *Athenians* hauing set  
 vp the *Oligarchy* in *Thasus*,  
 it presently reuolteth  
 from them.

The proceeding of *Pisan-*  
*der* in setting vs the *Oli-*  
*garchy*.

ayde of men of Armes, they came to *Athens*, and found the A  
 businesse for the greatest part dispatched to their hands, by  
 their Complices, before their comming. For certaine  
 yong men combining themselves, had not onely murdered  
*Androcles* priuily, a principall Patron of the *Popular* go-  
 uernment, and one that had his hand the farthest in the  
 banishment of *Alcibiades*; whom they slew for two cau-  
 ses: for the sway hee bare amongst the People, and to  
 gratifie *Alcibiades*, who they thought would returne, and  
 get them the friendship of *Tissaphernes*; but had also made  
 away diuers men vsfit for their Designe, in the same man- B  
 ner. They had withall an Oration ready made, which  
 they deliuered in publike, wherein they said, *That there*  
*ought none to receiue wages, but such as serued in the Warres, nor*  
*to partake of the Gouvernement, more then 5000, and those, such*  
*as by their purges and persons were best able to serue the Common-*  
*Wealth.*

And this with the most carried a good shew, because  
 they that would set forward the alteration of the State,  
 were to haue the manning of the same. Yet the People C  
 and the \* *Councill of the Beane*, met still, but debated no-  
 thing, saue what the Conspirators thought fit. Nay, all  
 that spake were of that number, and had considered before  
 what they were to say. Nor would any of the rest speake  
 against them, for feare, and because they saw the Comb-  
 nation was great; and if any man did, he was quickly made  
 away by one conuenient meanes or other, and no enquirie  
 made after the deed-doers, nor Iustice prosecuted against  
 any that was suspected.

But the People were so quiet, and so afraid, that euery D  
 man thought it gaineto escape violence, though he said  
 neuer a word. Their hearts failed them, because they  
 thought the Conspirators more then indeed they were:  
 and to learne their number, in respect of the greatnesse of  
 the Citie, and for that they knew not one another, they  
 were vnable.

For the same cause also was it impossible for any man  
 that was angry at it, to bemoane himselfe, whereby to be re-  
 uenged on them that conspired. For he must haue told his  
 mind, either to one he knew not, or to one he knew & trust- E  
 ed not. For the *Populars* approached each other, euery one  
 with

\* The Senate or Councill of  
 500.

A with iealousie, as if they thought him of the plot. For  
 indeed there were such amongst them, as no man would  
 haue thought would euer haue turned to the *Oligarchs*; and  
 those were they that caused in the *Many* that diffidence,  
 and by strengthening the iealousie of the *populars* one against  
 another, conferred most to the security of the *Few*. Du-  
 ring this opportunity, *Pisander*, and they that were with  
 him comming in, fell in hand presently with the remain-  
 der of the businesse. And first they assembled the *People*,  
 and deliuered their opinion, for tenne men to bee chosen  
 B with power absolute, to make a draught of Lawes, and  
 (hauing drawne them) to deliuer their opinion at a day  
 appointed, before the *People*, touching the best forme of  
 gouernment for the Citie.

Afterwards, when that day came, they summoned the  
 Assembly to *Colonus*, (which is a place consecrated to *Nep-*  
*tune*, without the City, about two Furlongs off) And they  
 that were appointed to write the Lawes, presented this,  
 and onely this, *That it should be lawfull for any Athenian to*  
*deliuer whatsoeuer opinion hee pleased*, imposing of great  
 C punishments vpon whosoever should eyther accuse any  
 that so spake, of violating the Lawes, or otherwise do him  
 hurt. Now here indeed it was in plaine termes propoun-  
 ded, *That not any Magistracy of the forme before vsed, might any*  
*longer be in force, nor any Fee belong vnto it, but that five Pry-*  
*tanies might be elected, and these five choose a hundred, and euery*  
*one of this hundred take vnto him three others. And these 400*  
*entring into the Councill-house, might haue absolute authority to*  
*gouerne the State as they thought best, and to summon the 5000, as*  
*oft as to them should seeme good.* He that deliuered this opi-  
 nion was *Pisander*, who was also otherwise, openly the  
 D forwardest to put downe the *Democracie*. But he that con-  
 truiued the whole businesse, how to bring it to this passe,  
 and had long thought vpon it, was *Antiphon*, a man for ver-  
 tue not inferiour to any *Athenian* of his time, and the a-  
 blest of any man, both to deuise well, and also to expresse  
 well, what he had deuised. And though he came not into  
 the assemblies of the *People*, nor willingly to any other de-  
 bating, because the *Multitude* had him in iealousie for the  
 opinion they had of the power of his eloquence, yet  
 E when any man that had occasion of suite, eyther in  
 the Courts of Iustice, or in the Assembly of the *People*,  
 came

The forme of the new O-  
 ligarchy.

*Pisander* a principall man  
 of the *Oligarchs*.

*Antiphon* another setter  
 vp of the *Few*.

The praise of *Antiphon*.

came to him for his counsell, this one man was able to help A him most. The same man, when afterwards the government of the Four hundred went downe, and was vexed of the People, was heard pleade for himselfe, when his life was in question for that businesse, the best of any man to this day.

*Phrynichus* also shewed himselfe an earnest man for the *Oligarchy*, and that more eminently then any other, because he feared *Alcibiades*, and knew him to be acquainted with all his practices at *Samos* with *Aphobus*; and thought in all probability, that he would neuer returne, to liue vnder B the government of the Few. And this man in any matter of weight, appeared the most sufficient to bee relied on.

Also *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon*, an able man both for elocution and vnderstanding, was another of the Principall of those that ouerthrew the *Democracie*. So that it is no maruell if the businesse tooke effect, being by many and wise men conducted, though it were a hard one. For it went fore with the *Athenian People*, almost a hundred yeeres after the expulsion of the *Tyrants*, to be now C deprived of their liberty, hauing not onely not beene subiect to any, but also for the halfe of this time, beene enured to dominion ouer others.

When the Assembly (after it had passed these things, no man contradicting) was dissolued, then afterwards they brought the Four hundred into the Councell-house, in this manner. The *Athenians* were euermore partly on the Walles, and partly at their Armes in the Campe, in regard of the Enemie that lay at *Decelea*. Therefore on the day appointed, they suffered such as knew not their intent, to goe forth, as they were wont. But to such as were D of the Conspiracy, they quietly gaue order, not to goe to the Campe it selfe, but to lagge behind at a certaine distance, and if any man should oppose what was in doing, to take Armes and keepe them backe. They to whom this charge was giuen, were the *Andrians*, *Tenians*, three hundred *Carystians*, and such of the Colonie of *Agina* which the *Athenians* had sent thither to inhabite, as came on purpose to this action with their owne Armes. These things thus ordered, the Four hundred, with euery man a secret E Dagger, accompanied with one hundred and twenty yong men

There is another author on the Oligarchy.

The 400 enter vpon the Senate, and dissolve the Senate of 500, called the Council of the Beane.

A men of Greece, (whom they vsed for occasions of shedding blood) came in vpon the \**Counsellors of the Beane*, as they sate in the *Counsell-house*, and commanded them to take their salary, and be gone, which also they brought ready with them, for the whole time they were behind, and payed it to them as they went out. And the rest of the Citizens mutined not, but rested quiet.

The 400 being now entred into the *Counsell-house*, created \**Prytanes* amongst themselves by lot, and made their prayers and sacrifices to the Gods, all that were before vsuall at the entrance vpon the Government. And afterwards, receding farre from that course, which in the administration of the State, was vsed by the People, sauing that for *Alcibiades* his sake, they recalled not the Outlawes, in other things they gouerned the Common-wealth imperiously. And not onely slew some, though not many, such as they thought fit to be made away, and imprisoned some, and confined others to places abroad, but also sent Heralds to *Agis*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, who was then C composition with him, and that now he might better treat with them, then he might before with the vnconstant People.

But he, not imagining that the Citie was yet in quiet, nor willing, so soone, to deliuer vp their ancient liberty, but rather that, if they saw him approach with great forces, they would be in tumult, not yet beleeuing fully, but that some stirre or other would arise amongst them, gaue no answer at all to those that came from the *Four hundred*, touching the composition; but hauing sent for new, and D great forces out of *Peloponnesus*, came downe himselfe not long after, both with the Army at *Decelea*, and those new commers, to the *Athenian Walles*. Hoping that they would fall into his hands according to his desire, at least the more easily for their confusion, or perhaps at the very first shout of their voyces; in respect of the tumult that in all likelihood was to happen both within and without the Citie. For, as for the *Long-walles*, in regard of the few Defendants likely to be found vpon them; he thought he could not faile to takethem. But when he came neere, E and the *Athenians* were without any the least alteration within, and had with their Horsemen which they sent out,

\*The Senate or Council of 500, called the Council of the Beane, but the 400, called the Council of the Beane.

\*The Prytanes, or Prytanes, in the Council of 500, were created by lot, and made their prayers and sacrifices to the Gods, all that were before vsuall at the entrance vpon the Government.

*Agis*, in hope that the Citie was in sedition, cometh to assault it; but is repulsed.

out, and a part of their men of Armes, and of their Light-Armed, and of their Archers, ouerthrowne some of his men that approached too neere, and gotten some armes and bodies of the flaine; rectified thus, he with drew his Armie againe, and himselfe, and such as were with him before staid in their place at *Decelea*; but, as for those that came last, after they had staid a while in the Countrey, he sent them home againe. After this, the 400, notwithstanding their former repulse, sent Ambassadors vnto *Agis* anew, and he now receiuing them better, by his aduice they sent Ambassadors also to *Lacedamon*, about an agreement, being desirous of Peace.

They likewise sent 10 men to *Samos*, to satisfie the Army, and to tell them, *That the Oligarchy was not set up, to any preiudice of the Citie, or Citizens, but for the safety of the whole State. And that they which had their hands in it, were 5000, and not 400 onely. Notwithstanding that the Athenians by reason of warfare, and imployment abroad, neuer assembled, of how great consequence soeuer was the matter to be handled, so frequent, as to be 5000 there at once. And hauing in other things instructed them how to make the best of the matter, they sent them away immediately after the government was changed, fearing (as also it fell out) lest the Seafaring multitude, would not onely not continue in this Oligarchicall forme themselves, but (the mischief beginning there) would depose them also.*

For in *Samos* there was a commotion about the Oligarchy already. And this that followeth, happened about the same time that the 400 were set vp in *Athens*. Those *Samians* that had risen against the Nobility, and were of the Peoples side, turning when *Pisander* came thither, at the perswasion of him and of those *Athenians* in *Samos* that were his Complices, conspired together to the number of 300, and were to haue assaulted the rest as *Populars*; and one *Hyperbolus*, a lewd fellow, who, not for any feare of his power, or for any dignity, but for wickednesse of life, and dishonour he did the Citie, had bene banished by *Ostracisme*, they slew; abetted therein both by *Charminus*, one of the Commanders, and by other *Athenians* that were amongst them, who had giuen them their faith; and together with these they committed other facts of the same kind, and were fully bent to haue assaulted the Popular side,

The 400. sent to *Lacedamon* to procure a Peace.

They sent to *Samos*, to excuse their doings to the army.

The Oligarch. assaulted at *Samos* by the Populars.

A side, but they hauing gotten notice thereof, made knowne the designe both to the Generals, *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, (for these being honoured by the People, endured the Oligarchy vnwillingly) and also to *Thrasibulus*, and *Thrasylus*, whereof one was Captaine of a Gally, and the other Captaine of a Band of a men of Armes, and to such others continually as they thought stood in greatest opposition to the Conspirators; and required of them, that they would not see them destroyed, and *Samos* alienated from the *Athenians*, by the only means of which their Dominion had till this time kept it selfe in the state it is in. They hearing it, went to the Souldiers, and exhorted them one by one, not to suffer it, especially to the *Paralians*, (who were all *Athenians* and Freeman, come thither in the Gally called *Paralus*, and had alwayes before been enemies to the Oligarchy. And *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, whensoever they went forth any whither, left them certain Gallies for their guard.) So that when the 300 assaulted them, the Commons of the *Samians*, with the helpe of all these, and especially of the *Paralians*, had the vpper hand, and of the 300, slew 30. Three of the chiefe authors, they banished, and burying in obliuion the fault of the rest, governed the State from that time forward as a *Democratie*.

The *Paralus*, and it (*Chæreas* the sonne of *Archestratus*, a man of *Athens*, one that had been forward in the making of this change, the *Samians*, and the Souldiers dispatched presently away to *Athens*, to aduertise them of what was done; for they knew not yet that the government was in the hands of the 400. When they arriued, the 400 cast some two or three of these of the *Paralus* into prison; the rest, after they had taken the Gally from them, and put them aboard another Military Gally, they commanded to keepe guard about *Eubœa*. But *Chæreas*, by some meanes or other, getting presently away, seeing how things went, came backe to *Samos*, and related to the Army all that the *Athenians* had done, aggrauating it to the utmost; As that they punished euery man with stripes, to the end that none should contradict the doings of those that bore rule; and that their wiues and children at home were abused; and that they had an intention further to take and imprison all that were of kinne to any of the Army which was not of their faction, to the intent to kill them if they of *Samos* would not submit to their authority. And many

The Army sent to *Athens* to signifye their doings against the Oligarchy at *Samos*, not knowing that the Oligarchy was then in authority at *Athens*.

The Demosion re-established in the army.

many other things he told them, adding lyes of his owne. A When they heard this, they were ready at first to haue fallen vpon the chiefe authors of the *Oligarchy*, and vpon such of the rest as were partakers of it. Yet afterwards, being hindred by such as came betweene, and aduised them not to ouerthrow the State, the enemy lying so nere with their Gallies to assault them, they gaue it ouer. After this, *Thrasybulus* the sonne of *Lycas*, and *Thrasyllus*, (for these were the principall authors of the change) determining now openly to reduce the State at *Samos* to a *Democracy*, tooke oathes of all the Souldiers, especially of the *Oligarchicals*, the greatest they could deuise, both that they should be subiect to the *Democracy*, and agree together, and also that they should zealously prosecute the Warre against the *Peloponnesians*, and withall be enemies to the 400, and not haue to doe with them by Ambassadours. The same oath was taken by all the *Samians* that were of age, and the *Athenian* Souldiers communicated with them their whole affaires, together with what soeuer should succeed of their dangers. For whom and for themselves, they made account there was no refuge of safety, but that if either the 400, or the enemy, at *Miletus*, overcame them, they must needs perish. C

So there was a contention at this time, one side compelling the Citie to a *Democracy*; the other, the Army to an *Oligarchy*. And presently there was an Assembly of the Souldiers called, wherein they depriued the former Commanders, and such Captaines of Gallies as they had in suspension, of their charge, and chose others, both Captaines of Gallies, and Commanders in their places, of which *Thrasybulus* and *Thrasyllus* were two. And they stood vp and encouraged one another, both otherwise, and with this, D That they had no cause to be dejected for the Cities reuolting from them; For they at Athens, being the lesser part, had forsaken them, who were not onely the greater part, but also euery way the better provided. For they hauing the whole Navy could compell the rest of the cities subiect vnto them, to pay in their money, as well now, as if they were to set out from Athens it selfe. And that they also had a Citie, namely *Samos*, no weake one, but euen such a one, as when they were enemies, wanted little of taking the Dominion of the Sea from the *Athenians*. That the seat of the Warre, was the same it was before; and that they should be better able to provide themselves of things necessary, hauing the Nauie, then they should E

The army encourageth itselfe against the City and State at home, by comparison of their strength.

A should be that were at home in the City. And that they at Athens were Masters of the entrance of *Piræus* both formerly by the favour of them at *Samos*, and that now also, vnlesse they restore them the *Gouernment*, they shall againe bee brought to that passe, that those at *Samos* shall bee better able to barre them the vye of the Sea, then they shall bee to barre it them of *Samos*. That it was a trifle and worth nothing which was conferred to the ouercomming of the Enemy by the Citie, and a small matter it would be to lose it, seeing they had neither any more Siluer to send them (for the Souldiers shifted for themselves) nor yet good direction B which is the thing for which the Citie hath the command of the Armies. Nay that in this point they erred which were at Athens, in that they had abrogated the Lawes of their Countrey, whereas they at *Samos* did both obserue the same themselves, and endeouour to constrain the other to doe so likewise. So that such of them in the Campe as should giue good counsell, were as good as they in the Citie. And that *Alcibiades*, if they would decree his security and his returne, would with all his heart procure the King to bee their Confederate. And that which is the maine thing, if they fayled of all other helpes, yet with so great a Fleet, they could not faile C of many places to retire to, in which they might finde both Citie and Territorie.

When they had thus debated the matter in the Assembly, and encouraged one another, they made ready, as at other times, whatsoeuer was necessary for the Warre. And the tenne Ambassadours which were sent to *Samos* from the *Four hundred*, hearing of this by the way, at *Delos*, whither they were come already, stayed still there.

D About the same time also, the Souldiers of the *Peloponnesian* Fleet at *Miletus* murmured amongst themselves, that *Astyochus* and *Tissaphernes* ouerthrew the state of their Affaires. *Astyochus*, in refusing to fight, both before, when their owne Fleete was stronger, and that of the *Athenians* but small, and also now, whilest they were said to bee in sedition, and their Fleet diuided, and in expecting the *Phœnician* Fleet, in fame, not in fact to come from *Tissaphernes*; And *Tissaphernes*, in that hee not onely brought not in that Fleete of his, E but also impaired theirs, by not giuing them their pay, neither fully nor continually: And that they therefore V u u ought

Vpon the murmur of the Souldiers against *Astyochus*, he goeth to *Samos* to offer the *Athenians* battle, who refuse it.

ought no longer to delay time, but to hazard battell. This A was urged principally by the *Syracusians*.

*Astyocheus* and the Confederates, when they heard of the murmur, and had in Counsell resolved to fight, especially after they were informed that *Samos* was in a tumult, putting forth with their whole Fleet, to the number of 121 Sayle, with order giuen to the *Milesians* to march by Land to the same place, went to *Mycale*. But the *Athenians* being come out from *Samos* with their Fleet of 82 Gallies, and riding now at *Glauce* of the Territory of *Mycale*, (for in this part toward *Mycale*, *Samos* is but a little B way from the Continent) when they descryed the *Peloponnesian* Fleet coming against them, put in againe to *Samos* as not esteeming themselves a sufficient number to hazard their whole fortune on the Battell. Besides, they stayed for the coming of *Strombichides* from *Hellepont* to their ayde, (for they saw that they of *Miletus* had a desire to fight) with those Gallies that went from *Chius* against *Abydus*; for they had sent vnto him before. So these retired into *Samos*. And the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *Mycale*, there encamped, as also did the Land-forces of the *Milesians*, and others of the Countrey thereabouts. The next C day, when they meant to haue gone against *Samos*, they receiued newes that *Strombichides* with his Gallies was arrived out of *Hellepont*, and thereupon returned presently to *Miletus*. Then the *Athenians* on the other side, with the addition of these Gallies, went to *Miletus*, being now one hundred and eight Sayle, intending to fight: but when no body came out against them, they likewise went backe to *Samos*.

The *Athenians* offer battell to the *Peloponnesians* and they refuse it.

The *Peloponnesians* send part of their Fleet towards the *Hellepont*, but there went through but onely tenne Gallies.

Immediately after this, the same Summer, the *Peloponnesians*, who refused to come out against the Enemy, as D holding themselves with their whole Fleete too weak to giue them Battell, and were now at a stand how to get Money for the maintenance of so great a number of Gallies, sent *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias* with fortie Gallies (according to the order at first from *Peloponnesus*) to *Pharnabazus*. For not onely *Pharnabazus* himselfe had sent for, and promised to pay them, but they were aduertised besides, by Ambassadors, that *Byzantium* had a purpose to reuolt. Hereupon these *Peloponnesian* Gallies hauing put out into the maine Sea, to the E end

A end that they might not be seene as they passed by, and tossed with Tempests, part of them (which were the greatest number) and *Clearchus* with them, got into *Delos*, and came afterwards to *Miletus* againe: (but *Clearchus* went thence againe into the *Hellepont* by Land, and had the command there,) and part vnder the charge of *Elixus* a *Megarean* (which were tenne Sayle, went safely through into the *Hellepont*, and caused *Byzantium* to reuolt. And after this, when they of *Samos* heard of it, they sent certaine Gallies into *Hellepont*, to oppose them, and to be a guard to the C ties thereabouts; and there followed a small fight betweene them, of eight Gallies to eight, before *Byzantium*.

In the meane time, they that were in authority at *Samos*, and especially *Torasybulus*, who after the forme of Government changed, was still of the minde to haue *Alcibiades* recalled, at length in an Assembly perswaded the Souldiers to the same. And when they had decreed for *Alcibiades*, both his returne, and his security, he went to *Tissaphernes*, and fetched *Alcibiades* to *Samos*, accounting it C their onely meanes of safety, to winne *Tissaphernes* from the *Peloponnesians* to themselves. An Assembly being called, *Alcibiades* complained of, and lamented, the calamity of his owne exile, and speaking much of the businesse of the State, gaue them no small hopes of the future time, hyperbolically magnifying his own power with *Tissaphernes*, to the end that both they which held the *Oligarchy* at home, might the more feare him, and so the Conspiracies dissolue, and also those at *Samos* the more honour him, and take better heart vnto themselves: and with- D all, that the Enemy might obiekt the same to the utmost to *Tissaphernes*, and fall from their present hopes. *Alcibiades* therefore, with the greatest boast that could bee, affirmed that *Tissaphernes* had undertaken to him, that as long as he had any thing left, if hee might but trust the *Athenians*, they should neuer want for maintenance, no, though hee should bee constrained to make Money of his owne bed; and that he would fetch the *Phenician* Fleet now at *Aspendus*, not to the *Peloponnesians*, but to the *Athenians*. And that then onely hee would rely vpon the E *Athenians*, when *Alcibiades* called home, should undertake for them.

*Alcibiades* is recalled, and cometh to *Samos*.

He manifesteth his power with *Tissaphernes*.



*Alcibiades* General of the  
Athenian army.

Hearing this and much more, they chose him presently **A** for Generall, together with those that were before, and committed vnto them the whole gouernment of their affaires. And now there was not a man that would haue sold his present hopes, both of subsisting themselves, and being reuenged of the *Four-hundred*, for any good in the world; and were ready euen then, vpon those words of his, contemning the Enemie there present, to set sayle for *Pireus*. But he, though many pressed it, by all meanes forbade their going against *Pireus*, being to leaue their Enemies so neere; but since they had chosen him Generall, **B** he was, he said, to goe to *Tissaphernes* first, and to dispatch such businesse with him as concerned the Warre. And as soone as the Assembly brake vp, he tooke his iourney accordingly, to the end that he might seeme to communicate euery thing with him, and for that he desired also to bee in more honour with him, and to shew that hee was Generall, and a man capable to doe him good or hurt. And it happened to *Alcibiades*, that he owed the *Athenians* with *Tissaphernes*, and *Tissaphernes* with the *Athenians*.

The *Peloponnesians* mur-  
dered against *Tissaphernes*  
and *Astyocheus*.

When the *Peloponnesians* that were at *Miletus* heard that *Alcibiades* was gone home, whereas they mistrusted *Tissaphernes* before, now they much more accused him. For it fell out, that when at the comming of the *Athenians* with their Fleet before *Miletus*, they refused to giue them Battell, *Tissaphernes* became thereby a great deale slacker in his payment, & besides that he was hated by them before this, for *Alcibiades* sake, the Souldiers now, meeting in Companies apart, reckoned vp one to another, the same matters which they had noted before, and some also, men of value, and not the common Souldier alone, recounted this withall, how they had neuer had their full stipend, that the allowance was but small, and yet not continually paid, and that vnlesse they either fought, or went to some other place where they might haue maintenance, their men would abandon the Fleet, and that the cause of all this was in *Astyocheus*, who for priuate lucre gaue way to the humour of *Tissaphernes*. Whilest these were vpon this consideration, there happened also a certaine tumult about *Astyocheus*. For the Mariners of the *Syracusians* and *Thurians*, **D** by how much they were a multitude, that had greater liberty

**A** bertie then the rest, with so much the flouter importunity, they demanded their pay. And he not onely gaue them somewhat an insolent answer, but also threatned *Dorieus*, that amongst the rest spake for the Souldiers vnder himselfe, and lift vp his staffe against him. When the Souldiers saw that, they tooke vp a cry like Seamen indeed, all at once, and were running vpon *Astyocheus*, to haue stricken him. But foreseeing it, he fled to an Altar, and was not stricken, but they were parted againe.

The *Milesians* also tooke in, a certaine Fort in *Miletus*, **B** built by *Tissaphernes*, hauing priuily assaulted it, and cast out the Garrison that was within it. These things were by the rest of the Confederates, and especially by the *Syracusians*, well approued of, but *Lichas* liked them not; saying, it behoued the *Milesians*, and the rest dwelling within the Kings Dominion, to haue obeyed *Tissaphernes* in all moderate things, and till such time as the Warre should haue been well dispatched, to haue courted him. And the *Milesians*, for this and other things of this kind were offended with *Lichas*, and afterwards when hee dyed of sickness, would not permit him to bee buried in that place, **C** where the *Lacedaemonians* then present, would haue had him.

Whilest they were quarrelling about their businesse with *Astyocheus* and *Tissaphernes*, *Mindarus* commeth in from *Lacedaemon* to succeed *Astyocheus* in his charge of the Fleet. And as soone as he had taken the Command vpon him, *Astyocheus* departed. But with him *Tissaphernes* sent a *Carian*, named *Cauleites*, one that spake\* both the Languages, both to accuse the *Milesians* about the Fort, and also to make **D** an Apologie for himselfe. Knowing that the *Milesians* went principally to exclaime vpon him, and that *Hermocrates* went with them, and would bewray how *Tissaphernes* vndid the businesse of the *Peloponnesians*, with *Alcibiades*, and dealt on both hands. For he was continually at enmity with him, about the payment of the Souldiers wages; and in the end, when *Hermocrates* was banished from *Syracuse*, and other Commanders of the *Syracusan* Fleet, namely, *Potamis*, *Miscon*, and *Demarchus*, were arriued at *Miletus*, *Tissaphernes* lay more heauy vpon him, being an Outlaw, **E** then before, and accused him amongst other things, that he had asked him mony, and because he could not haue it, became

Muciny against *Astyocheus*.

The *Milesians* take in  
the Fort made in that  
City by *Tissaphernes*.

*Mindarus* successor to  
*Astyocheus*, taketh charge  
of the Army, and *Astyocheus* goeth home.

\* Both Greeke and Persian.

The Ambassadors  
from the 400 to excuse  
the charge at Athens.

came his Enemy. So *Astyocheus* and *Hermocratus* and the *A Milesians* went their way to *Lacedæmon*.

*Alcibiades* by this time was come backe from *Tissaphernes*, to *Samos*. And those Ambassadors of the *Four-hundred*, which had bene sent out before to mollifie and to informe those of *Samos*, came from *Delos*, now, whilest *Alcibiades* was present.

An Assembly being called, they were offering to speake, but the Souldiers at first would not heare them, but cryed out to haue them put to death, for that they had deposed the *People*; yet afterwards with much adoe they were calmed, and gaue them hearing. They declared, *That the charge had bene made for the preservation of the City, not to despoil it, nor to deliuer it to the Enemy; for they could haue done that before now, when the Enemy during their gouernment assaulted it. That euery one of the 5000 was to participate of the Gouernment in their turnes. And their friends were not (as Chæreas had laid to their charge) abused, nor had any wrong at all, but remained euery one quietly vpon his owne.*

*Alcibiades* came to the  
Athenian State.

Though they deliuered this and much more, yet the Souldiers beleued them not, but raged still, and declared their opinions, some in one sort, some in another, most agreeing in this to goe against *Piræus*. And now *Alcibiades* appeared to be the first and principall man in doing seruice to the Common-wealth. For when the *Athenians* at *Samos* were carried headlong to inuade themselues, (in which case most manifestly the Enemy had presently possessed himselfe of *Ionian* and *Hellepont*) it was thought that hee was the man that kept them from it. Nor was there any man at that time able to haue held in the Multitude, but himselfe. He both made them to desist from the voyage, and rated off from the Ambassadors, those that were in their owne particular incensed against them; whom also he sent away, giuing them their answer himselfe: *That he opposed not the gouernment of the 5000, but willed them to remove the 400, and to establish the Councell that was before of 500. That if they had frugally cut off any expence, so that such as were employed in the Warres might be the better maintained, he did much commend them for it. And withall hee exhorted them to stand out, and giue no ground to their Enemies; for that as long as the City held out, there was great hope for them to compound; but if*

*A* if eyther part miscarry once, eyther this at *Samos*, or the other at *Athens*, there would none be left for the Enemy to compound withall.

There chanced to be present also the Ambassadors of the *Argiues*, sent vnto the Popular faction of the *Athenians* in *Samos*, to assit them. These *Alcibiades* commended, and appointed to be ready when they should be called for, and so dismissed them. These *Argiues* came in with those of the *Paralus*, that had bene bestowed formerly in the military Gally by the *Four-hundred*, to goe about *Eubæa*, and to conuoy *Lespolias*, *Aristophon*, and *Melesias*, Ambassadors from the *Four-hundred*, to *Lacedæmon*. These as they sayled by *Argos*, seized on the Ambassadors, and deliuered them as principall men in deposing of the *People*, to the *Argiues*, and returned no more to *Athens*, but came with the Gallie they then were in, to *Samos*, and brought with them these Ambassadors from the *Argiues*.

The same Summer, *Tissaphernes*, at the time that the *Peloponnesians* were offended with him most, both for the going home of *Alcibiades*, and diuers other things, as now manifestly *Anticizing*, with purpose, as indeed it seemed, to cleere himselfe to them, concerning his accusations, made ready for his journey to *Aspendus* for the *Phœnician* Fleet, and willed *Lichas* to goe along with him; saying that he would substitute *Tamos* his Deputy Lieutenant ouer the Army, to pay the Fleet whilest himselfe was absent.

This matter is diuersly reported, and it is hard to know with what purpose he went to *Aspendus*, and yet brought not the Fleet away with him. For it is knowne that 147 *D* Sayle of *Phœnicians* were come forward as far as *Aspendus*, but why they came not thorow, the coniectures are various. Some thinke it was vpon designe (as hee formerly intended) to weare out the *Peloponnesian* Forces, (for which cause also, *Tamos*, who had that charge, made no better, but rather worse payment then himselfe.) Others, that hauing brought the *Phœnicians* as far as *Aspendus*, he might dismiss them for money; (for he neuer meant to vse their seruice.) Some againe said, it was because they exclaimed so against it at *Lacedæmon*, and that it might not bee *E* said he abused them, but that hee went openly to a Fleet really set out.

*Tissaphernes* goeth to the  
*Phœnician* Fleet at *Aspendus*.

Coniectures of diuers  
vpon his going.

For

The opinion of the  
Author.

For my owne part, I thinke it most cleare, that it was A  
to the end to consume, and to ballance the *Grecians*, that he  
brought not those Gallies in. Consuming them, in that  
he went thither, and delayed the time; and equalizing  
them, in that bringing them to neither, he made neither  
party the stronger. For if he had had a mind to end the  
Warre, it is manifest hee might haue beene sure to haue  
done it. For if he had brought them to the *Lacedæmoni-  
ans*, in all reason he had giuen them the victory, who had  
a Nauie already, rather equall then inferiour to that of their  
Enemies.

But that which hurt them most, was the pretence hee B  
alledged for not bringing the Fleet in, for he said they  
were not so many sayle as the King had ordained to be got-  
ten together. But sure he might haue ingratiated himselfe  
more in this businesse, by dispatching it with lesse of the  
Kings Money, then by spending more. But whatsoeuer was  
his purpose, *Tissaphernes* went to *Aspendus*, and was with  
the *Phœnicians*, and by his owne appointment, the *Pelopon-  
nesians* sent *Philip* a *Lacedæmonian* with him with two Gal-  
lies, as to take charge of the Fleet.

*Alcibiades*, knowing that  
*Tissaphernes* would neuer  
bring on the Fleet, goeth  
after him, to make the  
*Peloponnesians* thinke, the  
Fleet was staid for his &  
the *Athenians* sakes.

*Alcibiades*, when he heard that *Tissaphernes* was gone to C  
*Aspendus*, goes after him with thirtene Gallies, promi-  
sing to those at *Samos*, a safe and great benefit, which was,  
that he would either bring those *Phœnician* Gallies to the  
seruice of the *Athenians*, or at least hinder their comming  
to the *Peloponnesians*; knowing, as is likely, the minde of  
*Tissaphernes* by long acquaintance, that hee meant not to  
bring them on, and desiring, as much as he could, to pro-  
cure him the ill will of the *Peloponnesians*, for the friendship  
shewne to himselfe and to the *Athenians*, that hee might D  
thereby the better engage him to take their part. So hee  
presently put to Sea, holding his course for *Phaselis* and  
*Caunus* upwards.

Sedition at *Athens*, about  
the change of the *Oligar-  
chy* into *Democracy* againe.

The Ambassadors of the *Four-hundred* being returned  
from *Samos* to *Athens*, and hauing related what they had  
in charge from *Alcibiades*, how that he exhorted them to hold  
out, and not giue ground to the Enemy, and that he had great hopes  
to reconcile them to the army, and to overcome the *Peloponnesi-  
ans*; whereas many of the sharers in the *Oligarchy*, were  
formerly discontented, and would gladly, if they could E  
haue done it safely, haue quitted the businesse, they were  
now

Now a great deale more confirmed in that minde. And  
already they had their meetings apart, and did cast aspersi-  
ons on the *Gouernment*, and had for their ring-leaders,  
some of the heads of the *Oligarchicals*, and such as bare Of-  
fice amongst them, as *Tberamenes* the sonne of *Agnes*, and  
*Aristocrates* the sonne of *Sicelias*, and others, who though  
they were partakers with the foremost in the affaires of  
State, yet feared, as they said, *Alcibiades*, and the Armie  
at *Samos*; and ioyned in the sending of Ambassadors to  
*Lacedæmon*, because they were loth, by singling themselves  
B from the greater number, to hurt the State, not that they  
dismissed the State into the hands of a very few. But said,  
that the 5000 ought in fact to be assigned, and not in voice  
only, and the *Gouernment* to be reduced to a greater e-  
quality. And this was indeede the forme pretended in  
words by the 400. But the most of them, through priuate  
ambition, fell vpon that, by which an *Oligarchy* made out  
of a *Democracy*, is chiefly ouerthrowne. For at once they  
claymed euery one, not to be equall, but to bee farre the  
chiefe. Whereas in a *Democracie*, when election is made,  
C because a man is not overcome by his equals, he can better  
brooke it. But the great power of *Alcibiades* at *Samos*, and  
the opinion they had that the *Oligarchy* was not like to last,  
was it that most evidently encouraged them; and there-  
vpon they euery one contended, who should most emi-  
nently become the Patron of the *People*.

Ambition of the *Oligar-  
chicals* amongst them-  
selves, ouerthroweth  
their *Gouernment*.

But those of the *Four-hundred* that were most opposite  
to such a forme of *Gouernment*, and the principall of  
them, both *Phrynichus*, (who had beene Generall at *Samos*,  
and was euer since at difference with *Alcibiades*) and *Ari-  
starchus*, a man that had beene an aduersary to the *People*,  
D both in the greatest manner, and for the longest time; and  
*Pisander* and *Antiphon*, and others of the greatest power, not  
only formerly, as soone as they entred into authority, and  
afterward when the State at *Samos* reuolted to the *People*,  
sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, and bestirred themselves  
for the *Oligarchy*, and built a wal in the place called *Eetioneia*,  
but much more afterwards, when their Ambassadors  
were come from *Samos*, and that they saw not only the  
*Populars*, but also some others of their own party, thought  
E trusty before, to bee now changed. And to *Lacedæmon*  
they sent *Antiphon* and *Phrynichus*, with tenne others, with

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all

The Oligarchs fortifie  
the mouth of the Hauē  
of *Piræus*.

all possible speed, as fearing their aduersaries, both at home **A**  
and at *Samos*, with Commission to make a Peace with the  
*Lacedæmonians* on any tolerable conditions whatsoever, or  
howsoever, and in this time went on with the building of  
the Wall in *Eetioneia* with greater diligence then before.  
The scope they had in this Wall, as it was giuen out by  
*Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon* was not so much to keepe out  
those of *Samos*, in case they should attempt by force to en-  
ter into *Piræus*, as at their pleasure to be able to let in both  
the Gallies, and the Land-forces of the Enemies. For this  
*Eetioneia* is the Peere of the *Piræus*, close vnto which is the **B**  
mouth of the Hauē; and therefore they built this Wall,  
so to another Wall, that was built before to the Continent,  
that a few men lying within it, might command the en-  
trance. For the end of each Wall was brought to the  
Tower vpon the very mouth of the Hauē, as well of the  
old Wall towards the Continent, as of the new which was  
built within it to the water. They built also an open  
\* ground-gallery, an exceeding great one, and close to their  
new Wall within *Piræus*, and were Masters of it, and con-  
strained all men, as well to bring thither their corne, which **C**  
they had already come in, as to vnload there whatsoever  
should come in afterward, and to take & sell it from thence.

*Theramenes* murmureth a-  
gainst their fortifying in  
*Eetioneia*.

These things *Theramenes* murmured at long before, and  
when the Ambassadors returned from *Lacedæmon*, with-  
out compounding for them all in generall, he gaue out, that  
this Wall would endanger the vndoing of the Citie. For  
at this very instant, there hapned to be riding on the Coast  
of *Laconia*, 42 Gallies, (amongst which were some of *Ta-*  
*rentum*, some of *Locri*, some *Italians*, and some *Sicilians*) set  
out from *Peloponnesus*, at the instance of the *Eubæans*, bound **D**  
for *Eubæa*, and commanded by *Hegesandridas* the sonne of *He-*  
*gesander*, a *Spartan*. And these *Theramenes* said were com-  
ming, not so much towards *Eubæa*, as towards those that  
fortified in *Eetioneia*, and that if they were not looked to,  
they would surprize the City. Now some matter might  
indeed be gathered also from those that were accused, so  
that it was not a meere slander. For their principall de-  
signe was to retaine the *Oligarchy*, with dominion ouer  
their Confederates; but if they failed of that, yet  
being masters of the Gallies and of the fortification, to haue **E**  
subsisted free themselues; If barred of that, then, rather  
then

The scope of the Oligar-  
chicals.

**A** then to bee the onely men to suffer death vnder the re-  
stored *Democracie*, to let in the Enemy, and without ei-  
ther Navy or Fortification, to haue let what would haue  
become of the City, and to haue compounded for the safe-  
ty of their owne persons.

Therefore they went diligently on with the Fortifica-  
tion, wherein were Wickets and Entries, and backe-  
wayes for the Enemy, and desired to haue it finished in  
time. And though these things were spoken but amongst  
a few before, and in secret, yet when *Phrynichus*, after his  
**B** returne from his *Lacedæmonian* Ambassage, was by a cer-  
taine Watchman wounded treacherously in the Market-  
place, when it was full, as he went from the Councell-  
house, and not farre from it, fell instantly dead, and the  
murtherer gone; and that one of his Complices, an *Argiue*,  
taken by the *Foure-hundred*, and put to the torture, would  
confesse no man of those named to him, nor any thing else,  
sauius this, that many men vsed to assemble at the house  
of the Captaine of the Watch, and at other houses,  
then at length, because this accident bred no alteration,

*Phrynichus* murthered.

**C** *Theramenes*, and *Aristocrates*, and as many other, either of  
the 400, or out of that number, as were of the same facti-  
on, proceeded more boldly to assault the Gouvernement.  
For now also the Fleet being come about from *Laconia*,  
and lying vpon the Coast of *Epidaurus*, had made incursi-  
ons vpon *Ægina*. And *Theramenes* thereupon alledged, that  
it was improbable that those Gallies holding their course  
for *Eubæa*, would haue put in at *Ægina*, and then haue  
gone backe againe to lye at *Epidaurus*, vnlesse they had  
beene sent for by such men as he had euer accused of the  
**D** same; and that therefore there was no reason any longer  
to sit still. And in the end, after many seditious and  
suspicious speeches, they fell vpon the State in good ear-  
nest. For the Souldiers that were in *Piræus*, employed in  
fortifying *Eetioneia*, (amongst whom was also *Aristocra-*  
*tes*, Captaine of a Band of men, and his Band with him)  
seized on *Alexicles*, principall Commander of the Souldi-  
ers vnder the *Foure-hundred*, an eminent man of the other  
side, and carrying him into a house, kept him in hold.  
As soone as the newes heereof was brought vnto the  
**E** *Foure-hundred*, (who chanced at the same time to be sitting  
in the Councell-house) they were ready al of them presently

*Theramenes* and his Facti-  
on set themselues against  
the rest of the 400.

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to

to haue taken Armes, threatning *Theramenes* and his A Faction.

Heto purge himselfe was ready to goe with them, and to helpe to rescue *Alexicles*, and taking with him one of the Commanders, who was also of his Faction, went downe into *Piræus*. To helpe him went also *Aristarchus*, and certaine Horse-men of the yonger sort.

Great and terrible was the tumult. For in the Citie they thought *Piræus* was already taken, and him that was laid in hold, slaine. And in *Piræus* they expected euery B houre the power of the City to come vpon them. At last the ancient men, stopping them that ran vp and downe the City to arme themselves, and *Thucydides* of *Pharsalus*, the Cities \* Host, being then there, going boldly and close vp to euery one he met, and crying out vnto them, not to destroy their Countrey, when the Enemy lay so neere waiting for an aduantage with much adoe quieted them, and held their hands from spilling their owne blood. *Theramenes* comming into *Piræus*, for he also had command ouer the Souldiers, made a shew by his exclaiming, of being C angry with them; but *Aristarchus* and those that were of the contrary side, were extremely angry in good earnest. Neuerthelesse the Souldiers went on with their busines, and repented not a iot of what they had done. Then they asked *Theramenes*, if hee thought this Fortification were made to any good end, and whether it were not better to haue it demolished. And he answered, that if they thought good to demolish it, he also thought the same. At which word they presently got vp, both the Souldiers, and also many others, of *Piræus*, and fell a digging downe of the D Wall.

Now the prouocation that they vsed to the Multitude, was in these words: That whosoever desired that the Soueraignty should be in the 5000 instead of the 400, ought also to set himselfe to the worke in hand. For notwithstanding all this, they thought fit as yet to vayne the Democracie with the name of the *Five-thousand*, and not to say plainly, *Whosoever will haue the Soueraignty in the People*, lest the 5000. should haue bin extant indeed, and so a man by speaking to some or other of them, might doe hurt to the businesse, E through ignorance. And for this cause it was, that the

Four-

*Thucydides*. He that lodged the Athenians, when any of them came to *Pharsalus*.

The souldiers pull downe the Wall they had built in *Ectoneia*.

A *Four-hundred* would neither let the *Five-thousand* bee extant, nor yet let it bee knowne that they were not. For to make so many participant of the affaires of State, they thought was a direct Democracie, but to haue it doubtfull, would make them afraid of one another. The next day, the *Four-hundred*, though out of order, yet met together in the Councill-house, and the Souldiers in *Piræus* hauing enlarged *Alexicles*, whom they had before imprisoned, and quite razed the Fortification, came into the Theater of *Bacchus*, neere to *Munychia*, and there sate downe with their B Armes, and presently, according as they had resolued in an Assembly then holden, marched into the City, and there sate downe againe in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. To this place came vnto them certaine men elected by the *Four-hundred*, and man to man reasoned and perswaded with such as they saw to be of the mildest temper, both to be quiet themselves, & to restraine the rest, saying, that not onely the *Five-thousand* should be made knowne who they were, but that out of these, such should be chosen in turnes, to be of the *Four-hundred*, as the *Five-thousand* should C thinke good; and entreating them by all meanes, that they would not in the meane time ouerthrow the City, and force it into the hand of the Enemy. Hereupon the whole number of the men of Armes, after many reasons, alledged to many men, grew calmer, and feared most the losse of the whole City. And it was agreed betwixt them, that an Assembly should be held, for making of accord, in the Temple of *Bacchus* at a day assigned.

When they came to the Temple of *Bacchus*, and wanted but a little of a full Assembly, came newes that *Hegesandridas* with his 42 Gallies, came from *Megara* along the Coast towards *Salamis*. And now there was not a Souldier, but thought it the very same thing that *Theramenes* and his party had before told them, That those Gallies were to come to the Fortification, and that it was now demolished to good purpose. But *Hegesandridas*, perhaps vpon appointment, houred vpon the Coast of *Epidaurus*, and thereabouts, but it is likely, that in respect of the sedition of the Athenians, he staid in those parts, with hope to take hold of E some good aduantage. Howsoever it was, the Athenians, as soone as it was told them, ran presently with all the po-

wer

A day appointed for an assembly, wherein to treat of agreement.

wer of the City, downe to *Piræus*; lesse esteeming their domestic Warre, then that of the Common Enemy, which was not now farre off, but euen in the Hauen. And some went aboard the Gallies that were then ready, some lanchd the rest, and others ranne to defend the Walles, and mouth of the Hauen.

The battell between the Athenians and the Fleet of Hegesandridas at Eretria.

But the *Peloponnesian* Gallies being now gone by, and gotten about the Promontory of *Sunium*, cast Anchor betweene *Thoricus* and *Prasie*, and put in afterwards at *Oropus*. The *Athenians* with all speede, constrained to make vse of tumultuary Forces, such as a Citie in time of sedition might afford, and desirous with all haste to make good their greatestt stake, (for *Eubæa*, since they were shut out of *Attica*, was all they had) sent a Fleet vnder the command of *Timocharis*, to *Eretria*. Which arriuing, with those Gallies that were in *Eubæa* before, made vp the number of fixe and thirty Sayle; and they were presently constrained to hazard Battell. For *Hegesandridas* brought out his Gallies from *Oropus*, when hee had first there dined.

Now *Oropus* is from *Eretria* about threescore Furlongs of Sea. Whereupon the *Athenians* also, as the Enemy came towards them, beganne to embarke, supposing that their Souldiers had beene some where neere vnto the Gallies; but it fell out, that they were gone abroad to get their dinner, not in the Market (for by set purpose of the *Eretrians*, to the end that the Enemy might fall vpon the *Athenians* that embarked slowly, before they were ready, and force them to come out and fight nothing was there to bee sold) but in the vtmost Houses of the Citie. There was besides a signe set vp at *Eretria*, to giue them notice at *Oropus*, at what time to set forward.

The Athenians defeated.

The *Athenians* drawne out by this deuice, and fighting before the Hauen of *Eretria*, made resistance neuertheless for a while, but afterwards they turned their backs, and were chased ashore. Such as fled to the City of the *Eretrians*, taking it for their friend, were handled most cruelly, and slaughtered by them of the Towne; but such as got to the Fort in *Eretria*, holden by the *Athenians*, saued themselves: And so did so many of their Gallies as got to *Chalcis*.

The

A The *Peloponnesians*, after they had taken twelue *Athenian* Gallies with the men, whereof some they slew, and some they tooke prisoners, erected a Trophie; and not long after, hauing caused all *Eubæa* to reuolt, saue onely *Oreus* (which the *Athenians* held with their owne forces) they settled the rest of their businesse there.

Subst. reuolted.

When the newes of that which had hapned in *Eubæa*, was brought to *Athens*, it put the *Athenians* into the greatestt astonishment that euer they had beene in before. For neither did their losse in *Sicily*, though then thought great, nor any other at any time so much affright them, as this. For now when the Army at *Samos* was in rebellion, when they had no more Gallies, nor men to put aboard, when they were in Sedition amongst themselves, and in continually expectation of falling together by the eares; then in the necke of all, arriued this great Calamity; wherein they not onely lost their Gallies, but also, which was worst of all, *Eubæa*, by which they had receiued more Commodity then by *Attica*. How then could they choose but be deiected? But most of all they were troubled, and that for the necrenelle, with a feare least vpon this victory, the enemy should take courage, and come immediately into *Piræus*, now empty of Shipping, of which they thought nothing wanting, but that they were not there already. And had they beene any thing aduenturous, they might easily haue done it, and then, had they stayed there and besieged them, they had not onely encreased the Sedition, but also compelled the Fleet to come away from *Ionis*, to the ayde of their kinred and of the whole City, though Enemies to the *Oligarchy*; and in the meane time gotten, the *Hellepont*, *Ionis*, the *Ilands* and all places euen to *Eubæa*, and as one may say, the whole *Athenian* Empire into their power. But the *Lacedæmonians* not onely in this, but in many other things were most commodious enemies to the *Athenians* to Warre withall. For being of most different humours, the one swift, the other slow, the one aduenturous, the other timorous, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue them great aduantage, especially when their greatnesse was by Sea. This was euident in the *Syracusians*, who being in condition like vnto them, warred best against them.

The Lacedæmonians upon the losse of *Eubæa*.

The *Lacedæmonians* let slip the aduantage which they might haue had, if in prosecution of the victory, they had come to *Tireus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* commodious enemies to the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* vpon this newes, made ready notwithstanding



The Athenians settle their Government, and put an end to the Sedition, by deposing the 400, & setting up the 5000.

standing twenty Gallies, and called an Assembly, one A then presently in the place called *Pnyx*, where they were wont to assemble at other times, in which hauing deposed the *Four-hundred*, they decreed the *Soueraignty* to the *Five-housand*, of which number were all such to bee, as were charged with *Armes*; and from that time forward to *Salariate* no man for *Magistracy*, with a penalty on the *Magistrate* receiuing the *Salary*, to be held for an execrable person. There were also diuers other Assemblies held afterwards, wherein they elected Law-makers, and enacted other things concerning the *Gouernment*. And now first, (at least B in my time) the *Athenians* seeme to haue ordered their State aright; which consisted now of a moderate temper, both of the *Few*, and of the *Many*. And this was the first thing, that after so many misfortunes past, made the City againe to raise her head.

They recall Alcibiades.

They decreed also the recalling of *Alcibiades*, and those that were in exile with him; and sending to him, and to the Army at *Samos*, willed them to fall in hand with their businesse.

Most of the Oligarchs fly to the enemy.

Aristarchus betrayeth Oenoe.

In this change, *Pisander* and *Alexicles*, and such as were with them, and they that had beene principall in the *Oligarchy*, immediately withdrew themselves to *Decelea*. Onely *Aristarchus* (for it chanced that hee had charge of the Souldiers) tooke with him certaine Archers, of the most Barbarous, and went with all speede to *Oenoe*. This was a Fort of the *Athenians* in the Confines of *Bæotia*, and (for the losse that the *Corinthians* had received by the Garrison of *Oenoe*,) was, by voluntary *Corinthians*, and by some *Bæotians* by them called in to ayde them, now besieged. *Aristarchus* therefore hauing treated with these, deceived those in *Oenoe*, and told them, that the City of *Athens* had compounded with the *Lacedæmonians*, and that they were to render vp the place to the *Bæotians*, for that it was so conditioned in the Agreement. Whereupon, beleeuing him, as one that had authority ouer the Souldiery, and knowing nothing because besieged, vpon security for their passe, they gaue vp the Fort. So the *Bæotians* receiue *Oenoe*; and the *Oligarchy* and Sedition at *Athens* cease.

About

A About the same time of this Summer, when none of those, whom *Tissaphernes*, at his going to *Aspendus*, had substituted to pay the *Peloponnesian* Nauie, at *Miletus*, did it; and seeing neither the *Phœnician* Fleet, nor *Tissaphernes* came to them; and seeing *Philip*, that was sent along with him; and also another, one *Hippocrates* a *Spartan*, that was lying in *Phaselis*, had written to *Mindarus* the Generall, That the Fleete was not to come at all, and in euery thing *Tissaphernes* abused them; seeing also that *Pharnabazus* had sent B for them, and was willing, vpon the coming to him of their Fleete, for his owne part also, as well as *Tissaphernes*, to cause the rest of the Cities within his owne Prouince to reuolt from the *Athenians*; Then at length, *Mindarus* hoping for benefit by him, with good order, and sudden warning, that the *Athenians* at *Samos* might not bee aware of their setting forth, went into the *Hellepont* with seauenty three Gallies, besides sixteene, which the same Summer were gone into the *Hellepont* before, and had ouer-runne part of *Chersonesus*. But tossed with the Winds, hee was forced to put in at *Icarus*, and after hee had staid there through ill weather some five or fixe dayes, he arriued at *Chios*.

*Thrasyllus* hauing beene aduertised of his departure from *Miletus*, hee also puts to Sea from *Samos*, with five and fifty Sayle, hasting to bee in the *Hellepont* before him. But hearing that hee was in *Chios*, and conceiuing that hee would stay there, hee appointed D Spyes to lye in *Lesbos*, and in the Continent ouer against it, that the Fleet of the Enemy might not remoue without his knowledge; and hee himselfe going to *Methymna*, commanded prouision to bee made of Meale, and other necessaries, intending, if they stayed there long, to goe from *Lesbos*, and inuade them in *Chios*.

Withall, because *Eressus* was reuolted from *Lesbos*, he purposed to goe thither with his Fleet, if hee could, E to take it in. For the most potent of the *Methymnaan* Exiles had gotten into their society, about fifty men of Armes,

Mindarus with the Peloponnesian Fleet, seeing Tissaphernes and the Phœnician Fleet came not, resolves to goe to Pharnabazus in the Hellespont.

Mindarus stayeth by the way at Chios, Thrasyllus in the meane time out-goes him, and watches for his going by at Lesbos.

Y y

Armes,

Armes, out of *Cyme*, and hired others out of the Conti-  
nent, and with their whole number, in all three hundred,  
hauling for their Leader *Anaxarchus* a *Theban*, chosen in re-  
spect of their descent from the *Thebans*, first assaulted *Methymna*, but beaten in the attempt, by the *Athenian* Gar-  
rison that came against them from *Mitylene*, and againe  
in a Skirmish without the Citie, driuen quite away,  
they passed by the way of the Mountaine to *Eressus*,  
and caused it to reuolt. *Thrasylus* therefore intended to  
goe thither with his Gallies, and to assault it. At his  
comming, hee found *Thrasylulus* there also before him, B  
with five Gallies from *Samos*: For hee had beene aduer-  
tised of the Out-lawes comming ouer; but being too  
late to prevent them, hee went to *Eressus*, and lay before  
it at Anchor. Hither also came two Gallies of *Methymna*,  
that were going home from the *Hellepont*; so that they  
were in all threescore and seven Sayle, out of which they  
made an Armie, intending with Engines, or any other  
way they could, to take *Eressus* by assault.

In the meane time, *Mindarus*, and the *Peloponnesian* Fleet  
that was at *Chios*, when they had spent two dayes in  
victualling their Gallies, and had receiued of the *Chians* C  
three *Chian* \* *Tessaracostes* a man, on the third day put spee-  
dily off from *Chios*; and kept farre from the shore, that  
they might not fall amongst the Gallies at *Eressus*. And  
leauing *Lesbos* on the left hand, went to the Continent  
side, and putting in at a Hauē in *Craterci*, belonging to  
the Territory of *Phocæa*, and there dining, passed along  
the Territory of *Cyme*, and came to *Arginusa* in the Con-  
tinent, ouer against *Mitylene*, where they supped. From  
thence they put forth late in the night, and came to *Har-* D  
*matus*, a place in the Continent ouer against *Methymna*, and  
after dinner going a great pace by *Lectus*, *Larissa*, *Hamaxirus*,  
and other the Townes in those parts, came before midnight  
to *Rhetium*; this now is in *Hellepont*. But some of his Gal-  
lies put in at *Sigeum*, and other places thereabouts.

The *Athenians* that lay with eightene Gallies at  
*Sestus*, knew that the *Peloponnesians* were entring into  
the *Hellepont*, by the Fires: both those which their owne  
Watchmen put vp, & by the many which appeared on the  
Enemies shore, and therefore the same night, in all haste, E  
as they were, kept the shore of *Chersonnesus*, towards *Eleus*,  
desiring

*Mindarus* and his fleet  
steale by into the *Helle-  
pont* vnto those that  
watched their going, in  
*Lesbos*.  
\* a *Tessaracoste*, seemeth  
to have had a cope amongst  
the *Chians* and the fortitudo  
part of some other greater  
force.

The *Athenians* at *Sestus*  
with 18 Gallies steale  
out of the *Hellepont*, but  
were met by *Mindarus*, and  
4 of them taken.

A desiring to get out into the wide Sea, and to decline  
the Fleete of the Enemy; and went out vntoene of  
those sixteene Gallies that lay at *Abydus*, (though these  
had warning before from the Fleete of their friends  
that came on, to watch them narrowly, that they went  
not out) but in the morning, being in sight of the  
Fleete with *Mindarus*, and chased by him, they  
could not all escape, but the most of them got to  
the Continent, and into *Lemnos*; onely foure of the  
hindmost were taken neere *Eleus*; whereof the *Pelo-*  
B *ponnesians* tooke one with the men in her, that had run  
her selfe a-ground at the Temple of *Protesilaus*, and  
two other without the men, and set fire on a fourth,  
abandoned vpon the shoare of *Imbrus*.

After this they besieged *Eleus* the same day, with  
those Gallies of *Abydus*, which were with them, and  
with the rest, being now all together fourescore and sixe  
Sayle. But seeing it would not yeeld, they went away  
to *Abydus*.

C The *Athenians*, who had beene deceiued by their  
Spyes, and not imagining that the Enemies Fleete  
could haue gone by without their knowledge, and at-  
tended at leasure the assault of *Eressus*, when now they  
knew they were gone, immediately left *Eressus*, and  
hasted to the defence of *Hellepont*. By the way they  
tooke two Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, that hauing ventu-  
red into the Maine more boldly in following the Enemy,  
then the rest had done, chanced to light vpon the Fleet  
of the *Athenians*.

D The next day they came to *Eleus*, and staid, and thi-  
ther, from *Imbrus*, came vnto them those other Gallies  
that had escaped from the Enemy. Heere they spent five  
dayes in preparation for a Battell. After this, they  
fought in this manner. The *Athenians* went by the shore,  
ordering their Gallies one by one, towards *Sestus*. The  
*Peloponnesians* also, when they saw this, brought out  
their Fleet against them from *Abydus*.

Being sure to fight, they drew out their Fleets in  
E length, the *Athenians* along the shoare of *Chersonnesus*,  
beginning at *Idacus*, and reaching as farre as *Arbiana*,

Y y 2

three.

The *Athenians* hasted from  
*Lesbos* after the *Peloponne-  
sians* into *Hellepont*.

The *Athenians* and *Pelo-  
ponnesians* fight, and the  
*Athenians* get the victory.

threescore and sixe Gallies. And the *Peloponnesians*, **A** from *Abydus* to *Dardanius*, fourescore and sixe Gallies. In the right Wing of the *Peloponnesians*, were the *Syracusians*; in the other, *Mindarus* himselve, and those Gallies that were nimblest. Amongst the *Athenians*, *Thrasylus* had the left Wing, and *Thrasibulus* the right, and the rest of the Commanders, euery one the place assigned him.

Now the *Peloponnesians* laboured to giue the first onset, and with their left Wing to ouer-reach the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and keepe them from going **B** out, and to driue those in the middle, to the shore which was neere. The *Athenians*, who perceiued it, where the Enemy went about to cut off their way out, put forth the same way that they did, and out-went them.

The left Wing of the *Athenians* was also gone forward by this time, beyond the point called \**Cynos-fema*, by meanes whereof that part of the Fleet which was in the middest, became both weake and diuided, especially when theirs was the lesse Fleet; and the sharpe **C** and angular figure of the place about *Cynos-fema* tooke away the sight of what passed there, from those that were on the other side.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore charging this middle part, both draue their Gallies to the dry Land, and beeing farre superiour in fight, went out after them, and assaulted them vpon the shore. And to helpe them, neither was *Thrasibulus* able, who was in the right Wing, for the multitude of the Enemies that pressed him; nor *Thrasylus* in the left Wing, both because hee could **D** not see what was done for the Promontory of *Cynos-fema*, and because also hee was kept from it by the *Syracusians* and others, lying vpon his hands, no fewer in number then themselues. Till at last the *Peloponnesians*, bold vpon their victory, chasing someone Gally, some another, fell into some disorder, in a part of their Armie. And then those about *Thrasibulus*, hauing obserued that the opposite Gallies sought now no more to go beyond them, turned vpon them, and fighting, put them presently to flight. And hauing also cut off from the rest of the **E** Fleet, such Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, of that part that

\* The Sepulcher of Hecuba.  
Europe

**A** that had the victory, as were scattered abroad, some they assaulted, but the greatest number they put into affright vnfoughten. The *Syracusians* also, whom those about *Thrasylus* had already caused to shrinke, when they saw the rest fly, fled out-right.

This defeat being giuen, and the *Peloponnesians* hauing for the most part escaped, first to the Riuer *Pydius*, and afterwards to *Abydus*; though the *Athenians* tooke but few of their Gallies, (for the narrowesse of the **B** *Hellepont* afforded to the Enemy a short retreat) yet the Victory was the most seasonable to them that could be. For hauing till this day stood in feare of the *Peloponnesian* Nauie, both for the losse which they had receiued by little and little, and also for their great losse in *Sicily*, they now ceased eyther to accuse themselues, or to thinke highly any longer of the Nauall power of their Enemies. The Gallies they tooke were these; eight of *Chios*, five of *Corinth*, of *Ambracia* two, of *Leucas*, *Laconia*, *Syracuse*, and *Pellene*, one apiece. Of their owne **C** they lost fifteene.

When they had set vp a Trophie in the Promontory of *Cynos-fema*, and taken vp the wreckes, and giuen truce to the Enemies to fetch away the bodies of their dead, they presently sent away a Gally with a Messenger, to carry newes of the Victory to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, vpon the comming in of this Gally, hearing of their vnexpected good fortune, were encouraged much, after their losse in *Eubœa*, and after their sedition, and conceiued that their estate might yet keepe vp, if they ply- **D** ed the businesse courageously.

The fourth day after this Battell, the *Athenians* that were in *Sestus*, hauing hastily prepared their Fleet, went to *Cyzicus* which was reuolted, and espying as they past by, the eight Gallies come from *Byzantium*, riding vnder *Harpagium* and *Priapus*, set vpon them, and hauing also ouercome those that came to their ayde from the Land, tooke them. Then comming to *Cyzicus*, being an open Towne, they brought it againe into their owne power, **E** and leauied a summe of Money amongst them.

The courage of the *Athenians* erected with this victory.

The *Athenians* recover *Cyzicus*, and take 8 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*.

The

The Peloponnesians recovered some of their Gallies taken, at Eleus.

They send for the Fleet with Hegesandides out of Eubœa.

Alcibiades returneth from Affidus to Samos.

He fortifieth Cos.

The Antandrians put out the Garrison of Tiffaphernes out of their Cittadell.

Tiffaphernes goeth toward Helleſpont, to recover the favour of the Peloponnesians.

The Peloponnesians in the meane time going from Aby- A dus to Eleus, recovered as many of their Gallies formerly taken, as remained whole. The rest, the Eleusians had burnt. They also sent Hippocrates and Epicles into Eubœa, to fetch away the Fleet that was there.

About the same time also, returned Alcibiades to Samos, with his thirteene Gallies from Caunus and Phaselis, reporting that he had diuerted the Phœnician Fleete from comming to the Peloponnesians, and that hee had inclined Tiffaphernes to the friendship of the Athenians, more then B hee was before. Thence manning out nine Gallies more, hee exacted a great summe of money of the Halicarnassians, and fortified Cos. Being now almost Autumne, hee returned to Samos

The Peloponnesians being now in Helleſpont, the Antandri- ans (who are Æolians) receiued into the City men of Armes from Abydos by Land, through Mount Ida, vpon iniury that had beene done them by Arsaces, a Deputy Lieutenant of Tiffaphernes. This Arsaces hauing fained a cer- C taine Warre, not declared against whom, had formerly called out the chieft of the Delians, (the which in hal- lowing of Delos by the Athenians were turned out, and had planted themselves in Adramyttium) to goe with him to this War. And when vnder colour of amity and confederacy hee had drawne them out, he obserued a time when they were at dinner, and hauing hemmed them in with his owne Souldiers murdered them with darts. And therefore, for this acts sake, fearing lest hee might doe some vnlawfull pranke against them also, and for that hee had otherwise D done them iniury, they cast his Garrison out of their Cit- tadell.

Tiffaphernes hearing of this, (being the act of the Peloponnesians, as well as that at Miletus, or that at Cnidus, for in those Cities his Garrisons had also beene cast out in the same manner) and conceiuing that hee was deeply charged to them, and fearing lest they should doe him some other hurt; and withall not enduring that Pharnabazus should receiue them, and with lesse time and cost, speed better against the Athenians then hee had done, re- E solued to make a iourney to them in the Helleſpont, both to com-

A complaine of what was done at Antandrus, and to cleere himselfe of his accusations, the best he could, as well concerning the Phœnician Fleet, as other matters. And first he put in at Ephesus, and offered Sacrifice to Diana.

When the Winter following, this Summer shall be ended, the one and twentieth yeere [of this Warre] shall bee compleat.

\* \* \*

FINIS.



The end of the one and twentieth Summer.

## THE TABLE.

- A**  
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